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THE

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THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1855.

ART. I.—1. *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit.* Von Dr. ERNST LUDWIG THEODOR HENKE: ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Marburg. Erster Band. Halle. 1853. [George Calixtus and his Times. By Dr. E. L. T. Henke, Prof. of Theology at Marburg. Vol. I. (1576—1635.)]

2. *Geschichte der synkretischen Streite in der Zeit G. Calixts.* Von H. SCHMID. Erlangen. 1846. [History of the Syncretical Contest in the time of Calixtus.]

3. *Georg Calixt und der Synkretismus.* Von W. GARS. Breslau. 1846. [George Calixtus and Syncretism.]

4. *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ in Epitomen redactus.* Tom. II. Ecclesia Lutherana. Curavit H.A. DANIEL, Phil. D. Societ. Hist.-Theolog. Lips. Sodalis. Leipsic. Weigel. 1848.

5. *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ.* Auctore P. PÉTURSSON, Lic. The. Toparchiæ Snæfelnesensis et Hnappadalensis Præposito, pastore Stadastadensi. Copenhagen. Luno. 1841.

6. *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdientsordnung in den Deutschen Kirchen Lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation.* Von D. Th. KLIEFOTH, Superintendenten, und erstem Dom Prediger zu Schwerin. Rostock. 1847. [The Original System of Divine Services in the German Churches of the Lutheran Confession, its Destruction and Reformation. By D. Th. Kliefoth.]

7. *Den Danske Kirkes Historie efter Reformationen.* Ved LUDV. HELWEG. Tom. I. II. Kjobenhavn. 1851. [The History of the Danish Church after the Reformation. By L. Helweg. Copenhagen.]

WE are about to turn a page of Ecclesiastical History,—we use that term in its largest sense,—which will disclose so large an amount of bitterness, rancour, and malice, that its spectacle would be well-nigh intolerable were it not for the zeal with

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which some few of its most eminent men did, even in the worst of times, labour for peace. It is unnecessary, we hope, that we should commence by vindicating ourselves from the charge of sympathising any further with the Lutheran and Reformed [1] divines, of whom we are to write, than in their endeavours, however, and however necessarily, futile, to realize the blessing of the Peacemakers; superfluous to say that we would not sacrifice one grain of essential truth for an indefinite amount of peace;—or to protest with Bishop Andrewes, 'No *Pax in terris*, except it shall first be seen how it can stand with *Gloria in excelsis*.' But this may surely be understood, without our repeating it in every page;—and we wish the whole paper, like the bracketed part of a mathematical formula, to be influenced by this one paragraph, as that is by the symbols exterior to the brackets.

It will be necessary, in order that we should have a better understanding of the rise and progress of Syncretism, to give a glance over Europe, as it then lay divided between the Roman Church, rapidly recovering from the blow of the Reformation, the Lutheran body, torn into a thousand factions, and losing ground daily, and Calvinism, becoming, from the local religion of a petty state, a formidable rival to that Protestantism which, half a century before, had threatened to engulf Europe. Let us see under what auspices the seventeenth century opened.

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) filled the papal throne. His own sanctity of life, his friendship with S. Philip de Neri, the learning which was gathered round the Vatican,—Baronius, Bellarmine, Muretus, Cluvius,—a galaxy of talent,—raised the court of Rome to a position worthy of its renown. The good fruits of the improved discipline introduced by the Council of Trent became everywhere visible. If the 'most illustrious cardinals' had not altogether undergone that 'most illustrious reformation,' which Bartholomeu dos Martyres, Archbishop Primate of Braga, declared to be their due, at least the licence of the preceding century was over: and the names of Salviati, Santorini, and Como were great in their days, and are respectable in ours. Henry IV. of France abjured Calvinism: his kingdom began to breathe after the miseries of the civil wars; 'politics' became extinct; Huguenots declined in numbers and in influence; the fairest realm in the possession of the Roman Church, after trembling on the verge of disruption, returned to her allegiance. Marvellous energy in the propagation of the faith; in Japan, innumerable martyrs under the

[1] The reader must bear in mind that, throughou this paper, we shall use the words *Protestant* and *Reformed* in their correct sense: the former for the Lutheran, the latter for the Calvinistic body.

savage Taycosama: progress in Cochin China
China itself invaded: the Philippines, and other
islands, evangelised: zealous missionaries in T
however fruitless, in Ethiopia;—discipline and
in South America: Socinianism rolled back
Poland, Calvinism in Holland; Belgium and
ful as yet, but soon to be brought over: lit
awaking; ecclesiastical history explored; mart
Sanctorum, rituals, each energetically studied
vestigators; the Scriptures and other works
tongues till then unknown; the writings of
plained with ponderous learning; reforms in
new bishoprics; residence enforced; six thous
established in the New World; priests pointe
baptized one, three, four, five, *seven hundred the*

We turn to Germany. Rodolph II., much
with the calculations of Tycho Brahe and K
the government of his empire, was neverthele
porter of the Roman Church: William II., and
milian of Bavaria, were renowned over Europe
plary lives and their zeal in defence of the fa
archduke of Styria, poured an army of Capuch
minions, and thereby preserved them from th
On the other hand, it is probably difficult to re
rous grossness and wickedness which made th
Lutheran princes dens of debauchery. Those
sovereigns had, no doubt, always set frightf
licence: but now all restraint was removed, an
open to the wildest excesses of the vilest pa
cuous among these were the three Saxon brothe
John George, and Augustus.

The bitter rancour subsisting between Lut
vinists, and again between moderate and high
exceeded the hatred borne by either toward
Protestants, under the lead of the Elector of B
the princes of Saxony, held for the House of
ancient constitution of the empire:—the Reform
ing the Elector Palatine as their chief, depended
Holland and England, and were for introducing
polity. On the whole, during the seventeen
latter advanced and the former lost ground.
grave of Hesse Cassel, in 1604, John Sigism
Brandenburg, in 1614, Henry, Duke of Saxony
Lutherans became Calvinists: Adolphus, Du
had done so at the commencement of the centur
vince did not follow his example: a great disp

the same side existed in Denmark, but it was crushed by the deposition of Canute, so called Bishop of Gottenburg, in 1614. All these gains, however, were more than counterbalanced by the decline of the Reformed interest in France, after the capture of La Rochelle in 1628; and in England, consequent on the accession of Laud.

To understand the schisms which tore the Lutherans almost to pieces, we must go back. Towards the end of 1545, the excesses of their founder had reached a point which, even to Luther's warmest admirers, seemed almost intolerable. 'Blessed is the 'man,' wrote he, on the 25th of January, 1546, 'that hath not 'walked in the counsel of the Sacramentaries, nor stood in the 'way of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the chair of them of Zurich.' Those who are not acquainted with the last writings of this unhappy man will do well to attend to the following extract:—

'My little Paul, my little Pope, my little ass, gently, gently!—You are treading on ice: you will break a leg;—you will spoil your beauty, and every one will say, What devil is this Pope? Hollo! The little Popeling is spoilt. . . . An ass knows that it is an ass; a stone knows that it is a stone; and these asses of popelings know not that they are asses. . . . If I were master of the empire, I would do up the pope and his cardinals into one packet, and pitch them into the Adriatic; that bath would cure them, I will lay;—and JESUS CHRIST will be my backer.'

It must, therefore, have been with no small feeling of relief that all respectable Lutherans heard of the death of their chief, after a long agony, on the night of the 16th to the 17th of February, 1546, and that they installed Melanchthon in the vacant throne. Far more inclined than his master to what would afterwards have been called 'a liberal comprehension,' the new chief was gradually drawn more and more to the side of the Zuinglian reformation. For two years, however, he enjoyed an uninterrupted sovereignty; but on the publication of the 'Interim,' in 1548, that controversy broke out which shook the Lutheran body to its foundations. Maurice, Elector of Saxony, consulted the divines of Wittenberg and Leipsic on the possibility of complying with the new edict. Melanchthon replied, in the name of all, that in matters of an indifferent nature, obedience was due to the imperial decrees. Hence the *Indifferentist* or *Adiaphoristic* controversy. Flaccius Illyricus, with the doctors of Jena and Saxe Weimar, attacked, in the bitterest language, Melanchthon and all the Philippists; and to strengthen their theological position, caused such of their opponents as were within their power to be thrown into prison. To Melanchthon, who died in 1560, succeeded in the government of the Moderate Lutherans, or Saxon party, his son-in-law Peucer, who took another step towards Zuinglianism. The University of Wittenberg published in 1559 the principal works of Melanchthon,

under the title of the Misnian body of doctr
the Elector forbade all his subjects under seve
attack anything contained in it, and condemned i
language, as a pest to the Church, the opinions of
or rigid Lutherans. Encouraged by these proce
and his companions published, in 1571, the c
called *Stereoma*, in which they openly contrad
doctrine regarding Consubstantiation, and the
Lord. The whole Lutheran body raised an outc
production; and the Elector, frightened by the
vened an assembly of doctors, at Dresden, and co
to approve a form of agreement then drawn u
ubiquity of our Lord's Body was expressly de
demurred to setting their names to this docume
soned or banished. All this time the Elector i
a rigid Lutheran, and being profoundly ignora
thought that he was only carrying out the teachin
When his eyes were opened, he convoked, at T
assembly of doctors, who drew up a form of Conc
Formel), designed as a means of restoring h
Lutherans, and as a protest against the heresies of
This made the matter ten times worse than befc
the Elector took care that the Formulary should
Saxony, it was rejected by the Lutherans of Sle
Brunswick, Liegnitz, Pomerania, Hesse, Silesi
Frederick II. of Denmark, as soon as he had re
into the fire. And even in Saxony it found vio
notwithstanding all the Court influence and thr
its favour. Finally, however, patience and pe
vailed; and at the present day this formulary is
Lutheran communions to the Confession of Au
the Articles of Smalcald.

On the death of the Elector Augustus and th
Christian I. the followers of Peucer and Melan
their endeavours. Crellius, the prime minister
a secret Calvinist, especially exerted himself in
he had better have remained quiet: Christian I
minister was executed for his attempt to introdu
mation. Let the reader now remember the
which prejudiced writers make about liberality
persecution, and agreeing to differ—and then
with the banishments, the executions, and the
Illyricians inflicted on Philippists, Zuinglians on
baptists on all. It is really wonderful that men
who, if they had ever opened one of the bo

pretend to quote, must have been acquainted with these things,—could have had the brazen effrontery to speak of the German Reformation as introducing peace on earth and goodwill towards men. Take, for example, these instances; which indeed are almost too shocking to relate, and which far surpass all that the most frantic Protestants have ever feigned or dreamt of the Inquisition. We ought really to apologise for obtruding such horrors upon our readers; but, as party historians have, for the most part, so carefully concealed them, it may not be amiss to drag one or two out to light.[1] In the principality of Anspach, which then probably did not contain more than a hundred thousand souls, between 1575 and 1603, more than 1441 persons were put to the torture, and 474 executed, either by the gallows, the wheel, or the stake. Henry, Duke of Brunswick, burnt so many of his subjects for religious offences, and especially for sorcery, that the neighbourhood of Wolfenbüttel is recorded to have resembled a forest, from the number of stakes erected. At Brunswick, in 1603, a captain, by name Brabant, was excommunicated by the Lutheran preachers. Knowing the fate that was likely to await him, he endeavoured to make his escape, but happening to fall, broke his leg and was taken. He was put to the torture three times, his broken leg included. Finally, his fingers being cut off, his chest was, to use the expression of a contemporary historian, 'gently broken with a mallet,' his heart was cut out, and his body divided into five pieces. On Michaelmas-day, the preachers, in every church of the town, defended and applauded this barbarity; and, on the 9th of the following December, *a public thanksgiving was ordained in recognition of the mercy of God manifested in it.* The Lutheran inquisitors were in the habit of ordering in wine and dessert, while the tortures were going on; and more than one instance is recorded in which, while the sufferer, in the midst of his agony, was shrieking out for a cup of water, and adjuring his tormentors by the Wounds of our Lord not to deny it him, the judges, seated at the end of the rack, were pledging one another in good Rhenish wine, and making themselves merry with the

[1] If any one wishes to inquire at length into these terrible proceedings, and to satisfy himself that the very genius of the German Reformation was to be cruel, he has only to read the '*Historia Ecclesiastica et Heretica*' of Godfrey Arnold, himself a Lutheran, especially part ii. chap. 17. There he will find the most barbarous punishments to have been of every-day occurrence in the Lutheran states of Germany; nothing, for example, more common than to find a woman sentenced to have her breasts cut off, and then to be drowned, or burnt, or buried alive. No English review could possibly admit, even under the decent veil of a learned language, and in a note, half the atrocities legally perpetrated during that execrable period of German history.

cries of the tortured man. At the execution of Grum
the Chancellor Bruck, which took place at Gotha in
which, in the details of its cruelty (here quite unrepeat
surpassed that which we have just mentioned, a zealous
was so much edified by the procedure, that he bought
fold, dripping with blood, and converted it into the fl
usual sitting-room. These are but two or three insta
of many thousands; and so much for Protestant huma

It is not wonderful that men should have risen up
determined to spend and to be spent in putting a sto
horrors, and in bringing about a union, first, bet
Lutherans and the Zuinglians; and then, if it were
between both and the Roman Church. Their en
fruitless as they were, are neither uninteresting nor u
tive; and to them we propose to devote the followi
Out of the number who laboured in the same cause,
deserve our more especial attention, John Dury, an
Calixtus. The life of the former has never yet been
length, and we must do as well as we can, from an ex
into his own pamphlets, most of them very scarce,
those local histories of the Lutheran communion wh
his exploits. The biography of Calixtus has been n
once compiled. A very full and accurate account is to
in the '*Cimbria Literata*' of John Moller (vol. iii. pp.1
A still more complete and able life is that which sta
head of this article, and of which the first volume o
yet appeared. Dr. Henke does not confine himself to t
of his biography alone; he gives a sketch of the gen
and condition of the Protestant and Reformed co
during the period of which he writes; and devotes a
resting book to the foundation and progress of the U
of Helmstädt, of which Calixtus was the most famous
which, at a later period, distinguished itself by its
resolution in favour of the Roman Church. But, fir
be expedient that we should point out the outward circ
which seemed to render a reconciliation between Rom
Lutherans not at all improbable. To do this, we mus
in what state Lutheranism found itself on the death o
teacher. Such a consideration ought to be more esp
teresting to us, on account of the remarkable contrast
annals of that communion present to the history of
Church. Every step made by the former has been in
ward direction; every step taken by the latter has bee
God's goodness, a return to better things.

It pleased an English prelate, some time since, w

what he called *pictorial Crucifixes*, to praise the great simplicity of the Protestant communion on the continent. Let us see in what that simplicity consists. Following Dr. Daniel, in the very able work which stands fourth in our list, we will give a glance at the rites and ceremonies which the Lutheran retained from the older religion,—and will begin with the fabrics of its churches.

Every one who has travelled in Germany knows to what a remarkable extent Lutheran resemble Roman Catholic churches. No general order was ever issued for the removal of the altars; —and in many states, as generally throughout Saxony, all remain. It is more common, however, to find either one, as with us, or two. Where there are two, the high altar, used only on the greatest festivals, retains its ancient position; the inferior altar stands at the entrance to the choir. S. Sebaldus at Nüremberg is thus described by a recent traveller:—

'The most remarkable thing is the Catholic aspect still preserved by its Lutheran holders. The choir retains its double stalls, its altar, vested in purple, and with four candlesticks, the exquisite rood, with S. Mary and S. John, and the bronze shrine of S. Sebaldus. The whole church is studded with altars, still vested, and adorned with lights; and near the empty tabernacle, a lamp still burns continually. I chanced to reach Nuremberg on the feast of S. Sebaldus. The church was crowded, every altar lighted, and the shrine and altars garlanded with flowers. It was a very singular exhibition of Protestantism.'[1]

As is well known, the crucifix and the images of saints have always been retained; and where wanting, supplied. So Luther himself expressly ordered.[2] It is true that, among these images, those of Luther, Melanchthon, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, are often to be seen; and, in Denmark, it is not unusual that a pastor and his wife, who have distinguished themselves by any benefaction to the parish, should be commemorated in a similar way on the rood screen. So universal is the use of images, that Thiersch, in his work called, '*Vorlesungen über Catholicismus und Protestantismus*,' has an eloquent passage in which he endeavours to prove that Lutheranism has been, no less than the Roman Church, the parent of art.[3] Although in Germany the ancient vestments have long since become obsolete, they are retained, as is well known, in Denmark, and, to a still greater degree, in Sweden and Norway. Add to which, that the altar is everywhere the central point of devotion; that reading-desks and their adjuncts are utterly unknown; and that, whether during prayers, or at the so-called

[1] Webb's Continental Ecclesiology, p. 106.
[2] Works, (which we always quote from the edition of Walch,) vol. v. p. 1574, and vol. xx. p. 212.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 315.

Eucharist, the eyes and hearts of the people are di
Catholic times. It has more than once happened to
on first entering a church in a country of mixed re
as Westphalia, to go round it before he could m
mind whether it were Lutheran or Catholic.

The early service books retain, to a most remark
the features of the older system. For instance:
lying before us, published in Upsala in 1620, th
Sweden was the leading Protestant power of Europe
title, '*Liber cantus, in quo glorificationes, hoc est Ky*
'*nec non sequentiæ ac antiphonæ in summis et simpl*
'*atque diebus dominicalibus usitatæ, continentur.*' T
not less remarkable. It begins thus: '*Kyrie domin*
'*in summis festis: in simplicibus festis: Kyrie Pasc*
'*Pentecostes: Lætabundus in summis festis,*' &c. &c
cases, the *Te Deum*, the *Kyrie*, and the *Agnus Dei*,
Swedish; in others, as is the case universally with
in Latin. The melodies throughout are of the s
best Gregorian character; the words of the ant
for the most part, unaltered, even where bearing
facts not recorded in Holy Scripture; for exam
'*præliaretur Michael Archangelus cum Dracone, au*
'*dicentium, Salus Deo nostro: Alleluia.*—Dixit D
in the first tone. In one or two instances, the or
have been somewhat amusingly changed. For e
read, 'Archangele Christe per gratiam quam mer
'camur te Unigenitum Dominum nostrum, ut eri
'laqueis mortis; Alleluia.—*Mijn siål prijsar*,' &c.
good example of the manner in which Latin and th
were mixed up together. The case was the sa
Germany; so that there was here no outcry agai
not understanded of the people. There is, for exa
terium, published by Lossus at Wittenberg, in 1
preface by Melanchthon, which contains antiph
carols, and sequences, all in Latin; and though so
slightly altered by Urbanus Regius, the greater nu
untouched. A Protestant reader of the present d
surprised to find as the antiphon to the Magni
first Vespers of the Purification, '*Gaude Maria V*
hæreses sola interemisti;' or, as the sequence for th
'*Ave preclara Maris stella, in lucem gentium Ma*
orta.' The large antiphonal books in some of t
cathedrals are so very little changed from their
that only by referring to the title-page is it easy
dates.

If greater havoc were made among the Luthe

still these also maintained, in a high degree, their original character. Advent is still observed, not only by hanging the churches in black, by more frequent sermons, and in many places, as at Halle, by a particular chime of the bells; but also by the prohibition of marriages during that season. Thus, in the synodical statutes of Pomerania; 'by the consent of the 'most illustrious princes and orders, it was agreed that mar-'riages should not be celebrated from the first Sunday in 'Advent to the first Sunday after Epiphany; nor from Ash-'Wednesday to the Sunday *Quasimodo*. Pastors are charged to 'admonish their congregations with respect to these rules.' On Christmas Day, the old customs were kept up in the principality of Reuss as late as 1766: boys were dressed as angels, and represented in a dramatic way the appearance to the shepherds. So near Berlin, till 1784; and so at Halberstadt, if not till the present day, at all events till within the last twenty years, S. Stephen's, S. John's, and the Holy Innocents' Day, were celebrated; and so also, the Circumcision. Luther inveighs, after his coarse fashion, against those who direct their attention to New Year's Day, rather than to the Lord's Feast.[1]

The Epiphany, or as the Germans call it, *Three Kings' Day*, or *High New Year*, was held in the greatest honour till the middle of the eighteenth century. In Prussia, it was, by a royal edict of March 12th, 1754, transferred to the following Sunday. The example has since been followed in Brunswick, Hanover, and Saxe Weimar. In Denmark, the same thing was done, in 1770; Dr. Daniel is therefore mistaken in asserting that, in that kingdom, the Epiphany is still celebrated. Hence, in all the above-named rituals, results the absurdity that the following Sundays take their name from a festival which does not exist. An agitation has recently been commenced for the fixing a missionary feast (*Missions Fest*) on this day. In addition to Twelfth Night, many Lutheran bodies celebrate the Baptism of our Lord; some on the Sunday between the Circumcision and Epiphany; some on the first Sunday after Epiphany; and some, by an odd use, on the Sunday *Esto mihi*. It has also been proposed to add a *Feast of Holy Scripture*, but the proposal seems to have met with little acceptance.

Nor was Luther less strict in the observance of Lent; and he dwells more than once on the duty of fasting, and especially of abstinence from meat. Now, even among the strictest Lutherans, fasting is all but unknown. At the present day, however, all public amusements and balls are forbidden by

[1] Vol. ii. 293, and xiii. 275. 'Das Feat der Beschneidung Christi ist ein sehr tröstlich Fest, da mann billig Gott anloben und danken soll,' &c.

the Prussian civil law, on Ash-Wednesday. This theless, in most Lutheran countries, utterly negl Danish Altar-Book, for example, it never seems a place. Good Friday was almost lost; it w Prussia in 1773, and since that time has been observed. In most places, however, Maundy *Green Thursday*, as the Germans call it,—is the the two. The custom of washing the feet was k as the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Book has Collect, Epistle and Gospel for the none for the Friday. Till the year 1700, the L Lord was usually sung in parts, as it is in the Ro and in many Lutheran rituals, at the words, 'H ghost,' the people are directed to kneel for the spa *Noster*. This is now, we believe, utterly obsolete parts of Germany, and especially in Saxony, it that after sermon, about three o'clock in the after Friday,' the bells should be tolled, while the hymn

'Nun giebt mein Jesus gute nacht.'

This is a very popular ceremony; and is called peasants, 'Ringing the Lord Jesus to the grave.' is nowhere celebrated; and Easter Day itself ha peculiar ceremonies. Low Sunday is usually Confirmation. Ascension Day is held in honou in Prussia: it was for some time translated to t day; but the people complained so bitterly, that tice was restored. Whitsunday is, as a popul greater favourite than Easter. In Whitsun wee difficult to enter some of the railway stations on innumerable boughs with which they are decke Corpus Christi, though Luther abhorred it, wa Brandenburg, almost down to 1600. Of the Trinity, the tenth is appropriated to the Destru salem; and the last, at least in the principality called the Feast of the Last Day. In most L munions, the number of Saints' days has bee diminished. Those which were retained at first, i were, in addition to the festivals which our ow celebrates;—the Visitation; the Nativity; the S. Mary; Lammas Day; the Decollation of S. the Transfiguration; S. Laurence; S. Nicolas; S. Mary Magdalene; S. Elizabeth; and S. Georg gradually disappeared, as have also the festivals some by popular disuse, some by royal edict. mark, on the 26th of October, 1770, the follow

lished: Holy Innocents' Day, the Epiphany, the Purification, S. John's, the Visitation, Michaelmas, and All Saints' Day; 'though,' says the decree, 'the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of 'the last-named day shall be read and explained on the Sun-'day next after the first of November; and the Annunciation 'shall be celebrated on the fifth Sunday in Lent.' In Iceland, a very remarkable festival was abolished in 1744. It was called 'The Day of Vows;' had been instituted before 1222, and was intended as a time of supplication for the fruits of the earth, for good fisheries, and against the eruption of Mount Hecla. It was observed on the first Thursday after S. Joseph's Day (March 17th). When the island was suffering from famine and disease in 1756, the most earnest entreaties were addressed to Frederick V., that he would be pleased to allow the re-introduction of this day; but the petition was disregarded.

The Feast of the Reformation is celebrated in most Lutheran communions, though not on the same day. In Pomerania, the commemoration takes place on S. Martin's Day, in reference to the name of Martin Luther; in other states they prefer the vigil; one or two substitute this festival for Trinity Sunday; some prefer the Sunday after S. Giles's Day. In the seventeenth century, the celebration had almost died out, till John George II., Elector of Saxony, issued a strict edict for its celebration on the 21st of October. In Saxony, therefore, and among the Protestants of Bavaria and Austria, that is the day; the Lutherans of the two last-named countries celebrate additionally the *Feast of Toleration*, that is, of the concessions made with respect to their worship, by the Emperor Joseph. In Prussia, the festival had been forgotten, till the fervour of the so-called 'Society of Gustavus Adolphus' resuscitated it. It is there held on the Sunday after the 31st of October. In Denmark, strangely enough, it is substituted for All Saints; itself, as we have seen, transferred to the following Sunday. After the ordinary Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, follows a 'Commemoration of the reformation and doctrine, which the blessed Doctor Martin Luther, in the year 1517, began and pursued.' And this is the commencement of the prayer:—

'Almighty and merciful God and Father, we Thy poor children thank Thee with all our hearts that Thou hast mercifully upheld us to this day by thy manifold goodness, and especially that Thou hast given us Thy Son, our only Mediator, who hath gathered to Himself for ever, with the Holy Ghost, a holy Church and communion, in which Thy most holy name should be rightfully known, and worshipped in the true faith and holiness; to which end Thou hast so wonderfully at all times helped them that were desirous to know Thee, and did not obstinately reject that Thy mercy and loving-kindness; which Thou hast also shown in an especial manner, in that more than two hundred years ago Thou didst free Thy Christian

Purification,
Saints' Day;
ınd Gospel of
on the Sun-
Annunciation
In Iceland,
It was called
222, and was
the earth, for
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hildren thank
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ı us Thy Son,
with the Holy
st holy name
and holiness;
em that were
hy mercy and
ıl manner, in
Thy Christian

Church from Popish slavery and darkness, and d
true gospel be so mildly (!) again kindled, by Thy
Luther, and others who duly followed him in Thy l
well in these realms and lands as elsewhere, widely

Doctor Daniel has the good taste to
bration:—

'Quam sententiam ferret ipse Lutherus de festo
ego quidem vehementer animi pendeo. Illa fest
speciem novitatis præbet: denique non confert
reconciliandam, sed sæpissime iracundias commo
animorum motus.'

In Prussia, another festival was institu
proves the truth of Schiller's lines:—

But still the heart doth need a langu
Do the old instincts bring back the
And to yon starry world they now a
Spirits or gods, that used to share th
With man as with their friend;—

the commemoration of the departed (*Todt*
Sunday after Trinity. This has given rise
from the more rigid Lutherans. 'You ne
'festival of Easter, and you obtrude upon
'memoration of All Souls.' Nevertheless
of man—(that instinct which in so many
and in some remote districts of England,
tiful custom of leaving a vacant chair on t
when the family closes in round the fire, f
bers)—has been stronger than Lutheranism
is rapidly prevailing throughout Germany.

The Lutheran fast days depart more wid
Church order than any other part of their
two principalities, there is a monthly fast;
three penitential days, though the time
their observation differs widely. In Saxon
the Friday before the last Sunday after
Friday after Reminiscere; in Mecklenbu
Friday after Sexagesima, on Good Friday,
after Trinity, and on the Friday before
Advent; in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, on the
niscere, and the Friday before the first Su
Bavaria, on Sexagesima Sunday. In Prus
tion is made on the Friday after Jubilat
after Easter). 'Most certainly,' observe
'prize were given for the discovery of th
'season for a time of penitence, the Pru

'without any manner of doubt, be entitled to it
the Danes much mended the matter. They ce
Almindelig Bededag on the Friday which follow
Sunday after Easter, according to the institut
Christian V., in 1686.

Without entering further into other Lutheran
such as auricular confession and absolution, exorcis
tism, and the like, we have said enough to show
external similarity there is between their rites and t
Roman Catholic Church. So far as outward obse
the gulf lies, not between Catholics and Protestan
the latter word in the strict sense,) but between
and Reformed. We must now for one moment gla
ecclesiastical position of the latter.

Their communion may be conveniently divided
portions; those of Scotland, France, Switzerland, and
for the few German States, such as the Palatinate,
braced this religion, were merely fac-similes of the S
ment. The three first named seemed to vie with
in desecrating churches; the French Calvinist, for
exulted in destroying the most undoubted relics, suc
of S. Martin; the Scotch, as every one knows, ha
not restrained by the law) reduced their ecclesiastical
to the level of pigsties; and the Swiss are not muc
Honourable exception must be made in favour of Holl
Dutchman's two sacraments are, preaching and psalm
and he shows his estimation of them by the magnificer
and organs which abound in that country. The ex
such an organ as that of Haarlem, and of such pulpits
be found at the Hague, or Amsterdam, or Rotterdam,
calculable. Not content with this, it has also pleased
erect rood-screens at an almost fabulous expense; any
has visited Holland will have been struck with the elabo
and massiveness of the brass, which is their usual
This, however, is the exception; the majority of E
Calvinists have always delighted in making their chu
plain and as filthy as possible. While Lutherans never,
moment, dreamt of reconsecrating Catholic buildings, C
delighted to do so; and in some cases went through tl
process with regard to churches which had been interm
occupied by Lutherans. The political struggle between
heresies was never more strikingly developed, than wl
Calvinist Elector Palatine, son-in-law of our James I., w
take possession of his new kingdom of Bohemia. Actin
the suggestions of his favourite preacher Scultetus, l
down the images, and defaced the decorations, of the L

churches at Prague; and to the hatred of his tenets thereby engendered among that powerful body, may be, in a great measure, ascribed the loss of his kingdom. Any one who wishes to see this remarkable episode of ecclesiastical, as well as civil history, strikingly set forth, cannot do better than read Mr. James's romance of 'Heidelberg.'

But notwithstanding the fury of the contest between Lutherans and Reformed, there arose, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, more than one divine who was determined to reconcile the two bodies. Of these, the first, and deserving to be the most famous, was John Dury.[1]

John Dury, whose name was afterwards to be mixed up with the religious parties of Europe for nearly half a century, and who did and suffered more for the cause of peace—such as it was—than probably any other man, was born at Edinburgh,[2] towards the end of the sixteenth century. His father, of the same name, was an apostate monk, and became a celebrated preacher of the school of Knox, in that neighbourhood. Some

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[1] The sources from whence the history of John Dury, better known by his Latin name of Duræus, may be learnt, are in part given by Mosheim, vol. v. p. 277: he has, however, omitted the most important of all; namely, the English writings of Duræus himself. Of these the following are most to our purpose: 1. A Brief Relation of that which hath lately been attempted to procure Ecclesiastical Peace among Protestants. Published by Samuel Hartlib. London. 1640. 2. A Summary Account of Master John Dury's former and latter Negotiations for the Procuring of true Gospel Peace, with Christian Moderation and Charitable Unity among the Protestant Churches and Academies. London: printed for the Author in 1657. These two are identical down to page 32 of the former, which is the same as page 23 of the latter. The 'Brief Relation' has three more pages, containing a sort of epilogue, which concludes that portion of Dury's labours. 3. The Unchanged and Single-hearted Peacemaker. London. 1650. 4. Consultationum Irenicarum προδιόρθωσις. Amsterdam. 1664. Of Biographies, the best are; 1. G. Arnoldus; *Historia Johannis Durœi*, an university thesis, delivered under the presidency of J. C. Kohler, and usually quoted as that of Colerus. Wittenberg, 1716. 2. *Benzelius; Dissertatio de Johanne Duræo, maximeque de Actis ejus Suecanis;* a thesis delivered before the celebrated Mosheim, and generally called from him. The proceedings of Duræus at Marburg are said to be related by Schenk in his *Vitæ Professorum Theologiæ Marburgensium*, page 207; but this book the writer has not been able to see. Jablonski has recorded his attempts in Prussia and Poland, in his *Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis*. His journeys in the Palatinate, Switzerland and Denmark are related in Seelen's *Deliciæ Epistolarum;* in the *Museum Helveticum*, and in the *Fasciculus Epistolarum Theologicarum* of Elswitch. Of all single works, that of Benzelius is incomparably the best; the thesis of G. Arnoldus, besides containing many mistakes, extends no further than to 1657, and is written in so flippant a style that it is a trial of patience to labour through it. Beside these, the present writer has examined more than twenty pamphlets of Duræus himself, from most of which something may be gleaned as to his personal history. Should any reader be curious enough to compare the account given in the text with those of Arnoldus and Benzelius, he may rest assured that any departure from their statements is based on the accounts of the subject of their biography, who must have been best acquainted with the details of his own life.

[2] Arnoldus tells us that he was a Scotchman; and adds 'Reliqua si desideres merum σκότος.' But the truth is, that 'John Dury, the father, was by no means an unimportant personage in his day.

political sermons of his having enraged the Government, he thought it prudent to fly into Holland, became a pastor at Leyden, and there spent the rest of his life. Here our hero was educated, embraced independent views, and, in 1628, settled as pastor to the English factory at Elbing, in Prussia. It was the period of that tremendous struggle between the Reformation and the Church of Rome, which, after promising to render the former triumphant throughout Europe, concluded by driving it back in all quarters, by cooping it up in countries with which, at the commencement of the century, it would have disdained to be satisfied, and by causing its great antagonist to make efforts which recalled her former struggle with the Emperors of the world, and to send forth saints who might rival the Gregories and the Leos of her earlier days. Sweden and Austria, the 'never-conquered king' and Oxenstiern on the one side, Wallenstein and Tilly on the other, fought out, so far as human arms were concerned, the contest. At that time Elbing formed part of the dominions of Gustavus Adolphus, and was the residence of Dr. Godeman, one of his privy counsellors. This person contracted an intimate friendship with Dury, and was the first to suggest to him that whoever should be able to bring to pass a general inter-communion throughout Protestant Christendom would indeed deserve the blessing of the peacemakers. This was the utmost pitch to which the imagination of the Swedish privy counsellor soared; it was that, also, which occupied the greater part of the life of Dury. For the second phase of these tendencies to reconciliation, that, namely, which included Rome in the general peace, had its rise, as we shall see, in George Calixtus, and did not occupy the mind of his predecessor till nearly the conclusion of his life. Dury instantly caught at the idea, and offered to devote himself to the work, if he could see any hope of being enabled to carry forward his scheme. It chanced that, at this period, Sir Thomas Rowe (whose history is so intimately mixed up with that of the celebrated patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucar) was sent ambassador extraordinary to Gustavus, and happened to take Elbing on his way back to England. He heard of the plan from Dury, communicated it to the Chancellor Oxenstiern —perhaps, on the whole, the greatest man whom Sweden ever produced—and agreed with him in thinking that both Gustavus and Charles I. should render all the support that might lie in their power for so excellent an object. On his return to England, Sir Thomas communicated the proposals to several of his friends, by whom they were much relished; but by none more so than by the Lord Chancellor. This was in 1630; and by the advice of those interested in the matter, Dury was invited

to England: an invitation which he the more readily accepted, as his congregation at Elbing was now broken up, in consequence of the failure of its commercial proceedings. To England, therefore, Dury went, and was well received, not only by Archbishop Abbot, which, from the character of the man, we might have expected, but also by Laud, who then filled the chair of London. It was agreed that he should return to Germany, should see Gustavus Adolphus, and should concert such measures as might seem advisable to that monarch and to the other Protestant princes. Our divine, nothing loath, accepted the mission, and had his first interview with the king of Sweden at Würtzberg, in 1631. Gustavus, at this moment, was the dictator of Protestant Europe; the battle of Leipsic had laid Germany at his feet; Protestants and Reformers hastened to pour in their forces to his assistance; while the cruel sack and destruction of Magdeburg, by Tilly, stirred up a warm feeling of execration against the Catholic leaders.

Such, then, was Gustavus when Dury, fortified with a letter of recommendation signed by thirty-eight English divines, presented himself at the court. The king heard him with interest, and offered to furnish him with letters patent, recommending his person and his design to all the Protestant princes. The negotiator, however, had, singularly enough, some objection against receiving such a document from any but an ecclesiastical authority; he asked leave to decline it for the present; and all that was settled was a recommendation to the divines of the various sects to prepare the way by their sermons for a general peace. Having thus made a beginning with the Lutherans, Dury thought it expedient to try his success among the Calvinists; he therefore visited in order Hanau, the Palatinate, the Duchy of Zweibrücken, and the Wetterau.

Whether it were the interest which Dury had excited, or whether the Lutherans and Calvinists felt that their only hope of success lay in union, can hardly be determined; but on the 3d of March in this same year, a colloquy between the Protestants and the Reformed had been held at Leipsic. The fairest professions were made on either side. The Confession of Augsburg was perused and reperused; but no substantial step was taken. The conference, however, served to furnish our pacificator with another, among the many documents which he always carried about with him.[1]

But, in the meantime, the fortunes of his great patron had changed. Schiller tells the story in brief:—

[1] An account of this Synod is given by Sagittarius in his Introduction to Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 1588.

> Bohemia was deliver'd from the Saxons,
> The Swede's career of conquest check'd. These lands
> Began to draw breath freely, as Duke Friedland
> From all the streams of Germany forced hither
> The scatter'd forces of the enemy;
> Hither invoked, as round one magic circle,
> The Rheingrave, Bernhard, Bannier, Oxenstiern,
> Yea, and the never-conquer'd king himself:
> In Nürnberg's camp the Swedish monarch left
> His fame—in Lützen's plains, his life.

With Gustavus, on that 6th of November, 1632, fell Protestant ascendancy; and the Schwedenstein, which marks his resting-place on the field of Lützen, may also be regarded as the boundary-stone which proclaims, 'Thus far shalt thou go, but no further,' to the conquests of Lutheranism. It was in the Wetterau that Dury heard of the great event; and he thence wrote to Abbot and to Laud, acquainting them with what he had already performed, pledging himself to more extended efforts, and imploring further assistance. He thence went to a general meeting of Protestant states at Heilebron, in company with Sir Robert Anstruther, who was to represent England in the assembly. By this time, considerable interest was felt throughout Europe; friends to the cause sprang up everywhere; the most distinguished were the Swiss, John Millet, the Frenchman, Anne Coligny, Paul Ferrius, of Metz, and John Matthiæ, Lutheran Bishop of Strengnäs. Some of the legates at Frankfort had brought divines who promised to render all assistance; such were Dunner from Sweden, and Tettelbach from Frankfort. Our hero, who by this time repented of not having accepted the offer made by Gustavus, applied to Oxenstiern for a similar circular. The chancellor was more wary than the king, and declined setting his hand to any such document; he joined, however, with the other ambassadors in signing a more general paper, importing their wish for peace, their recognition of Dury's labours, and the esteem they felt for his character. They also promised to bring to a meeting of the States, which was to be held at Erfurt in the following spring, a divine or two from their respective kingdoms; and, in the meantime, to propose to their several communions the following questions:—1. Whether the acts of the Conference at Leipsic, in so far as they were agreeable to the Confession of Augsburg, might not be received by all? 2. Whether the disagreements existing between Lutherans and Reformed might be reconciled, yes, or no? If yes, how? If no, were the discrepancies such as necessarily to imply a schism between the two communions? With these documents, and a portmanteau full of other communications, especially from Paris, Geneva, and Metz, our pacifi-

cator, finding that nothing was likely to occur in during the winter, took his way through Holland, the chief pastor of every town through which he tr the purpose of disseminating his own views, and England in the autumn of 1633. Here he found affairs somewhat changed; Abbot was dead, and succeeded him at Canterbury. He, however, receiv a friendly manner, wrote him a courteous letter whic printed by Benzelius, asked him to dinner at Lambet that he should have taken him for a German—by according to every one's testimony, he spoke Ge fluently than English—and finally inquired whether orders, and if so, by whom they had been conferre may believe Dury, he had been for several years u scruple[1] with respect to the validity of independent C and if so, his expressions on the subject probably infl Archbishop in his favour. We say *if so*, because h first time, the shifts and manœuvres which procure the titles of 'the double-faced Didymus,' 'the t Ambidexter,' and other the like unsavoury appellat to manifest themselves. The fact seems to be that intentionally deceive; but, fully persuaded himself o unimportance of all disputes about Church polity about matters of faith not expressly laid down in th Creed, and penetrated with a sense of the supreme of peace, he sacrificed not only rites and ceremonies, b points of doctrine, sometimes asserting them, sometim them, with an ease which seemed to those who did the question from precisely his point of view, th duplicity. His was not a candid mind; and thoug be difficult, and perhaps impossible, in any of his works (we ourselves have seen more than twenty), him of a deliberate falsehood through all the tangl events which he relates, yet it must be confessed th and smooths down, and rounds off, and omits wha veniently omitted, and exaggerates what it was ex exaggerate,—all, be it observed, in furtherance of his till some part of his history assumes a very differen related by him, from that which it bears in the acco biographers.

But we are keeping our hero and the Archbish 'By all means,' said the latter, 'consult Master Bra give you full satisfaction on these points.' Bray,

[1] This is his constant assertion throughout 'The Unchanged and Peacemaker;' and as the statement could hardly have been calculat him favour at the time when it was made, it may probably be true.

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as the author of one or two pamphlets in defenc
of the High Church party, bows, expresses hi
obey his Grace's injunctions, speaks of the pleasu
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Master Dury, and is certain that he shall be able
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if he thus spoke to Sir Thomas, his communicat
were in another strain; but whatever they were,
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The Archbishop had the presentation to a living i
then vacant. He offered it to our negotiator.
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dence. 'It shall not,' replied Laud; 'you shall
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'negotiations with the more effect.' Dury accept
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Hall, on Monday, S. Matthias's Day, 1634. Imm
wards it was found that the incumbent of the li
he had been presented was alive; our pacificator,
turned to London. This is his own account; a
confessed that one or two things related in it
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He spent the winter in procuring further test
English divines. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbur
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now call the Low Church party, received him wi
and gave him all kind of certificates. From Bed
Kilmore and Ardagh, he received still more subs
of approbation; that munificent prelate allowing
uring the remainder of his life. Archbishop La
to the scheme, as to write a kind of circular
stors. Enriched with all these documents, Du

the spring of 1634 to join Sir Robert Anstruther
With that statesman he proceeded to Frankfort, wh
posed meeting of Protestant States was held; with
in attendance on their respective ambassadors he
conferences, and obtained from them a kind of circ
brethren throughout Europe. Armed with this,
date September 14, 1634, he went back to Englan
arrived in what Laud calls 'the extreme hot and f
and November, the leaves being not all off the
beginning of December.' The Archbishop prese
the king. In England he remained till the ensui
and apparently, it would seem, visited Aberdeen an
for the purpose of procuring from the divines of
an adhesion to his plan of pacification. In July
gained all that he could expect from his English
ceeded to the Netherlands, and presented himself at
cial Synod of Holland. Here he endeavoured to
those who had any influence in ecclesiastical or ci
and this Synod being concluded, he appeared successi
of Zealand, Leyden, and Utrecht. Whether amo
multifarious attainments he had acquired a knowled
we know not; but to judge from the facility with
now and at subsequent periods, he—to use his favou
sion—'dealt with' various high and mighty pe
Holland, it would seem that he had acquired the
At all events, he spoke and wrote French like a
presenting himself to the Walloon Synod, he re
them warmer sympathy than he had met with i
place. These proceedings took up about a year,
determined to visit Sweden, still, under the Chanc
stiern, the leading Protestant power. He arrived in
in July 1636, visited in turn Stockholm, Upsala, W
Strengnäs, and returning to Upsala endeavoured to
University in his plans. Not succeeding to his
indefatigable hero accompanied Oxenstiern in a t
the whole kingdom. While these events were in p
State had lost the pre-eminence which, under Gust
acquired. Wallenstein had fallen, and the Cath
were under the command of the King of Hungary,
the Emperor. After he had obtained several brillia
and had been reinforced by 20,000 men from Sp
attacked by the Protestant leaders near Nordlingen
was one of the most obstinate which history records;
notwithstanding the almost supernatural efforts
Swedes, the Protestant confederates were utterly d
Sweden began its downward career among Europe

known to us as the licenser of divinity works at that time, and as the author of one or two pamphlets in defence of the tenets of the High Church party, bows, expresses his readiness to obey his Grace's injunctions, speaks of the pleasure which it had given him to make the acquaintance of so renowned a divine as Master Dury, and is certain that he shall be able to satisfy him with respect to any little points of discipline on which they may differ. Would Master Dury do him the honour of visiting him at his poor lodgings in Lambeth Palace on the following morning? Our hero assents, and the two become intimate. It is then suggested by his old friend, Sir Thomas Rowe, who is passing the winter in London, that his capabilities for action would be very much increased if he received orders in the English Church. 'As for the Church of England,' they are Dury's own words in 'The Unchanged Peacemaker,' 'I said that 'I did look upon it as a Church of Christ, true in respect of the 'doctrine professed therein, and eminent for all spiritual gifts 'bestowed upon it: that I judged the government thereof by 'bishops with indifference, and that I took them as men com- 'missioned by the king to be his delegates.' It is certain that if he thus spoke to Sir Thomas, his communications to Bray were in another strain; but whatever they were, they satisfie him, and what was more to Dury's purpose, they pleased Lau The Archbishop had the presentation to a living in Devonsh then vacant. He offered it to our negotiator. The la declined it if it would have the effect of obliging him to dence. 'It shall not,' replied Laud; 'you shall have a lic 'of non-residence, and will thus be enabled to pursue 'negotiations with the more effect.' Dury accepted the ment, went down to Exeter, and was ordained priest by Hall, on Monday, S. Matthias's Day, 1634. Immediately wards it was found that the incumbent of the living to he had been presented was alive; our pacificator, theref turned to London. This is his own account; and it confessed that one or two things related in it seer improbable.

He spent the winter in procuring further testimo English divines. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Durham, and Hall of Exeter, the leaders of what now call the Low Church party, received and gave him all kind of certificates. Kilmore and Ardagh, he received sti of approbation; that munificent p during the remainder of his life is to the scheme, as to write a passion. Enriched with all th

Dury was now at Stockholm, where was a large meeting of Swedish divines. The main question, said they, is that of the Holy Eucharist; if the Reformed will agree with us in that, all will go well. And the pacificator endeavoured, by producing the documents which he had brought from Edinburgh and from Aberdeen, to show, that even between Lutherans and the most rigid of Calvinists, the question was only one of words. On the 7th of February, 1638, the assembled divines, as Dury tells us, agreed that his proposals were not such as could be accepted; he forgets or omits to mention that, on this day, a royal edict came forth to the following effect:—'It is the pleasure of Queen 'Christina that John Dury, a British preacher, who has resided 'in this country for some months, not without the great scandal 'of our ecclesiastics, should depart without any delay from this 'kingdom.' Our hero did so; but, from the chagrin consequent on this edict, he fell ill at Stockholm, and his life was for some time despaired of. While on that which promised to be his death-bed, he made a vow that, if he were spared, he would devote the remainder of his existence to the cause which he had already taken in hand; that he would spare neither time nor trouble in its prosecution; that he would not be turned aside from it by any motive whatsoever; and that he would very willingly spend and be spent, to the utmost, for its success. He recovered, and visited in turn Bremen, Stâde, Brunswick, and Lunenburg. Duke Augustus, of Brunswick Lunenburg, assembled a Synod of his divines to consult with the stranger; on their approval of the design, he gave him commendatory letters to his cousin, Duke Augustus, who resided at Hildesheim. By this prince he was even more favourably received. Another Synod was assembled, and Dury, with the other divines, was lodged and boarded for fourteen days at the duke's expense. It was here agreed that Calixtus—and this is the first time that his name occurs in Dury's history—should write in defence of the pacification, and that letters should be sent to the Lutheran Universities of Wittenberg, Jena, Leipsic, and Helmstädt; as well as to the States of Brandenburg, Hesse, and Bremen. This being settled, our pacificator betook himself to Duke Frederick, the brother of Duke George, who held his court at Zelle; his divines agreed to what had been done at Brunswick and Hildesheim. Armed with their recommendations, Dury proceeded to Glückstadt, to join his old friend, Sir Thomas Rowe,—a personage nearly as ubiquitous as himself,—by whom he was presented to the King of Denmark. In the meanwhile great disputes broke out at Hamburg and Lübeck, on the subject of the novel mission; having done what he could to pacify these, Dury visited Statius Buscherus, the

great opponent of Calixtus and himself, with wh
own expression, 'he dealt.' Thence he went
and, as he says, 'insinuated some writings into th
of that place;' and from hence he sent a trea
Calixtus, into England. He went back aga
where he stayed fourteen days, and visited all
the town; crossed the country to Oldenburg,
interview with the Superintendent; travelled thr
and visited Emden; crossed the Dollart Gulf, en
disputed at Gröningen, and so made his way t
whence, by way of resting himself, he addresse
the Presbyteries of North Holland, and, *viâ* the
to his friends in France. Thence he went int
so returned to England, where he arrived in 1
found the division between the King and Par
point of breaking out into open war; and all ho
fresh documents to be employed on his mission
for the present. He seems, however, to have a
still to the King, who selected him as the tutor f
Royal, at the Hague. In this office he rema
when he was summoned to the Assembly of Divin
of Orange would not allow him to accept the
other causes of disagreement occurring betwe
threw up the office, and became chaplain to th
Merchants Adventurers at Rotterdam. As the
continued to demand his services, he again retur
and we find him, November 20th, 1645, preach
House of Commons a sermon, which was afterw
under the title of 'Israel's Call to come out of
Jerusalem.' It is nowise to be distinguished fr
discourses of the Calamies, the Youngs, and th
the period; except that the ruling passion of the
itself in the preface, where he sets forth the adv
would arise to what he calls Jerusalem, and t
which would be inflicted on Babylon, if Protes
princes could be brought to agree.

Our hero's employment from 1645 to 1654 i
determine. He merely informs us that he w
England, 'promoting domestic peace,' and keepi
correspondence. It would seem, however, fro
the 'Unchanged Peacemaker,' that before 1650 h
and that his wife had considerable property i
there is no trace of his marriage during the cou
earlier or his later travels, it probably occur
present sojourn in England; and perhaps we
him great injustice, if we imagine that the fortu

afterwards of great assistance to him in carrying out his plans, was one of his inducements to enter into a state for which his continued journeys must have rendered him very ill suited. It is a curious example of human inconsistency, that our pacificator, who was for unlimited liberality abroad, would have no such thing as toleration in his own country. In 1644 he published 'An Epistolary Discourse against Toleration,' addressed to Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and his old and staunch friend, Samuel Hartlib. Four years later, he exerted his utmost efforts to save the King. Afterwards, as he had willingly taken the Covenant, he, with as little scruple, set his hand to the Engagement; hence, in 1650, he was attacked in a pamphlet entitled, 'The Time-serving Proteus, and Ambidexter Divine, uncased 'to the World.' To which he replied by the tract which we have so often quoted, 'The Unchanged, Constant, and Single-'hearted Peacemaker, drawn forth into the World; in a Letter to 'Samuel Hartlib, May 30th, 1650.' The war between England and Holland threw further obstacles in the way of Dury's designs; as soon as peace was made, he procured letters commendatory from Cromwell and from the principal divines in and near London, and again left England, April 5th, 1654. Having hitherto found greater success among Calvinists than among Lutherans, he determined on labouring in a hitherto untried portion of the same field. He reached Zurich on the 18th of May, and was delighted to find that a general meeting of the Protestant Cantons was to be held at Arau on the 13th of June. There he of course presented himself, 'dealt with' all the theologians who assembled in the place, and managed to procure from them a document in which they set forth what in their opinion was necessary to be done. Back he went to Zurich, in order to interest the civil authorities of that place. They recommended him to prosecute his endeavours at Berne; to Berne he accordingly betook himself, and thence to St. Gall and Basle. Hearing that the Reformed congregations among the Grisons were anxious to take part in the movement, he appointed a place where their deputies might meet him in safety; and to 'that place,' as he cautiously writes in 1657, he went in December, and spent one day in a satisfactory conference. Having thus shown his friends at Zurich that his scheme was likely to be taken up by the other Cantons, he repaired thither again; and, in a series of visits to Berne, Biel, Neufchatel, and Lausanne, he prosecuted his endeavours, besides, as he tells us, calling on the preacher of every considerable town in or near those places. He had not yet seen a city which must have excited his earnest veneration, Geneva. To this he had especial letters of recommendation from the Lord

traveller will remember the place from the great gambling-house which the present sovereign has erected close to the railway station) he received much encouragement. Thence to Weimar, and to Gotha, where he was closeted with the Duke Ernest from eight to twelve, and from two to six; a circumstance which he records with evident satisfaction. It would be endless to mention all the small principalities which he at this time visited. At length he seems to have pined for Holland, and found his way thither by Cleves and Nymeguen. When in the latter place, he heard that the provincial Synod of Harderwick was about to assemble; of course he went thither, and obtained a certificate from the divines there in consultation. Crossing the country to Alkmaar, he found the Synod of North Holland in session, but was less fortunate than usual in his reception, as the lay commissioners interfered, and would not allow him to speak. He therefore thought it necessary to go to the Hague, and to obtain from the States General such letters of recommendation as might obviate the like opposition for the future; these he procured, and forwarded them to the several provinces; and relying on the protection he had thus acquired, he presented himself in September to the Synod of Utrecht, to that of Middelburg, and to that of the Walloons. The latter being concluded—it is one little proof among many of the indomitable perseverance of the man—he went to Flushing, simply, as he says, 'to confer with some men of note who could contribute somewhat to the furtherance of his design.' He next heard that there was a meeting of divines at Bergen op Zoom; here he did what he could, and so was in time for the assembly of the States of Holland at Amsterdam. By them he was told that they could do nothing till they knew how far the Lutherans would be disposed to meet them. Dury immediately fell to work, and translated and printed such papers as he thought might obviate that difficulty; the declarations of Leipsic and Frankfort, a letter from the King of Sweden to one of his bishops, and some other documents. He now thought that he might hope to obtain some official recognition by the States General. They told him that it was necessary that he should come provided with a similar certificate from all the provincial States before they could entertain his proposal. Here was all his labour in Holland to be begun over again; but the persevering man, not a whit daunted, set about the task with good courage. He first went to the University of Franeker, then to the deputies of Friesland, assembled at Leeuwarden; then to those of Overyssel, at Zwolle, where he found great opposition; and lastly, to Amsterdam. While he was there, the Prince of Sweden happened to visit that city; Dury, of course, did not miss the

opportunity, and his highness promised to do what
among his Lutheran subjects. Having thus concl
Dutch tour, our hero thought that a fresh certific
Cromwell might not be without its influence at the next
of the States General; he sailed from Flushing on
and landed at Margate on the 15th of February, 1657.
account of his adventures concludes with the followin
tion of the House of Commons:—

June 26th, 1657.—'Ordered by the parliament that it be rec
to his highness the Lord Protector at the desire of the parlia
his highness will be pleased to encourage all Christian ende
uniting the Protestant Church abroad; and that the lord deput
Lambert, Master Secretary, General Desberow, and Colonel
desired to present this vote to the Lord Protector.'

We now lose Dury as a guide, and must follow hi
from the necessarily inferior materials which the dil
Benzelius was able to collect. It appears that he
quiet till the Restoration in 1660; and that he then ad
letter to Charles II., setting forth what he had alrea
and what he still hoped to perform. The only wonde
our hero ever expected to receive an answer; however
daunted when he found that his application was unn
applied to Archbishop Juxon, whose reply is preserve
exactly that which might be expected. Nothing could
desirable than the union of all Christians; nothing
accordance with the Archbishop's own particular w
the divisions in England must be taken into considera
foreign princes would unite in expressing any desir
mediation of the Anglican Church, it would then be
for her prelates to consult the king as to what his ow
might be, &c. Finding that he was thus thrown on
resources, Dury—who, it must be remembered, was now
of sixty—again went into Holland, and travelled thr
whole of the country, visiting pastors, scattering pape
ing to be heard at Synods, in short, leaving no stone
to effect his purpose. Imagining that he had made s
progress in this country, he was anxious to go ag
Sweden, but was deterred, *as he says*, by the fate of t
Matthiæ, who had been by this time deprived for his bo
the Olive Branches. He forgets to state that the se
banishment pronounced against him, under Christina, h
been repealed. However, as he was unable to go hi
sent a number of pamphlets, which might tend to fu
purpose; and, deriving fresh hopes from the Confe
Cassel—of which we shall presently have occasion to
he went, in 1662, into Switzerland, and having kept al

ever interest might still be existing there, journeyed back again into Belgium. Before this time, he had obtained the co-operation of the then celebrated divine Dannhauer, of Strasborg, who, however, now felt it his duty to protest against the sacrifice of truth to peace. On this, in a published pamphlet, Dury cited his opponent to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; and the almost immediate death of Dannhauer no doubt served to confirm him in his pre-conceived opinions. His chief stay, at this time, was a harmony of Protestant Confessions, published in the 'Syntagma Confessionum,' Geneva, 1654; which he dispersed into every corner of Western Europe. Finding it difficult to return to England, and yet perceiving it to be requisite that, at his advanced age, he should have some definite home, he accepted the invitation of Hedwig Sophia, Landgravine of Hesse, and about the year 1664 settled at Cassel, making his excursions from, and with a view of returning to, that place. Again we find him in Switzerland, whence he visited the Palatinate, and extended his tour to Berlin, where he was in 1667. During the next three years, his wanderings were more widely extended than ever they had been before; were we to trace him from state to state, and from principality to principality, a volume, instead of an article, would be requisite. But, in 1670, he made the discovery that his attempts, so far as the Lutherans were concerned, had been conducted on a wrong principle; that he should not have sought for the acquiescence of the whole body in his scheme, but should have endeavoured to interest, one by one, the separate Lutheran communities in its success. He therefore thought it necessary, so far as they were concerned, to begin all over again; and, in 1671, printed, at Cassel, his 'Axiomata Communia quæ procurandæ et conservandæ Paci inter Evangelicos judicata sunt necessaria.' This he sent into Sweden, and, in 1672, to Spener at Frankfort. In the latter year he published a 'Brevis Disquisitio de veris Fundamentalibus.' He here reduced all that a Christian need to believe to the bare articles of the Apostles' Creed; he summed up his obedience in the Decalogue, and his hope in the Lord's Prayer. He added that the Œcumenical Creeds ought to be embraced so far as they were clear; and that Louis Bayly's 'Practice of Piety,' and Arndt's 'Treatise on True Christianity,' ought to be embraced by all. After such a declaration, no Lutheran would answer him in any private communication; but Meisner replied to him publicly. His last extant letter is addressed to Count de la Gardie, Chancellor of Sweden, and is dated May 6, 1672; but he lived and wrote long after this. In 1674, he published—and the work shows no evidence of decayed faculties—a treatise in French, 'Touchant l'Intelligence de l'Apoca-

lypse, par l'Apocalypse même;' and here he first ga
that he had adopted the system of George Calixtu
willing to embrace Roman Catholics as well as Prot
Reformed, in his pacification. In 1676, he printed 'I
Chrétien;' and in the following year, a pamphlet i
language, on Christian Union. In 1678, the Qu
visited him at Cassel; after which we have no
accounts of his proceedings. It is said, however, t
vived the year 1690; but of the exact date or circu
his death no record exists. Whatever might have be
takes, however impossible in its very nature was the u
he proposed to effect, however entirely, in his desires
tion, he offended against the unity of the true faith,
sible but to believe that a life of such unwearied labo
constant self-denial, of such indefatigable devotion
that so holy an object, must at last have merited the bl
mised to the peacemakers. God grant that it may ha

Any one who has been travelling northward throu
vince of Sleswig, will not easily forget the beauty o
when after traversing the huge central common, and
covered hills of that country, he first catches sight of
borg Fjord, of the four spires of the busy bustling
beyond it, of the deep forests in which it is embosom
intense blue of the creek on which its fishing craft ar
anchor. If, when you reach the place, instead of
the right down the high street, you keep to the left, e
miles will bring you to the little village of Medelbye, o
with its rough First-pointed church, and interior w
Here it was that in the year 1586 was born Georg
better known by his Latinized name of Calixtus.
John, the son of a tradesman at Aabenvae had been
Melanchthon's at Wittemberg, and of Chytræus; the
master, and finally settled as pastor at Medelbye, an
he held for fifty years. The ingenuity of the adv
Calixtus discovered ill omens in his very name. T
insisted that it should properly be written CALvinomi
another divine found out a manifest identity betwee
of the great Syncretist and the number of the Be
Apocalypse.[1]

His mother was the second wife of the Sleswig
some very pretty letters which she wrote in her n
Deutsch patois to her son when he was at school, are s

[1] He made it out thus: take D, signifying the title of Doctor,
Calixtus, write them together, and count six of the letters,—and there
is 666: D C a L I X t V s.

one in which, speaking of his absence, she prays 'that the dear God, who is Almighty, would bring him back again to her and his father;' another in which she sends him a pair of summer gloves, and promises to make the next better.[1] The pastor himself was, as his friends used to call him, a Latin man: he wrote in Latin, he talked in Latin, he thought in Latin; he used to write Latin epigrams to his wife and his children; their baptism and their birthdays were celebrated in Latin acrostics and chronostics. As we have said, he changed Kallisön into Calixtus, and Medelbye with him was always Medeloboa. At that time, the Concordien Formel, as we have before said, was not received in Sleswig: the pastors were under the charge of a Superintendent, and were sworn to the following six articles; 1, to believe and maintain Holy Scripture; and 2, the Three Creeds; and 3, the Confession of Augsburg, the Articles of Smalcald, and the greater and lesser Catechisms of the Holy Father and Doctor Martin Luther; 4, to embrace the Lutheran doctrine concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; 5, to oppose all teaching contrary to 2 and 3, but chiefly—6, all Anabaptists, Sacramentaries, Zuinglians, Carlostatians, Calvinists, and Bezaites. This, therefore, must have been the religious instruction of young Calixtus, both in the parsonage of Medelbye, and when, at the age of twelve, he was sent to school at Flensborg.

Helmstädt was the university selected for the young Danish student. It had been founded by Julius of Brunswick, in 1576, and was from him known officially as the Academia Julia. At that time it was the scene of a vigorous conflict between the old Lutheran party and the Humanists and Philippists, and it was to the latter faction that Calixtus joined himself. He spent six years in studies, the character and severity of which were amply shown afterwards, by his vast attainments. A journey in 1609 to Jena, Giessen, Mainz, and Tübingen, made him known to the principal Lutheran and Reformed divines; and a second tour, which occupied from 1611 to 1613, took him to Cologne, to Leyden, and to England. Here he contracted an intimacy with Isaac Casaubon, a man the most likely of all to influence a mind already disposed to ideas of a general pacification. His very

[1] 'Noch deutlicher aber sieht man aus dem Briefe das treue Mutterherz, welches keine grössere "Freude hat als von des Sohnes Gesundheit und seinem Wohlstande zu erfahren;" sie bittet das "der liebe Gott, der allmächtig ist, ihr und seinem Vater allezeit gute Zeitung von ihm verleihen möge; bis er aus dem fremden ri Lande weder zurckwandern werde; sie und sein Vater sind noch ziemlich zufüeden nach alter Leute Weise;" sie dankt für Geschenke, und schickt ihm wieder, ein Paar Sommerhandschuh; ein andermals will sie es besser machen, jetzt soll er vorlieb nehmen, und wenn er noch etwas brauche was sie ihm verschaffen könne, soll er es schreiben; sie empfiehlt ihn dem lieben Gott, dass er ihn gesund spare nach seinem göttlichen Willen.'—*Henke*, p. 82.

interesting Latin journal, lately published at Oxford, amply proves his desire for unity, not always according to knowledge, on the principles of the primitive Church. Thus, for example, he writes under the date of January 1st, 1611:—

'O great Ruler of the world, Thou hast given me a desire of directing my life according to Thy precepts; but when I inquire after Thy will, I am sometimes perplexed by the so widely differing tenets of men. It appears to me hard to account Thy ancient Church to have fallen into such perilous ignorance, that they who seek to be saved must now embrace an opposite belief. I see some defending, under the pretext of antiquity, the grossest errors; and others, while they avoid modern mistakes, who make everything new; together with abuses they condemn the use of many most holy institutions, and abrogate them by their own authority. I see that the authors of a necessary reformation agree among themselves so little, that one of them is held a wolf by the other. Christ Jesus, the very name of Thy primitive Church has the greatest weight with me; and I am persuaded that things approved by that, and in no wise contrary to Thy Holy Scripture, should not rashly be rejected or altered.'

On October 20th, 1611, he writes:—

'This day, I and my wife, with a part of our family, communicated in the Lord's Supper with the French Church. (He of course means the French Protestant congregation.) Thou knowest, Christ Jesus, what are my hesitations in this most sacred matter, and how much more I approve of the Anglican form. But I am led by a pious wish not entirely to abstain from communion with that Church. I see that I should thus be a stumbling-block to weaker brethren, from which may God preserve me. I seem to be able to say this with confidence; either the whole ancient Church thought wrongly of that benefit and mystery, or else those of our days grievously offend with respect to it. I beseech Thy Majesty, Eternal God, to heal the diseases of Thy Church, and to deliver those from scruples who seek to serve Thee with a pure mind.'

Again, October 31st, 1610:—

'I was invited to-day to be present at the service for the consecration of two Scottish bishops and one archbishop. I observed the rites, and the imposition of hands, and the prayers. O God, how great was my pleasure! Do Thou, Lord Jesus, preserve this Church, and give a better mind to our Puritans, who deride such things.'

Yet, on the 19th of June in the next year, he says:—

'I was present to-day at the consecration of two bishops,'—that is, Giles Thompson of Gloucester and John Buckeridge of Rochester,—'and observed the very beautiful ceremonies, though the pomp was, perhaps, excessive.'

It is no wonder that a man who could thus see faults on all sides, and was worn out with the unceasing theological disputes of his time, should at length write, Nov. 21st, 1611:—

'Lord Jesus, I am weary of living; my useless life is tedious. My former studies have been lost; those which I am now carrying on make me ashamed as a novice. On all sides is distress.'

After spending some time in London, Calixtus visited both Oxford and Cambridge; in the university libraries he spent a great part of his days. To the English court he had the easier

access, from the circumstance that Anne, queen of James I., was sister to Elizabeth, Duchess of Brunswick. It is related by one of his biographers, that our traveller used to affirm, in after years, 'My studies in ecclesiastical history owe more to English bishops and to English libraries, than to anything I ever learnt in Germany.' Returning by way of Paris, where he became acquainted with the celebrated De Thou, he was deterred from visiting Italy, by the fear that one or two writings which he had already published against Roman Catholics might endanger his safety in that country. He therefore returned to Helmstädt, intending to devote himself to an academical life.

The first occurrence which gave him an European reputation happened shortly after his return. A young nobleman of Hildesheim, Ludolf von Klencke by name, was about to join the Roman Church. His mother, much distressed by this change of religion, persuaded her son that it was his duty to examine for himself what could be said by a Lutheran divine in disputation with his Roman advisers. He consented; Calixtus was named as the champion on one side, the Jesuit Augustinus Turrianus on the other. The dispute was held in the castle of Hämelschenburg, on the Weser; and Calixtus laid down these three theses as grounds of discussion:—1. Whatever the Roman pontiff determines is infallibly true; this is the foundation and first principle of the Popish religion, and it is false. 2. Whatever Holy Scripture teaches is infallibly true; this is the first principle and foundation of the orthodox and catholic religion, and it is true. 3. In those things which are clearly laid down in Scripture, all matters necessary to salvation are contained. The acts of this dispute were never published in the lifetime of Calixtus, who had given his word that they should not appear; they were printed at Helmstädt, after his death. Certainly, in their present form, they give the Lutheran Doctor the undoubted advantage; but it may not be altogether unfair to remember the fable of the man and the lion. Else there is no doubt that the Jesuits put forward a very incompetent advocate. Take this as an example:—

'*Turrianus.* As if contraries could not be true at one and the same time.

'*Calixtus.* Sir, for God's sake, learn logic. Assertions absolutely contrary to each other may both be false at one and the same time, but never can, at one and the same time, both be true.

'*Turrianus.* You choose to pronounce this on your own authority.

'*Calixtus.* It is not I who say it, but right reason and all logicians without one exception; there is not a scholar who is ignorant of it.'

And the finale was as follows:—

'*Turrianus.* I see that you are exceedingly vehement, to such a point as to neglect yourself and your own health; you would do wisely if you would

get over that vehemence, and strain your voice less; I wished to try what you would say, if I brought forward what I did.

'*Calixtus.* You know that we have not met about a jocular, but about a very serious matter. Nor is there any reason why you should try me as you would a pupil, whether I understand logic or not. I shall not learn it from you, seeing that I have myself taught it for several years. And to say truth, I have not discovered any great acquaintance with that art in yourself. But, with respect to your having in a matter of such great moment so boldly and constantly denied that which you know to be true, nay, which very boys know to be true,—I say that you have sinned against your conscience, and have offended God by a grievous sin, which He will follow by a grievous punishment, unless you repent from your heart.'

It seems, however, that whether our disputant maintained the field by force of logic or not, he finally routed his opponent by a stratagem, more ingenious than straightforward. In the course of the dispute he insisted on referring to the Hebrew text, and grounding his arguments on that alone. The Jesuit at once confessed himself to be but imperfectly acquainted with that language; and as the Lutheran insisted on his proposition, the colloquy was manifestly at an end. However, though the main point was lost—for the young nobleman joined the Church of Rome—Calixtus's reputation was made. He was rewarded by the Duke with a professorship in the university, and in 1615 he was received into the theological faculty, inaugurating his career with a thesis,—*that kingdoms and states cannot safely coexist with the religion of Papists or Jesuits.*

From the period of his obtaining the dignity of Professor, the reputation of Calixtus extended itself more and more widely throughout Germany. He married, in 1619, Catherine Gertner, the only event which, for some years, diversified his theological studies. Year after year, and one might almost say, month after month, he continued to pour forth a series of works, which it is wonderful that any one man could have found the time even to copy out. Thus, besides published letters, congratulatory poems and the like, and in addition to a number of treatises edited by him, he published one hundred and seven works in Latin and nine in German, besides leaving twenty-seven more ready for the press. It was his hard fate to be at once the most zealous labourer for the universal peace of Christendom and the author who, in a most polemical age, was under the necessity of composing the largest number of polemical treatises. A common object of attack both to the Reformed and to Catholics, he was, perhaps, more bitterly hated by Lutherans than by either. Add to which, that he witnessed the greater part of the miseries of the thirty years' war; and that when, in 1625, the university was dispersed by that and by the pestilence, he alone of all the professors remained at his post; and it will be manifest that the end

and aim of all his wishes, peace, was never removed further from any man than from him.

It was early in his career that the outcry of Syncretism was raised against him by his Lutheran colleagues. A new faith, an unheard-of schism, a betrayal of truth, a contempt of the Lutheran communion, Philippism, Synergism, Crypto-Papism, Crypto-Calvinism, Mahometanism, Babelism, Samaritanism, Anti-Christianism, Libertinism, Neutralism, Indifferentism, Quodlibetic faith, and Atheism; — all these charges were brought against him, in innumerable specimens of those little, fat, square quartos, in which the presses of Frankfort, Jena, and Leipsic then abounded. Theses, syntagmata, apologies, programmes, articles, memorials, were all hurled against him; partly by Calvinists, but principally by the rigid Lutherans, of whom Statius Buscher and John Hülsemann may stand as types.

Nothing could be more wearisome than to trace the course of all these controversies. Even the German patience of Dr. Hencke shrinks from the task; and yet even in the first, and as yet only published volume of his biography, the enumeration is long enough to try the patience of most readers to its extreme limit. The two great principles on which the whole theology of our doctor was founded were these: 1st, That the essential principles of Christianity were preserved inviolate in the three denominations of Christians, and were all contained in the Apostles' Creed. 2d, That the tenets which had been received by the whole Catholic Church during the first five centuries were to be considered as of equal weight with the express declarations of Holy Scripture. Whole books were filled with compositions extracted from the writings of Calixtus, and which were held up as heretical; the indefatigable Moller has collected fifty-one of these. Some of them are exceedingly curious, and make the Syncretism of our author approach that which is so widely spreading among us now; as for instance, that the Roman Pontiff held the primacy of dignity with respect to the whole Church, and a certain primacy of power, though only *jure ecclesiastico*, in the Western Church; that the invocation of saints was to a certain extent both lawful and expedient; that prayers for the dead were by no means to be forbidden; that between the day of death and that of judgment there is a middle state, the nature of which he did not pretend to define; that the number of Sacraments was neither defined by Scripture nor by universal tradition; that baptized infants were justified by the faith of the Church; that a certain degree of merit might be attributed to good works. So much for his endeavours to approach the Catholics; he was not less desirous

of endeavouring to propitiate the Reformed. Thus he asserts that the Holy Eucharist may in a certain sense be named a mere commemoration of Christ's death; that S. Augustine's doctrine and that of Calvin were identical on the question of predestination; that God might be called improperly and *per accidens* the occasion of sin; (and, indeed, in the first edition of his 'Epitome Theologiæ,' he had worded the assertion still more offensively, writing *was* where he afterwards substituted *might be called*.) For these deflections both on one side and on the other from the Lutheran doctrine, the rigid Protestants fell upon him like a swarm of wasps. Abraham Calovius distinguished himself above the rest; Hülsemann, Dannhauer, and the Saxon divines were scarcely behind him. And it must never be forgotten that Lutheranism is the most intolerant of all religions that ever were invented: we have seen almost in our own times a Swedish preacher condemned to death and imprisoned for life, for having affirmed in the pulpit that good works might in a certain sense be called the cause of salvation. Nor, as was natural, did our doctor find a whit more favour in the eyes of Roman Catholics on account of his concessions. They perhaps were the more indignant because he openly espoused the cause, and borrowed some of the arguments, of Marc Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, whose varied career was sketched in a late number of the *Christian Remembrancer*. However that may be, Leo Allatius and Abraham Ecchelensis attacked him whenever they found an opportunity; his old pupil, Nihusius, whose reconciliation with Rome made a considerable stir, was one of his most venomous assailants. The Calvinists alone seem to have refrained from persecuting him, though he was certainly on fundamental points more widely at variance with them than with either of the other communions.

His 'Epitome Theologiæ,' in 1619, was received with general applause: war and plague prevented him for some years after from bringing out any great work. In 1628 he took in hand a 'Summa Theologiæ;' in 1629 he gave to the public a history of those heresies which concern the Incarnation (in which, by the way, he was himself accused of renewing the heresy of Elipandus). In 1631 he published a treatise on the marriage of clergy, in which, forgetting his usual moderation, he made no scruple about speaking of the 'Hildebrandine heresy;' and in 1634 he printed his 'Moral Theology.'

By this time the divines of Helmstädt were largely imbued with his own pacific spirit; and in consequence the mission of John Dury was warmly welcomed by himself and his colleagues. Passing over the labours of the next years, we come to

one of the most remarkable events in which Calixtus took a part, the Charitative Colloquy of Thorn.

It was about the same time at which Dury settled himself in England that another attempt at union had its origin in an entirely different quarter. There was one Bartholomew Nigranus, who had been pastor of the Reformed communion at Dantzic, and had afterwards joined the Roman Church; he thought that it might be possible, by means of a general conference, to bring the three religious bodies, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, into communion with each other. It would seem that his scheme did not extend to the Socinians, who, as is well known, abounded in Prussia and in Poland. It appears that Nigranus had formed his plan as early as 1636; but he had no means of interesting the King of Poland, then Ladislas IV., in his design till six years later. This monarch, himself a zealous Roman Catholic, nevertheless entertained the greatest hopes from the proposed conference. It could not meet as a council, nor a synod of any kind; it was a new thing, and therefore must have a new name; and the title chosen was that of a Charitative Colloquy.

In 1643 it happened that a provincial Synod of the Polish bishops met at Warsaw, under the presidency of Matthew Lubienski, Archbishop of Gnesen. The Primate embraced the opportunity of setting forth the practicability of the scheme originated by Nigranus; and a synodal letter was drawn up 'to those who dissent in points of faith from the Roman 'Catholic Church in the kingdom of Poland and the duchy of 'Lithuania, by which they are invited to a friendly congress 'and fraternal *reconciliation* at Thorn, in Prussia, on the 10th 'of October, 1644.' George Tyskievicz, Bishop of Samogitz, was to be president; and the base on which the colloquy was to be conducted, was to be Holy Scripture and the authority of the Primitive Church.

The Calvinists entertained no very great hopes of a real reconciliation. The Duke of Courland, however, and the Elector of Brandenburg, as vassals of the King of Poland, (the latter in respect of his duchy of Prussia,) assembled their divines at Orle; the result was a determination to be present at the conference if the king would defer its meeting till the next year. Ladislas, overjoyed that his Reformed subjects had so far consented to gratify him, altered the day to August 28th, 1645. In the meantime the Lutherans, the least important body of the three, had held their own assembly at Lesne, and were unanimous in determining to accept the invitation. At the appointed time the little town of Thorn was full to overflowing. The king appointed three presidents, George Tyskievicz as repre-

senting the Roman Catholics, Zbigneus de Goray
Lord of Chelm, for the Reformed, and Sigismund Guil
Lord of Stume, for the Lutherans. Ladislas was hims
sented by George de Tenczin, Chancellor of the kingd
the Roman side there were five-and-twenty theologi
from each bishopric; their chief was George Schönh
Reformed sent fifteen, of whom John Berg was nomi
but to the surprise of every one, the chief managemen
affairs was left to the Lutheran George Calixtus, inco
the ablest man in the assembly. The Lutherans als
teen divines, of whom John Hülsemann was the most c
Other theologians afterwards joined the conference.

Before the proceedings commenced, a violent quar
out between the Lutherans and the Reformed, the f
sisting that Calixtus ought not to be present among
Calixtus himself protested that he only agreed with
vinist associates in their opposition to Rome, and tha
purpose in joining them was his earnest desire to
Christian unity. Matters being thus accommodated, e
prepared for the first session.

At eight o'clock on the morning of August 28th, th
theologians attended a Mass of the Holy Ghost, c
pontifically by George Tyskievicz in the church of
Baptist. This finished, they repaired to the Town-ha
they were the first to arrive. The Chancellor took hi
the middle of the upper end; on his right hand sat T
and by him in order the Catholic divines. The Refo
met at the Gymnasium, whence, as soon as they h
their opponents had already taken their places, they r
the scene of action under Goray Gorayski, and occ
left hand of the President. The Lutherans were un
in being compelled to forego the assistance of Guilden
up by a violent attack of gout. They came last, and
themselves with the lowest place. George Calixtus,
with the divines of Elbing—one here sees the effects
Dury's labours in that place—and those of Thorn,
separate position.

The Chancellor commenced by a speech, in whi
forth the piety of Ladislas, the advantages of Christi
the happy results which might be expected if the pre
ceedings could be continued as they had been beg
brotherly spirit, and the necessity of instituting so
rules respecting the order and method of the confere
next exhibited the letters patent, in virtue of which he
the office of President, and then read the royal in
which laid down the method to be pursued throug

proceedings. The regulations imposed by Ladislas evinced his prudence. The whole colloquy was to consist of three actions, to be treated in an indefinite number of sessions. In the first, th true sentiments of each party were to be handed in in writin expressed as briefly and tersely as possible; no proofs to adduced, except testimonies that these were the genuine ten of the communion which brought them forward. Thus, at o glance, the agreement and variation of the three bodies wo be most clearly seen. In the second action, the different nions were to be discussed, while the controversy was condu in the most friendly and brotherly manner that could be devi And the third action was to be occupied by an endeavou decide what each of these communions would be willing to render for the sake of peace. Each party was to appoint deputies, who in the private sessions were alone to speak, in the public meetings to lead and to moderate among their followers. Each confession was to appoint two notaries nothing was to be published under the title of Proceedin cept that which should have been approved by the pre and the deputies. Matters having proceeded thus f Lutherans and the Calvinists, each yielding to the Catholics the first post of honour, disputed between the the second; after a long discussion it was conceded latter.

The first session was held on the following day. Th lics handed in a paper of conditions, the principal artic which was that, when they should once have defined t doctrine, it should not be allowable to their adve impute anything to them which they had thus implici The conditions exhibited by the Calvinists were longer; they insisted that Holy Scripture should be the originals; that its plain and natural signification received as the only rule of faith; that, nevertheless mony of the first three centuries might be addu infallible, but, considering the respect in which it held, for as much as it was worth. The Luthera yet prepared with their terms, and it was therefore that the proceedings should begin. The place of the Town-hall of Thorn; and there, on that day, the only time since the Reformation, the thr parties united in a religious act. Bishop Tysk the 'Veni Creator Spiritus;' the theologians of t fessions took it up; and, on the conclusion of th took their oaths of compliance with the king's edi lics to the bishop; the Protestants and the R king's legate. Thus ended the first day's busin

On the 1st of September the Calvinists requested to give in a reply to the strictures which had in the meantime been sent to them by the Catholic divines. They affirmed that while Scripture was their only rule of faith, they nevertheless acquiesced in the Creeds of the Apostles, of Nicæa, of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and, so far as they were concerned with the heresies of their day, they received the professions of faith authorized by the fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils. With respect to the controversies that had arisen of late years, they consented to the Confession of Augsburg, and to the formula of Sendomir; if any more particular declaration were needed, they were ready to furnish it. In the fifth session, September 4th, a difficulty arose with respect to the title Catholics. The Roman theologians insisted that it should be applied absolutely, and without any adjunct, to them; their opponents protested that they should content themselves with the name of Roman Catholics. It was finally agreed that the notaries of each party should be at liberty to use the appellation which they preferred.

On the following day, a more serious obstacle presented itself. It had been agreed that each session should commence with prayer. The Reformed were willing to concede to the Catholics that these prayers should be offered by the Bishop of Samogitz. The Lutherans, however, stood out obstinately; each of the three parties, they said, ought to have equal privileges, and the divines of each should therefore take their turn in the preliminary prayers. In the eighth session, the question was settled by permission being given to the Lutherans to hold their assemblies apart, while the two other communions were praying in common. All these proceedings bear a very curious resemblance to the controversy that arose some twenty years ago, with respect to the desirableness of opening the meetings of the Bible Society with prayer.

This matter being settled, the Lutherans bound themselves to stand by the articles of the unvaried Confession of Augsburg; in which, as they affirmed, all the fundamental articles of faith, set forth in Scripture, were contained. Hülsemann, whose delight seems to have consisted in seizing every possible occasion for introducing matters of discord, made a furious attack on the Reformed for professing their assent to this Confession. In the next session, the Catholics exhibited, as their faith, the belief of the Catholic Church, expressed in Councils, whether general or particular, in so far as they were legitimately approved; and more especially that of Trent. The Lutherans replied that the faith defined by the really general Councils, and by two Synods which they especially valued, namely, those of Milevi and the

second of Orange, were the same that were contained in the Confession of Augsburg and the Articles of Smalcald. Therefore, in the eleventh session, the Catholics expressed more minutely their faith on the points controverted between them and their opponents. This document was admirably drawn out, and is worth abstracting. It commences by disclaiming certain opinions falsely attributed to the Catholic Church by her enemies. It then asserts, that the rule of faith is the whole Word of God, whether written or unwritten. That the fall of Adam had not only brought punishment and death on his posterity, but also, and that truly and properly, sin; which sin had, however, not destroyed free will, though it would have deprived it of all strength for good works, unless God the Father had sent the Son as the full and only propitiation of mankind. That Christ died for the sins of the whole world, although they only were justified to whom His merit was communicated. That we are justified freely, and not by our own works; and although adults were bound to dispose themselves for the reception of justification, yet that disposition does not merit it. That by justification we are, and are not merely accounted, righteous. That, therefore, all are bound to the observance of the laws of God as not being impossible; that the labours of the righteous will receive an infinite reward; and that, if a man endeavours to serve God with the view of obtaining their reward, he sins neither mortally nor venially. That no man could be absolutely assured of his own faith or salvation. That a baptized man, after falling into sin, must be reconciled to God by the Sacrament of Penance, and by the merits of Christ. With respect to the Sacraments, that while the general analogy of the whole of Scripture is allowed, those of the Evangelical differ from those of the Mosaic law. That Baptism is universally necessary to salvation; preceded, in the case of adults, by their own faith; in the case of infants, by that of the Church. That in the Lord's Supper, Christ is really and truly present and eaten, even by the unworthy partaker; that the manner in which He is present has been well defined by the word Transubstantiation; that, therefore, the essence of the sacrament did not consist in its mere use; that the reception in both kinds was not an absolute command of Christ. The rest of the declaration consists of an enumeration of the other five sacraments; an assertion of the honour due to saints; and a defence of the general rites and ceremonies of the Church. The Reformed next exhibited their own declaration; but on perusal, it was found to be so verbose, so full of superfluous dogmas, and so injuriously expressed as regarded the other two confessions, that it was returned by the presidents, with

the request that it might be again presented in an amended form.

In the fourteenth session, the Acts of the whole Colloquy were to be read over. But Hülsemann, ever ingenious in discovering difficulties, insisted either that the title of Very Reverend Lords should not be attributed to the Catholic prelates, or that a similar appellation should be bestowed on the Lutheran divines. The Reformed then brought in their amended declaration of doctrine. When it had been read, Tyskievicz protested against its insertion in the Acts, as offensive and unnecessary. The Royal Legate took the same view. It was contrary, he said, to the king's intention, that such expressions as the Calvinists had employed should be permitted: they were at perfect liberty to say,—*This I believe,—This I do not believe,*—but not to add, *This I condemn and abominate.* The Lord of Chelm, with that desire of meeting others half-way which distinguished the Reformed throughout the whole Colloquy, protested that there had been no intention of giving offence, and that, if fairly taken, the expressions complained of were not objectionable; nevertheless, for the sake of peace, everything should be withdrawn which afforded the Catholics ground of complaint. Tyskievicz replied, that the offensive portions were these:—the phrases *abominate, detest,* and *condemn,* applied by the Reformed to the Roman doctrine; the imputation to the Catholics of dogmas which they not only did not hold, but had formerly anathematized; the assertion that their saints and relics were spurious; that they spoke of the Roman Church as false, tyrannical, and antichristian. Besides this, their explanation of their own doctrine, especially on the question of the Holy Eucharist, was so obscure as to be unintelligible; and, in contravention of the royal edict, they had adjoined proofs to their assertions. The confession of faith was therefore, for the second time, returned to be amended.

In the fifteenth session, which was held three days later, a warm dispute broke out between the Catholics and the Lutherans. The latter insisted that their opponents should specify at once, and definitely, what Councils they held to be legitimate, and legitimately approved. The Roman divines, on the contrary, urged the Lutherans to define the exact authority which they were willing to attribute to the decisions of Councils, and to state whether they would insist on any points of their then received Creed, which were not expressly laid down in the Confession of Augsburg.

At the end of the seventeenth session, the Chancellor was recalled to Warsaw on important business; and his absence at once showed the skill and moderation with which he had con-

ducted the proceedings. It is the united testimony of the writers of all three parties, that up to this period the colloquy had proceeded successfully, though its progress was slow. The new legate, John Leczynsky, Lord of Gnesen, opened the next session by expressing his belief that greater progress would be made were the royal injunctions more carefully followed. On this the Jesuit, George Schönhoff, made a long harangue, in which he set forth how, in his opinion, the instructions ought to have been obeyed; and the almost necessary consequence was, that the session was concluded by a violent quarrel between him, the Lord of Chelm, and Hülsemann. At the next meeting, the theologian John Berg began to reply to the speech of Schönhoff. He had scarcely commenced when he was interrupted by the President of the Lutherans, Bojanoffsky, who demanded how the letters of the Elector of Brandenburg were to be understood, affirming, as they did, that his theologians, Berg, Calixtus, and Reichel, were attached to the Augustine Confession, when Berg himself was acting with, and speaking for, the Reformed. The theologian replied, that the Elector would never allow himself to be excluded from the Confession of Augsburg, while, nevertheless, he adhered with all his heart to the Reformed communion. The Legate ruled that this controversy should proceed no further, on which Bojanoffsky protested against all future proceedings. Berg, continuing his harangue, happened to give his colleagues the title of Reverend Lords and Brethren. This brought up Tyskievicz, who said that such an appellation was an insult to the Roman prelates. 'Only let me speak,' replied Berg, 'and I will give no one any titles at all.' He was proceeding with his refutation of Schönhoff, when the Legate interrupted him and said, that, after all, this was not the way to arrive at any conclusion; and the session ended by a speech from Hülsemann, in which he threw all the blame of the delays on the Roman Catholics. This is a fair specimen of the manner in which the succeeding sessions were conducted. Each of the three parties wished to be heard in reply to their opponents; while none of the three would allow their own confessions to be commented on and refuted.

To improve the confusion, a dispute broke out in the twenty-fifth session, among the Lutherans themselves; the theologians from Königsberg separating themselves from their brethren. It must be confessed that throughout the whole colloquy the Reformed were the least, and the Lutherans the most guilty of offences against charity. At length it became absolutely certain, towards the beginning of November, that nothing effectual would be performed, and the thirty-sixth and last colloquy was held on the 21st of that month. The final harangue was

delivered by Tyskievicz, and it is remarkable that, in dismissing the theologians of the three confessions, he should have concluded with the words, '*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*'[1]

Calixtus had stirred up a host of enemies against himself by appearing amongst the Reformed doctors at Thorn. The spirit with which the two parties regarded each other may be learnt from the expressions employed by Hülsemann, and accepted by all the rigid Lutherans, as to the conduct of our pacificator. He quotes, for example, that passage from the Corinthians, '*The things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.*' He shows, from the Roman law, that any one who of his own accord entered the precincts of the enemy's camp, was himself reputed as an enemy; he quotes the thirty-third Canon of Nicæa, which forbids Catholics to worship with heretics, or schismatics; he reminds Calixtus that, according to S. Ignatius, heretics were to be regarded as wild beasts in human shape, from whom every Christian is bound to fly; and applies to the Calvinists the expressions of S. Leo; avoid 'the viperine Colloquies of heretics; let us have nothing in common with men who, opposing the Catholic faith, have nothing but the name of Christians.'

It was not to be expected that our doctor would sit still under these reproaches. The more bitterly he was attacked by such writers as Scharf, Calovius, Hülsemann, and Wella, the more boldly did he and his colleague, Conrad Harneius, express their own sentiments, and the more support did both find in the University of Helmstädt. Calixtus survived the Colloquy eleven years; and if the preceding part of his life had been one prolonged polemical dispute, its concluding portion was so overwhelmed by statements, replies, confutations, rejoinders, replications, and the like, that the mere catalogue of the more remarkable among these productions occupies thirty or forty pages of the great folio of Jäger.

The same year which had witnessed the Colloquy of Thorn,

[1] The best account of the Charitative Colloquy of Thorn is to be found in the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of John Wolfgang Jaeger, vol. i. pp. 689—703. There is a briefer history given by Sagittarius, 'Introductio in Historiam Ecclesiasticam,' vol. ii. p. 1592. The Roman Catholics published their account of it at Warsaw, in 1646; the Reformed, at Berlin in the same year; the Lutherans, Hülsemann being editor, at Leipsic, in 1646. A reply was made to the latter by Constantine Prawdeck, of the Reformed party, with the title '*Entdeckung der Unwahrheiten D. Hülsemanni von dem Colloquio Charitativo.*' Hartknoch, in his History of the Prussian Church, enters at great length into the proceedings; but Abraham Calovius, in his History of Syncretism, devotes no less than 360 pages to the Acts of the Colloquy. Certainly theologians must have been great readers in those days.

witnessed the departure of one who had also laboured long and ardently for the union of Christians. This was Hugo Grotius; who, in every work that he published during the latter years of his life, was drawing more and more closely to a true idea of Catholic union. 'Those,' wrote he, 'who desire 'that the schism should be perpetual, who tremble when they 'hear of the unity and concord of the Church, these men have 'an interest in maintaining that the Pope is Antichrist, and 'that he will be so till the coming of the Lord. Were there 'no schism, many would have no means of living; and as, unless 'it were in hope of an income, they themselves would never 'dream of studying theology, they gauge all others by their 'own measure.' . . . . 'If,' he says in another place, 'in what I 'wrote in my youth, when I had less learning than now, I passed 'the bounds of truth, whether through the prejudices of my 'education or from receiving without inquiry what celebrated 'men had advanced without proof; is that any reason why now, 'after long years of research, and after having renounced all 'party spirit, I may not follow my truer convictions?' And still more remarkably in one of his latest works—'The Roman 'Church is not only Catholic, but furthermore is the President 'of the Catholic Church. . . . . All that the Western Church, 'united to Rome, receives in common, I find to have been 'unanimously taught by the Greek and Latin Fathers, whose 'communion few will deny that we ought to embrace. It 'follows, therefore, that the principal means for re-establishing 'unity in the Church is to suffer no innovation in the doctrine, 'discipline, and manners which she has already received.'

Calixtus never went so far as this: but his later writings also evince warmer sympathy with the Roman Church than he had before expressed. Those who read and admired his works took the step on which he never ventured. Thus, John Frederick, Prince of Brunswick, in 1651 joined the Roman communion; but even all the liberality of the University of Helmstädt could not (and the question was submitted to its decision) allow him a private chapel in the family palace at Celle. So also the Landgrave Ernest of Hesse Rheinfels (grandson of that Landgrave to whom Luther allowed two wives at a time, and about whom he wrote to Melanchthon, to 'sin on with a good courage,' a sentence which has so deeply excited the admiration of Archdeacon Hare) became a Catholic in 1651; as the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt had done in 1636. In 1654 Europe was astonished to see the Queen of Sweden, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, after vainly endeavouring to procure a dispensation enabling her to receive the Lutheran Eucharist

once a year as a civil rite, resign her crown and embrace the Communion of Rome at Innsprück.

These conversions, it must be confessed, deeply offended the Syncretists; and Calixtus himself, to the conclusion of his life, never ceased to speak of those who had gone over to Rome as Apostates. He continued to labour with unceasing industry to the very end of a life which had scarcely known a day's illness; though after the death of his wife in 1654 his strength and spirits began to fail. At the end of January 1656, he received the Communion for the last time, and on his return home betook himself to the bed from which he knew that he should not rise again. He affords an instance of the ruling passion strong in death; he gave orders for the construction of a kind of desk, on which he should not only be able to write in a reclining posture, but should have his books about him as he had been accustomed. The evening before his death, while his colleagues were paying him a visit, after quoting the verse,—'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,'—he added, that he forgave from his heart all his opponents and calumniators, besought God to forgive them, and asked pardon for himself, if in any of his writings he had violated the law of Christian charity. Some one among the theologians speaking of the Passion of Christ,—'I,' said he, 'de-'sire to die under Christ the Head, and in the faith of the true 'Catholic Church, and in the love of all who sincerely love God. 'I condemn no one who is mistaken on non-necessary questions, 'and I trust to receive pardon from God if in any such, as may 'have been the case, I have myself erred. I acknowledge no 'other Author and Head of my salvation but God, the Father, 'the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in whose name I was baptized.' The next morning, which was the 19th March, 1656, the principal professors and doctors of the University were standing round the bed of the dying theologian, and, imagining that he was dozing, began to speak of the zeal of the Elector Palatine to promote a reconciliation between the Reformed and the Lutherans. Calixtus roused himself, and said in German—for he usually spoke to them in Latin—'I am very weary and tired 'of my life, and desire to depart and to be with Christ my 'Saviour and my Redeemer. Nevertheless, if I could con-'tribute anything to the carrying out his Electoral Highness's 'intention, I should still wish to live.' Professor Cellarius observed, not very opportunely, 'that the Calvinists claimed 'Calixtus as one of themselves.' 'If they do,' he replied, 'they 'will have to answer for it at the terrible judgment seat of God, 'in that last great day of the world when the secrets of all

'hearts shall be manifested.' They were the last words which he spoke.

As soon as their great adversary was removed, the rigid Lutherans began to insult his memory with the most opprobrious terms they could devise. In this attack upon the dead lion, Abraham Calovius distinguished himself, as he did in all the attempts to prevent union during half a century. Undeterred however by the outcry against Syncretism, the Landgrave of Hesse determined on another pacific conference to be held at Cassel, between Lutherans and Reformed only. On the side of the former, Peter Musæus, who had imbibed the sentiments of Calixtus, and John Heinrich, of Rintelen, were managers; on that of the latter, two Professors of Marburg, Curtius and Heinse. The Lutherans here evinced far more moderation than they had done at Thorn; and though no satisfactory result was attained, the disputants parted on good terms. In the first article, which respected the Lord's Supper, it is curious to observe how both parties endeavoured after an agreement to differ. They acquiesced in the assertion that the spiritual eating of our Lord's Flesh and Blood, which is the act of true faith, is necessary to salvation, and that without it the participation of that Sacrament can be of no avail; that the usual fraction of the Host was a useful and pious rite; that its shape was an indifferent matter. The point of difference was, that theologians of Rintelen affirmed, and those of Marburg denied, that the wicked as well as the good were really and truly partakers of our Lord's Body: they had, however, the complaisance to assure each other that this was an immaterial point. The other articles on which they could not agree, predestination, universal grace, the Passion of Christ suffered for all, final perseverance, and the like, were, according to their agreement, to be banished from the pulpit, and only to be treated in the schools with the greatest moderation and gentleness.

When the results of the conference became known, there was a general outcry throughout Lutheran Germany, against the doctors of Rintelen. They were accused of the grossest duplicity, of Syncretism in a degree as yet unknown, of being more Calixtine than Calixtus himself, of betraying the Lutheran faith for a mess of Calvinist pottage, and so forth. Musæus, in particular, was the especial object of attack; Hülsemann, indeed, could no longer assail him, as he had departed this life in the early part of the same year; but Strauch, Waller, and Calovius, as indefatigable for discord as ever Calixtus had been for peace, kept up the controversy. The University of Helmstädt remained true to its pacific principles; that of Jena

seconded it; nor was there wanting a like spirit among some of the divines at Königsberg. The Electors of Brandenburg, Frederic William, and Frederic, did what they could to allay the bitterness; but the controversy raged without diminution till the death of Calovius, in 1686, and the new disputes about the Pietists gradually extinguished it.

It is no part of our design to enter into the forced union between Protestants and Reformed, which has given rise to the so-called Evangelical Church of Prussia; nor to the cruel persecution which the rigid Lutherans suffered for refusing to enter into what they considered an unholy alliance. The history, however, would not be uninstructive, and would amply prove that, under the present House of Brandenburg, and in 'educated and enlightened Prussia,' Protestantism is just as intolerant, and would now be, if it dared, and may perhaps some day become, as sanguinary as ever.

It may seem strange that, in these attempts after a general union, the Eastern Church was left out of consideration; and this more particularly at Thorn, when some of the subjects and so many of the neighbours of the prince by whom that colloquy was appointed belonged to the Eastern faith. But it must be remembered that, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Lutherans and Calvinists had each made a desperate effort to obtain some recognition of their claims by Constantinople; and that the letter of Jeremiah, then Œcumenical Patriarch, had put a barrier in their way which no ingenuity could overleap. Further; only seven years before the Conference of Thorn, Cyril Lucar had been put to death for his Calvinistic leanings; while, in 1638, the Councils of Constantinople and Jassy had condemned his memory, and anathematised his teaching. The orthodox confession of Peter Mogila had not only been received throughout Russia, but had made a considerable sensation through all Europe.

It is certain, however, that the Lutherans did, notwithstanding all these repulses, look with longing eyes towards the East. A favourite subject of their academical theses was the supposed agreement of the Orientals with themselves, and discrepancy with Rome. A large collection of such pamphlets is now lying before us. Here, for example, is a '*Dissertatio inauguralis de Liturgiis Orientalibus in Doctrina de Sancta Eucharistia antiquæ veritati evangelicæ contra novos Pontificiorum et Reformatorum errores suffragantibus: publice defensa a Johanne Andrea Gleichio.*' Here again: '*Sacrificium Missæ Pontificium Liturgiis Orientalibus ignotum esse publice demonstrat Gottlieb Ernestus Marti;*' and here once more an '*Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de Ecclesia*

Grecanica hodierna, Allatio opposita ab Elia Veielio.' But whatever such attempts meant, or whether they meant anything at all, they were manifestly useless after the Council of Bethlehem had, in 1673, anathematised the doctrines of Lutheranism and Calvinism.

From this brief account of the attempts, in the seventeenth century, to bring about a reconciliation between the various communities of professing Christians, two things may, perhaps, chiefly be learnt. The one is that, at the commencement of the Reformation, and for many years after, the most bigoted Protestant felt, equally with the staunchest Roman Catholic, that such a state of schism could not continue without sin. The three parties had each of course its own view as to the means by which a pacification was to be effected. But among none of them did there prevail the view now generally adopted by Protestant theologians, that such a state of things is not unpleasing to God, and may be beneficial to Christianity. This appears very strikingly if one contrasts the efforts of Dury, or Calixtus, or Grotius, or, in earlier times, Cassander, with those of such a body as the Evangelical Alliance in our own days. The latter actually seems to regard division in non-essentials as a component part of the general scheme of Christianity; which non-essentials embrace about nine-tenths of the dogmas which all sects, from the time of the Reformation downwards, have considered it necessary to believe or to reject.

But the more important consideration is this;—the utter impossibility of carrying out, and the utter folly of forming, any plan of reconciliation which begins with unity, and ends with truth; which, again to refer to Bishop Andrewes's words, sets *Pax in terris* before *Gloria in excelsis*. Whether such attempts were made, as at first, by endeavouring to hit on a form of words which might mean two opposite things,—in fact, to approach Almighty God with a string of devotional puns,—or whether they were to be promoted by persuading all sects that, except what they already held in common, nothing at all was worth holding in common, both miserably and egregiously failed. Every one can now see how vain was the attempt of the early pacificators to unite those who disputed about the Holy Eucharist, by persuading them to receive our Lord's words, each in their own meaning. 'You,' they said to the Roman Catholics, 'may take *This is My Body*, in its natural 'signification. You,' to the Lutheran, 'may explain it to mean, 'My Body is present with this Bread, by way of consub-'stantiation. You,' to the Zuinglian, 'may interpret it, This 'is not My Body in any sense whatever. You,' to the Carol-

stadtian, 'may teach that our Lord, raising the bread in His 'hands, said, *Take, eat;* and then, pointing to Himself, added, '*This is My Body.* Interpret the words, all of you, in your 'own ways; only join in receiving them as words; and in this 'manner we shall obtain the union which we all desire.'

And yet, this is the kind of pacification which men now-a-days seem anxious to bring about. That it failed under the Tenisons, and Burnets, and Patricks of 1689, is, we trust, a sufficient omen of its fortunes in our own day, when it is recommended by their successors, equal in station but inferior in every other character.

ART. II.—1. *Of the Plurality of Worlds: An Essay.* London: J. W. Parker.

2. *More Worlds than One.* By SIR DAVID BREWSTER. London: John Murray.

3. *A Week's Conversation on the Plurality of Worlds.* By M. FONTENELLE. London: Printed for E. Curll, in the Strand. 1728. [2d Edit.]

4. *Conjectures concerning the Worlds in the Planets.* Written in Latin by Christianus Huygens. London: Printed for Timothy Childe, at the White Hart. 1698.

5. *A Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse that 'tis probable there may be another Habitable World in the Moon.* By JOHN WILKINS, Bishop of Chester. London: Printed for John Gillibrand, at the Golden Ball. 1684. [4th Edit.]

'THIS is Ulysses! and indeed, also, it is surprisingly like him!' So, if we remember right, is the hero of the epic recognised. With scarce less certainty, and not less of amused and pleasant marvel, do we penetrate the thin disguise (it has a wonderfully Coan texture, even if it conceal no graceful form) under which the author of the 'Plurality of Worlds' affects to veil himself. There is something inexpressibly strange in the idiosyncrasies which unmistakeably mark an author. Perhaps it ought not to seem marvellous that a man should preserve his personal identity; but it is curious to observe how, with some men (and particularly with great men,) character—a χαρακτήρ—is stamped on all they do, or say, or think, or write. So is it pre-eminently with our essayist. Whether he writes 'Of Induction,' or 'Of the Plurality of Worlds,' he is ever *non* impar sibi—'as like as my fingers is to my fingers;' though, with Protean versatility of genius, and inexhaustible resources of information, *nihil ferè est quod non tetigit.* Would that we could add, *nihil quod tetigit, non ornavit!* Ever solid, he is not less seldom cumbrous. Ever weighty, he is rarely original or profound. When he condescends to the playful, we are more reminded of that grotesque fancy of the imagination, an elephant in love, or of the clumsy evolutions of a bear dancing in accompaniment to 'Pop goes the weasel,' than of that 'singularly sweet and facile pleasantry' which we have admired in a string of writers, from Theophrastus down to Dickens.

Really the disguise assumed by the anonymous writer of this

essay, to which we have alluded, is either an absurd affectation, or is ridiculously clumsy. If it was designed to be sincere, the essayist should, for once, have foregone such unique spelling as meets us in the fifth line of the preface. 'Offense'[1] is certainly most offensive. But we believe the authorship of the work in question was never any secret; and then we must say that the *fuga ad salices* of *such* a writer is ludicrous in the extreme.

So much for the style of this essay, and the guise under which it has been made to see the light. Let us introduce our readers to its subject-matter.

It is startling, and not altogether displeasing, to notice that our time and age is not wholly given over to positive science. Despite the contemptuous phraseology of the Auguste Comtes and the Martineaux of the day, people will talk, ay, and think too, about something less certain than tabulated phænomena. 'All things are double, one against another;' and perhaps the folly of electro-biologists, homœopathists, table-turners, and those who see in Dr. Cumming and Free-trade the end of evil, is the legitimate balance of the wiseacrehood of those who deem the human mind a mere machine for the operation of induction on registered results; and who suppose human interests to begin, and to terminate, in the province of sociology: 'Wisdom of fools, and folly of the wise!' Well, we were remarking that there are symptoms around us, that even the enlightenment of the nineteenth century cannot get on without some speculation. It seems that even those who have most strenuously insisted on the employment of a tardy and patient induction from ascertained facts, cannot wholly avoid the natural tendency in man to overleap his ignorance, and to 'theorize,'—to 'meteōrize,' we might say—touching matters at present, and probably for ever, beyond his ken. Several brochures have made their appearance in the past few years, which have astronomy (or astrology, as it might be more appropriately termed) for their subject-matter, and speculation for their method. Two works of more pretentious aspect have recently made their appearance, and it would seem have found a ready hearing. They profess to treat of a very grand and interesting subject; the question, namely, whether there be other populated globes besides our own in the universe. Considering the very confined compass within which all argumentation on such a thesis must necessarily be comprised, and the absence of nearly all data whereon to reason, we are bound to say, that these works are, in size and appearance, no way unworthy of the subject they profess to handle. Of tolerable bulk—and just tolerable price—they would seem to have

[1] This is altered in the later editions.

exhausted all that modern science, and one at least all that modern nescience, has to say on the subject. There is at once a curious similarity, and a curious contrast, observable between the two. Some of our readers will remember how remarkable a symmetry pervades that funny little drama, 'Box and Cox.' If Mr. B. observes, 'Sir, don't be absurd!' Mr. C. replies,—'Don't be ridiculous, Sir!' If Cox says, 'Goodness gracious!' Box recriminates with 'Gracious goodness!' So the volumes before us bear, on the face of them, a very obvious connexion and relationship. Slightly differing in external size, they are clad in the same garb of cœrulean azure—like the starry vault of which they treat—and gold. Their number of pages is almost precisely identical. *Facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen, qualis decet esse sororum.* Yet their relationship is scarcely sororal. Compare their title-pages, and you will be inclined to adopt the metaphor so happily applied by Wordsworth to the clock of Trinity College Cambridge, 'that doubly strikes in male and female voice.'[1] The one is, 'Of the Plurality of Worlds: an Essay.' The other, in more gentle and less terse formula, proclaims: 'More Worlds than one, the creed of the Philosopher, 'and the hope of the Christian.' The one, in masculine phraseology, condescends to garnish his page with blank verse:

> 'On Nature's Alps I stand,
> And see a thousand firmaments beneath!—
> A thousand systems, as a thousand grains!
> So much a stranger, and so late arrived,
> How shall man's curious spirit not inquire
> What are the natives of this world sublime,
> Of this so distant, unterrestrial sphere,
> Where mortal, untranslated, never stray'd?'
>
> NIGHT THOUGHTS.

But *she* (we beg pardon—the *other*) pleads in softer strain and milder accents:

> 'Bright star of eve, that send'st thy softening ray
> Through the dim twilight of this nether sky,
> I hail thy beam like rising of the day,
> Hast thou a home for me when I shall die?
>
> 'Is there a spot within thy radiant sphere,
> Where love, and faith, and truth, again may dwell?
> Where I may seek the rest I find not here,
> And clasp the cherish'd forms I loved so well?'

Really one is involuntarily reminded of the flirtation between Adam and Eve in the Creation of Haydn!

The very title-pages indicate at once a genuine identity, and an individual and specific difference. We might be allowed to push the analogy of sex yet further. Not only in relative size,

[1] The Prelude.

but in disparity of age, 'The *Creed* and the *Hope*,'[1] &c., assumes her relative position, being in fact a few months junior in age, and many years in thought and wisdom to 'The Essay.' We may be thought unpardonably severe—not on the *books*—if we say, that the analogy does not fail when you pass beyond these sweet opening passages of apparent unity to the diametric variance which pervades the works themselves. Would that we could refrain from adding, that, if the author of 'The Creed 'and the Hope,' &c. had preserved the same anonymous disguise which the writer of the 'Essay' affects, we should have been led into the serious blunder of attributing his volume—not only by way of analogy, but in respect of authorship—to some not very juvenile member of the weaker sex. We are bound, however, to state, that his book has yet one further characteristic feature of womanhood. It attains to, and defends conclusions probably right, but does so by arguments of little worth, and considerable prolixity.

The correlation of our two volumes is further apparent when we pass from the title-page to the table of contents. We have a series of chapters in each, devoted to the consideration of the subject in connexion with religion, the argument from geology, the knowledge or hypotheses which we possess of the nebulæ, fixed stars, planets, and solar system, the discussion of objections, and finally, in each, the future of the universe. If all the knowable touching these transcendant subjects is comprised within the limits of these two volumes, then, indeed, we possess in these two Blue Books a valuable mass of evidence. Alas, for the satisfaction of intellect, we are led thereby to entirely diverse conclusions. In the one volume, a very bulky mass of very ponderous thought, ingenious argument, and elaborate dissertation, is expended in an effort to maintain a paradox, and overthrow a popular belief. In the other, a highly discursive strain of querulous remonstrance feebly advocates the established conviction,—sometimes by false philosophy—sometimes by random theory—sometimes by not indisputable analogy—and not seldom by mere bombast.

Before we enter upon the subject-matter of these doctors' disagreement, we must once more congratulate ourselves, not only that we have philosophers who can unbend the rigid constraint of inductive science, and stoop for awhile to the comparative puerilities of airy speculation; but, moreover, that the less deeply thinking public is not, as yet, so wholly immersed and engrossed in the grovelling round of mere

[1] The *third* grace seems to have its tribute of respect in the above-quoted lines of sentiment, which are immediately subjoined to the title.

material results, and positive acquisitions to the capital of ascertained *facts*, but that it greedily devours and discusses the guesses and counter-guesses of the wise.

Ever since the explosion of the old Ptolemaic doctrine, that our globe is the centre—if not the sum and substance—of all creation, a suspicion has been growing up, which has ranged, according to the constitution of different minds, from possibility to approximate conviction, that it may hold but a very insignificant position in the universe. Dislodged from its ancient security, and hurled from the patient shoulders of Atlas through devious paths of space, demonstrated to thread its way about some other and nobler body in labyrinthal spirals, which constitute a very trifling part in the mazes traced out by the wanderers of the sky, the venerable earth became less and less the subject of blind and self-complacent adoration. What had been demonstrated to hold good of its *physical* relation to the rest of the universe—that this world plays but a most subordinate part in the system of creation—naturally suggested itself as a possible condition of its moral and intellectual position. Just as in the progress from infancy to maturity one learns gradually to abandon the narrow notions of infancy; as one's sympathies expand by degrees beyond the family circle; as the child drops by degrees the idea that papa, mamma, and nurse are the three most important potentates in existence, for whom, in fact, everybody else exists; as, finally, he learns that there are other, and perhaps brighter, homes, filled with wealthier inhabitants, more numerous, more important, or more fair; so it has been with the conception of the well-informed concerning the brother spheroids of our own system, the kindred systems which, with ours, constitute the galaxy, and finally the dim hazy nebulæ, which seem at least to be the galaxies of immeasurably distant heavens. It is, of course, by very gradual steps that such huge and bold generalisations are adventured. The progress of the opinion of mankind hereon has been very analogous to that which has occurred in the growth of individual thought. Every thinking man can probably recollect the difficulty he once had in understanding how it was that the earth was 'round like an orange,' and not flat, in indefinite extension, as had appeared to him when, elevated beyond the capabilities of his little legs, he was allowed to observe creation over the adjoining hedges. Then came the *very* hard lesson, that he was by no means to consider himself as defining 'the top' of the world; that good people in the antipodes were *not* at all standing on their heads, nor topsy-turvy, nor in any other than his own fashion. A good deal of confusion of ideas, and a slight sensation of vertigo, attended his efforts to eman-

cipate himself from the idea that the sun really traversed the heavens. When the annual and diurnal motions had robbed him of all opinion of stability in all he had once considered immoveable, it remained to puzzle out how, so far from his own summer hay-fields and winter nights being the standard of the human family, there are people who experience every gradation of temperature, and every duration of day and night, from one hour to six months. At length, with repeated efforts and increasing years, the theory of his own globe is mastered. In spite of the confusion of ideas consequent on a consecutive perusal of 'Joyce's Scientific Dialogues,' he no longer imagines days to be long in summer, because things expand by heat, and to be short in winter, because they contract by cold. We cannot digress to trace the unobserved effect of other than astronomical studies, which, by a parallel advance, aid him in developing powers of generalisation, and in renouncing the foolish conceit that *his* interests, *his* world, *his* culture, and *he*, are the final causes and focal centre of all existence. From history, from classics, from art, and from politics, he learns the maxim, *nihil humani alienum puto;* from metaphysics and philosophy he learns to expand its scope even beyond the *humani omne*, as the *Times* in its peculiar Latinity would say; from religion he learns to feel sympathy with other than mundane matter; from all he learns to repudiate the absurdity, χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος. Not that all this progress is won at the stage whither we have already conducted him; but such is the tendency, and such or such-like the indirect influences, of a liberal education. So is his way paved to the more ready reception of the arcana of astronomy. To learn that the planets weave their mystic dance, not only around another than his own globe, but without the slightest reference to it, and without the slightest perceptible effect, for good or for evil, on its fortunes, must no longer present a difficulty to his mind. Step by step he is learning the comparative [illegible] of his habitation; gradually the idea of his own [illegible] in the whole creation opens upon him as not impossible. Strange analogies and curious conjectures force themselves upon him, as he learns and admires the reproductive [illegible] of the planets, of contrivances and phenomena with which he is familiar, and which had seemed to be peculiar adapted to the use of intelligent and sentient beings. [illegible] in the habit of contemplating [illegible]

proportioned in number and position to their needs? If it be any legitimate step in the argument from design, that our moon is longer above the horizon, and rides higher in the zenith, when our nights are longest and darkest, to what but design shall he attribute the arrangement in the motions of Jupiter's satellites, whereby it is impossible they should all be at once below the horizon? If the rotation of our earth, and the inclination of its axis of revolution to its orbitual plane, produce such obvious and useful effects on the vicissitudes of days and seasons, what shall be supposed the purpose of the like phænomena in planets more noble in their proportions than our own?

We may well conceive such lines of thought to give rise to very curious conjectures in a contemplative mind, especially if the imagination be warm. But perhaps our astronomer, having learned many a lesson of cautious induction, and a wholesome dread of mere conjecture, in the school of practical science, forbears to proclaim, or even to encourage, the thoughts that brood within him. If strange fancies of previous existence on diverse orbs seem to him to involve, possibly, some distantly approximate solution of the mystic *ἀνάμνησις*, which comes at moments across us all, saying, 'I have been in this scene, or acted in this combination of circumstances before!' or if the congregation of different elements from different spheres on one terrestrial stage might haply account for the conflict of opinions, and sympathies, and interests around us, he checks such wandering imaginations as, perhaps, not altogether reverent, and certainly not as yet necessitated by any scientific induction. But still the semi-conviction remains,—'These wonders and 'complex systems were made for *some* use; their marvellous 'resemblance to our own suggests that that use was not wholly 'dissimilar from ours.'

We do not think that any valuable suggestion has ever been thrown out to explain the use of the planets to ourselves. There are, it would appear, persons to whom it seems satisfactory to imagine, that the kingly Jupiter with his attendant moons, the glorious Saturn and his triplicate girdle, the stately Uranus, and that 'interesting stranger,' whom the obstetric arts of Adams and Le Verrier guided to its birth (and whom the tardy incredulity of our observers has prevented our claiming as indisputably our own), exist, and have existed, only to win the admiring study of Chaldæan shepherds, to perplex the brains and tangled horoscopes of planet-stricken astrologers, to puzzle speculators, to furnish a 'Theory' for the Senate House, and finally to be gazed at by themselves through the great Northumberland! Or, perhaps, they deem it cause enough for the crea-

tion of Venus that she should, at rare intervals, transit the sun's disc, and determine our distance from that orb, while it may be sufficient reason for the existence of the other planets, that some such recondite use may be hereafter discovered for them also! Was ever dream so self-complacent? Had vision ever fabric so baseless? What is this but to bid 'the sun and the moon and the eleven stars to make obeisance unto *us?*' Meanwhile men are born, and struggle on, and die; and are reproduced in descendants, who are born, and struggle on, and die again; and what wot they of lunar theory and planetary disturbance, and determination of longitude, and exploded planets, and exploded theories? Yet without such information, it is certain that they can never learn the magnificent lessons which these orbs can teach the votaries of science, and which, we are told, are sufficient reason for their creation. If, then, it is for *man* that they were created, how is it that the overwhelming mass of men have not a single correct notion about them? For man? Why, of course they were, like all other of God's works, created (among other and, it may be, more special uses) for man! For all men to admire in the spangled firmament, for some men to study with more inquiring ken, for the thoughtful to exclaim, with deepest awe and humblest consciousness of insignificance: 'O Thou that hast set Thy glory above 'the Heavens, when I consider Thy Heavens, the work of Thy 'fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained, 'what is man, that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of 'man, that Thou visitest him!' Of course, they were created for man! Incidentally, they may help him in his approach to God; but can we conceive, even on a survey of the planets alone, that those wondrous constitutions, of which the most splendid and the most delicate objects were never seen by any man, and of which the laws and harmony were utterly unintelligible to any man, before the age of Newton—can we conceive that those systems, which are even now utterly unknown to all but a few philosophers, and concerning which even philosophers' wisdom is comparative ignorance, were made *specially* for man?

How are these convictions strengthened by further insight into the universe? Every well educated man of the present age will have had thoughts such as we have sketched out before his mind. But they to whom Science has unrolled her ample page have further convictions based on, perhaps, we ought hardly to say higher *argument*, but, at all events, irresistible impressions. Unless, indeed, our star-gazers read, as read the astronomer of Uz, backwards, they can hardly fail to concede the force of argument to the analogies which negative

the barren solitude of the stars which pave Heaven's floor. Shall man arrogate to himself the lordship of the universe, when he finds the distance from the nearest of self-luminous bodies to his own to be all but immeasurable, and perfectly inconceivable? What, was it for me that all the dusted tract of the Milky Way has for ages and ages (if it be yet in existence) poured forth floods of light which is at my distance too feeble to be well perceptible? But perhaps it has ceased, long myriads ago, to exist at all. Supposing it to have done so, it is quite certain that I have no means of knowing it. Not even light itself could be a messenger speedy enough to announce it. Shall I imagine that the hazy fleeces of light, which, till a year or two ago, no telescope had revealed even thus imperfectly, exist but to puzzle my curiosity? Foolish thought! Is it not certain that there are millions of stars in the vaults of space which even the telescope of Lord Rosse will never reveal to me? even as there are multitudes of beasts and plants and monsters which earth and ocean hold beyond my ken below. Is it not possible that worlds have come into being, and have long ceased to be, of which no ray has yet brought intelligence to so remote a corner of space? And shall I imagine that these things exist for *me?*

We think that such a strain of thought cannot but be obvious to a very common-place thinker. No doubt it will assume different guises in different minds. Perhaps many people have never given it expression or shape, even to so slender an extent. Probably, not a few have developed it far beyond these meagre limits. But there is no doubt that it is immensely enhanced by probabilities of a religious character. It is true that religious thought has also its objections to offer, and its difficulties to suggest. It is certain that a religious frame of mind will rather prefer to stop short of, than to exceed the limits of reverent speculation. But without transgressing these limits, and deferring awhile the discussion of the difficulties which the insignificance of our world is supposed to occasion to pious minds, we may remark, that a vast deal of religious difficulty may find a possible mitigation in the theory to which our hypothetical astronomer cannot fail to have been conducted by such reflections as we have supposed him to indulge, although he may not have ventured to express it. The theory that the population of our globe forms but a mere speck in the intelligent and spiritual *Life* of the Universe of God, even as they and their abode constitute a mere atom in dimensions, suggests very obvious consolations to a mind overpowered and depressed by the sad aspect of things immediately around it. We do not remember to have seen it suggested in mitigation of the existence of evil, except in a small and ephemeral tract on 'Future Punishment,' which

appeared a few years ago at Cambridge. But the germ of the thought itself is contained in Butler's Works. And we know that the thought itself, that there are other nobler and purer worlds, which are free from taint and misery, has brought solace to minds which might else have staggered at the contemplation of the woe, past, present, and future, which this world holds out to view. This, for aught we know, may be the one stage and battle-field in the universe whereon the contest of right and wrong must be fought out. There may, as Bishop Butler tells us, be some *à priori* necessity in the very nature of things which renders the existence of evil necessary. That the great battle should be fought, that there should be somewhere exhibited a grand drama of probation, may be the sole condition of the ultimate glory and welfare of the vast majority. What if this small earth be the scene?

We desire to speak with all reverence on a very awful subject, about which God has left us in ignorance, and about which wisdom (if attainable) would perhaps be folly. But surely we shall not offend the most devout and humble mind, by stating the possibilities which have suggested themselves to patient thought, a-weary of a sinful world. Far be it from us to speculate too curiously, far less to utter dogmata on a theme whereon we are confessedly—and not, perhaps, deplorably—ignorant. But to us the perplexity which too dominant evil and pain force upon every thoughtful mind, seems so readily mitigated by the idea that there may be, rather than the belief that there are, multitudes of worlds where no such miseries have place, that we cannot but suffer it to bias the opinion, and to *suggest* the belief. That this world should be so trifling in magnitude and importance, compared with the countless orbs which throng throughout all space, seems, under such an aspect of things, only to suggest thoughts of grateful adoration. Here only, it may be, within these confined limits, may evil now abound. Here only may that painful sight be witnessed, of wrong and mischief apparently triumphant. And even here we know that fearful victory is but apparent. For here—*here only*—has an incarnate and suffering God deigned to wage the war, and vanquish the giant foe; exhibiting to all creation, by the spectacle of *such* a contest on such an unimportant world, the awful power and malignity of sin.

But here we pause. Reverence for sacred things, and a vivid sense of the incomparable superiority of revealed truth to speculative possibility, forbids our carrying theory further. Let us leave religious guess-work to the Millenarian.

But we must remark that thus far it would appear we might have been legitimately conducted, even if the *existence* of other

spheres and systems had been as hypothetical as is their use. Had there been no such science as Astronomy, pious thought might have engendered the wish, the hope, the opinion, that there might be other worlds. When to these possibilities—to say no more—are added the generalisations and analogies of physical science, opinion is strengthened until it becomes, if not belief, yet an impression of no ordinary strength, that the highest of God's known creations, intelligent spiritual natures, find their counterpart, or are far transcended in the inhabitants of starry systems.

To such conclusions, as we before remarked, does a liberal education appear to conduct the individual intellect. Such are the directions in which the drift of well-informed popular conviction has steadily set. Such are the notions which the works before us profess to sift. How do our philosophers discuss them?

One of the most distinguished ornaments of one of the most distinguished bodies in the world, has put forth a volume on the opinions in question. Like all his other works, it evidences very great faculties of mind, very comprehensive capacity of intellect, very extensive acquaintance with every branch of physical science; moreover, very clumsy and disorderly notions of logic, and a marvellous inelegance in the use of English. We have a very methodical way of reading books. We first read the title outside; then the title inside; next the preface; and then the contents. We shall say no more respecting the title-page than we have already remarked; only observing, in passing, that the author would appear to consider, from his choice of title, that language is an instrument for the concealment of thought. On passing to the table of contents, we beg leave to submit that it is startling to find all the 'CONTENTS[1] OF THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS' on a single page! What we had expected were, 'Contents of Of the Plurality of Worlds; an Essay.' We must confess our disappointment at the confused arrangement, and bewildering method, which this table presents to our view. Would that men would condescend to think according to the obvious laws of thought, or at least to refrain from imposing on others the task of unravelling their own perplexities! Why cannot a man, who has bestowed so much thought on his subject as our author displays, be at the pains to arrange his own ideas before he begins to write? It is perfectly obvious that the author of 'OF, &c.' never sketches out an analysis of the subject-matter before him, and of the mode in which it shall be handled. His writing reminds one,

[1] Altered in later editions.

in respect of order, of a foot-ball match, as played at the wall at Eton,—but it is destitute of the vigour and force of that onset. As for symmetry, we should sooner look to find it in a potato. If the author's object, in the arrangement of the initial index to matter and form, which one expects in a table of contents, was to hinder one from seeing through his drift without reading his work, he has undoubtedly attained it. If it was to deter one from such perusal, he has certainly done it efficiently. But if it was to clear one's notions of his purpose, and suggest to the gentle reader the expediency of following the wake of his method, then this page is waste-paper.

'Chapter I. Astronomical Discoveries.'—Very good: what next? 'Chapter II.' The Conclusions they suggest? Oh no, 'Astronomical Objection to Religion.'—Why, this must be a treatise on the various fruits and tendencies of Astronomy. 'Chapter III.' may probably be Astronomy in its Relations to Chemistry,—or, Astronomy *versus* Common Sense. But no, it is, 'The Answer from the Microscope.' 'Chapter IV. Further Statement of the Difficulty.' *What* difficulty? Well, perhaps the objection took the form of a difficulty; and in that case we shall look in Chapter V. for Further Answer from the Kaleidoscope. But no such symmetry prevails. We are now conducted into 'Geology,' and 'The Argument [pray, or what?] from Geology;' and next, by a leap, like that with which mathematicians are familiar, from $+\infty$ to $-\infty$, we find ourselves in 'The Nebulæ'—whence we are brought down again, by gradual steps, to 'The Solar System,' and 'The Argument from Design,' 'The Unity of the World,' and 'The Future;' titles vague enough to be prefixed to chapters in almost any conceivable writing on almost any conceivable subject.

The work opens with some comments on the sublime passage which we have already quoted from the eighth Psalm, in which natural religion assumes its best and wisest form, and descants on the comparative insignificance of the creature who enjoys God's grace and favour, rather than on his dignity and worth. There is nothing very remarkable in our author's disquisition on this magnificent aspiration; except that, as is usual in paraphrase, commentary, and the like, the grandeur of the sentiment is frittered away, and well-nigh evaporated, in the dissertation; and that there is a most unwarrantable assumption in the observation: 'We may be certain that the Psalmist regarded 'the stars as things [things!] *having a reference to the earth*, and 'yet not resembling the earth; as works of God's fingers, very 'different from the earth with its tribes of inhabitants; as 'luminaries, not worlds.' We beg to demur to this comment on King David's meaning. We beg to assert, at least, an equal

'certainty,' that he understood nothing of the kind. We are far from asserting that inspired authors had necessarily any peculiar insight into the laws of nature; but, at the same time, it is most true that, even under the influence of poetry or enthusiasm, men rise above themselves, and enunciate daring conceptions, which nothing appears at the time to warrant to ordinary minds, but which the progress of science fully justifies. Why *less* should be attributed to the effusions of men moved by the Holy Ghost, it would be hard for our author to show.

However, this may pass. The author of the essay leaves his criticisms on the astral theology of the royal Hebrew, and proceeds to raise, or, as he would say, to state, a difficulty propounded in the form of an objection to religion. We should imagine that there are very few people now-a-days who would base an objection to revealed truth on the assumption, that other worlds besides our own are inhabited. Such an objector it has never been[1] our misfortune to meet, either in person or in print. However, it seems that Dr. Chalmers considered such a fault-finder as representing a class not unworthy of refutation.

'He supposes an objector to take his stand upon the multiplicity of worlds, assumed or granted as true; and to argue that, since there are so many worlds beside this, all alike claiming the care, the government, the goodness, the interposition, of the Creator, it is in the highest degree extravagant and absurd, to suppose that he has done, for this world, that which religion, both natural and revealed, represents Him as having done, and as doing.

'* * * * If religion requires us to assume, that one particular corner of the universe has been thus singled out, and made an exception to the general rules by which all other parts of the universe are governed; she makes, it may be said, a demand upon our credulity, which cannot fail to be rejected by those who are in the habit of contemplating and admiring those general laws. Can the earth be thus the centre of the moral and religious universe, when it has been shown to have no claim to be the centre of the physical universe? Is it not as absurd to maintain this, as it would be to hold, at the present day, the old Ptolemaic hypothesis, which places the earth in the centre of the heavenly motions, instead of the newer Copernican doctrine, which teaches that the earth revolves around the sun? Is not religion disproved, by the necessity under which she lies of making such an assumption as this?'

Now the obvious answer to the fancied objector—this man of straw whom Dr. Chalmers erected to knock down, and whom the essayist sets on his legs again, in order that *he* may have

[1] We believe that there have been such; Tom Paine and, it is said, Horace Walpole raised the difficulty. And there may be some few pious and humble minds by whom it is really felt as one. That it should be a formidable one to any can only arise from a confusion of thought, and a forgetfulness that no *guess*, however probable it might appear to reason, can be a legitimate stumbling-block to Faith. Nothing but mental infirmity will find scruples in a *probability*, in which, if a revealed *certainty*, the mind would humbly acquiesce.

a bout with him—lies in a brief compass. In the first place, the *assumption* is not that of religion, but entirely that of the objector. *If* the multiplicity of worlds leads him into difficulties, let him remember that that doctrine, however probable, is only an assumption when used as the basis for an argument. In the next place, we may freely admit that such a further 'assumption,' as is here imputed to religion, would be absurd, and is *not* one which religion 'requires us to assume.' It might be added, by way of retort, that there are religious considerations, as we have before suggested, which seem rather to discountenance than to support the notion, that the earth is 'the centre of the moral and religious universe.'

But, instead of proceeding in any such fashion, the author of the essay deals with the objectors very much as ill-natured people say we have been dealing with our Russian foes. One would think this imaginary sceptic was 'a friend of forty years' standing!' 'Perhaps, however, we shall make our rea-'sonings and speculations apply to a wider class of readers, if 'we consider the view now spoken of, not as an objection, urged 'by an opponent of religion, but rather,[1] as a difficulty, felt by 'a friend of religion.' And then, like a fighter who has shaken hands with his antagonist on entering the lists, he proceeds to contest the difficulty. But how? In the following chapter, by alleging an argument which, so far forth as it is an argument, can only strengthen it; and in the rest of an elaborate, learned, but ill-arranged essay, by advancing various considerations and many arbitrary speculations, with the single purpose of cutting away from the objector the ground on which he built his objection; the position, 'assumed or granted as true,' of the existence of a multiplicity of worlds.

In all this there is a marvellous confusion of purpose and design—not to say a generally deficient apprehension of the subject-matter. Of the plurality of worlds, this essay does indeed dispute, albeit in a roundabout manner. But the introduction of Chalmers, and the imaginary sceptic, and the 'friend to religion,' is *οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*. It is worse, for it is not simply otiose; it embarrasses and perplexes the argument. We have to complain, then, not merely of a careless arrangement and inelegant style, but, (1.) That the objection proposed is non-existent or unimportant. (2.) That the objection is not summarily disposed of, as it obviously might be, by the plea that it is based on an assumption—'the multiplicity of worlds, assumed or granted as true.' (3.) Nor yet is it met by showing that such assumption is perfectly consistent with religious

[1] The punctuation, we take leave to observe, is *not* our own.

truth. (4.) But it is transmogrified from an inimical objection into a 'friendly difficulty.' (5.) And it is met by adducing microscopical researches, which do but enhance it. (6.) And *it* is made the ground for a dissertation on a perfectly distinct, though deeply interesting question, whether the 'assumption' be probably correct.

Truly a most clumsy and confused way of entering upon what is really the subject-matter of the book! As clumsy as the following sentences, and as confused as the ideas which induced their writer to embody identical propositions in so elaborate and unwieldy a form. 'Of course,' says our author, at the close of his chapter on the objection, 'Of course it is 'natural that the views which are used by unbelievers as argu-'ments against religious belief, should create difficulties and 'troubles in the minds of believers; at least, till the argument 'is rebutted. And, of course, also, the answers to the argu-'ments, considered as infidel arguments, would operate to remove 'the difficulties which believers entertain on such grounds.'— Of course![1]

We have asserted that the answer which the microscope is supposed to furnish to the difficulty, is no answer at all. This point deserves some elucidation.

'Among the thoughts, which, it was stated, might naturally arise in men's minds, when the telescope revealed to them an innumerable multitude of worlds, was this: That the Governor of the Universe, who has so many worlds under His management, cannot be conceived as bestowing upon this earth, and its various tribes of inhabitants, that care which, till then, natural religion had taught men that He does employ, to secure to man the possession and use of his faculties of mind and body; and to all animals, the requisites of animal existence and animal enjoyment. And upon this, Chalmers remarks, that just about the time when science gave rise to the suggestion of this difficulty, she also gave occasion to a remarkable reply to it. * * * * * The telescope brought into view worlds as numerous as the drops of water which make up the ocean; the microscope brought into view a world in almost every drop of water. Infinity in one direction was balanced by infinity in the other.'

It would surely be a very poor way of explaining to a learner his difficulty in conceiving how the branch of a parabola above the axis can be constantly bending towards it, yet ever receding from it, and that to an indefinite distance, if you told him that

[1] Before leaving this chapter it deserves notice that the learned author appears to have made an error in stating the relative positions of the two exterior orbits of our system. 'Beyond Saturn, and almost twice as far from the Sun, Herschel discovers Uranus, another great planet; and again beyond Uranus, and again at nearly twice *his* distance, &c.' Now Bode's celebrated law asserted the intervals between each successive *pair of orbits* to be about double of the preceding interval. And this law is remarkably violated in the case of Neptune, as indeed our author has himself observed elsewhere.

the same thing occurs in the branch *below* the axis, and 'that infinity in one direction is balanced by infinity in the other.' The obvious deduction from the revelations of the microscope is this; that there is no such mean limit as man has been accustomed to place to his Creator's power and providence; that what is ever more and more discovered in miniature may very probably have its counterpart in giant forms; that the discovery of new worlds close to us, renders nugatory any *à priori* objections against the existence of new worlds at vast distances from us; and that among the foolish 'thoughts which might naturally arise in men's minds,' the above-stated was one of the most foolish. Such would be the conclusion deduced by a man free from the alleged difficulty. But to a man who sincerely felt it, the discovery of microscopic worlds could only enhance and multiply it; in proportion as 'fresh worlds' were brought under the 'management of the Governor of the Universe' to interfere with 'that care which, till then, natural religion, &c.' Yet our author concludes, 'The discovery of 'new worlds at vast distances from us, was accompanied by the 'discovery of new worlds close to us; and was thus rendered 'ineffective to disturb the belief of those who had regarded the 'world as having God for its Governor. This is a striking 'reflexion.'

Chiefly so from its extremely illogical conclusion. Wherefore we cannot but wish, for the credit of our writer, and the comfort and clearness of thought of his readers, that he had proceeded to his real subject without all this verbose introduction on astronomical discoveries, astronomical objections, and microscopical answers; more especially as the difficulty he raises has, after all, no great force. For, as he himself concludes, in a sentence whereof the readers will (in obedience to the old rule) count *one* at each comma: 'It is not likely that any one, who 'had formed his conceptions of the Divine Mind from its mani-'festations in the production and sustentation of animal, as well 'as vegetable life, on this earth, would have his belief in the 'operation of such a mind, shaken, by any necessity which 'might be impressed upon him, of granting the existence of 'animal life on other planets, as well as on the earth, or even 'on innumerable such planets, and on innumerable systems of 'planets and worlds, system above system.'

Yes, here we are at last; brought, no doubt, to the right result, though by a most crooked path, and at last by floundering through a perfect shingle of commas! What is our consternation on turning the page to meet with a 'further statement of the difficulty!' We shall not weary our readers with any lengthy disquisition of this extraordinary chapter.

Starting with a grotesque and clumsy hypothesis[1] that 'we 'were to see, on the face of the full moon, a figure gradually 'becoming visible, representing a right-angled triangle, with a 'square constructed on each of its three sides as a base,'—as if, even on the supposition of there being *human* beings in the moon, it were not pre-eminently absurd to imagine that their selenometry[2] must be at all analogous to our geometry,—or that if they *have* Euclids with I. xlvii. all complete, that proposition must needs claim for *them* the admiration which we concede it; —the writer on the plurality of worlds discusses, in a rambling sort of a way, the general theory and conditions of intellectual progress. Advance is shown to be a necessary attribute of mental and moral existences. And all this in order to dilate on the self-evident proposition that: 'Even if there be intelligent 'inhabitants in the moon, or in the planets, it does not follow 'that they have any sympathy with us, or any community of 'knowledge:' a proposition which, so far from seeming to us to discredit the theory of a plurality of worlds, is, on the contrary, one of the most probable features in it. If science told us nothing of other spheres, how eminently unphilosophical would be the assumption that their tenants were modelled, physically or intellectually, upon one type! How does every branch of positive science demonstrate that such a conjecture would be not only unsafe, but improbable. It may be hard to imagine to ourselves the forms and qualities of moral and intellectual creatures distinct from mankind; but it would have been equally hard for angels, or other beings, to conceive of *man* before the Creator had modelled him, after His own image, and not upon any external type. It is necessarily impossible to picture to ourselves any object upon which none of our natural senses can be brought to bear; because, as Victor Cousin has so admirably shown, in his critique on Locke's Philosophy, the mind possesses its latent ideas all undeveloped and unexpressed until the operation of sensible impressions fertilises the womb of thought; and calls out into actuality and activity the ideas which lay dormant there. Hence the difficulty of imagining to oneself, or explaining to others, any object of mere abstract thought. The terms we use, when we employ language for the purpose, are all borrowed from the domain of sense; and thus

[1] This strange and monstrous conception is, we believe, due to the originality of the gallant and eccentric Col. Thompson. He proposed to carve the figures above-described, in gigantic proportions upon Salisbury Plain, in the hope to elicit a response from the dwellers in the moon.

[2] Of course the established relations of space are absolutely true everywhere, in the moon as well as in the earth. But her mathematical appliances may as far transcend our geometry and trigonometry, as these do the old arts of the Nilometricians [not however that *we* think it even probable the moon is a peopled world.]

the very vehicle and medium of our thought reminds us of the great disadvantages under which we labour, in attempting to discourse definitely about what is not the object of palpable sensation.

But were we never so fertile and happy in our imaginings, how wild and visionary it would be to presume to people other worlds with creatures of our own imagination! We may, if we like to be absurd, people another planet with sentient and intelligent forms—we can scarcely call them *men*—that shall combine all the hideous devices of ancient Indian, Egyptian, and Grecian mythologies—or we may devise new shapes, beings with three legs, and possessed each of two minds, one of which is active, while the other takes its sleep. But, even if our notions were not necessarily and painfully grotesque, a well disciplined mind would at once recoil from any arbitrary assumptions of the kind, as unphilosophical. The problem is one in which the number of equations is utterly insufficient for the evaluation of all the unknown relations of the quantities involved. And even if the conditions were all ascertained, it by no means follows that we could solve a single one of them.

But the fact is, that modern science has told us a great deal about other worlds; and her intelligence furnishes us with a certain number of conditions which we can exhibit in, at any rate, an approximately explicit form. It is true that the information they afford us is negative. They only strip the possible inhabitants of other worlds of certain habits, or forms, or enjoyments, which obtain among ourselves. They supply no positive intelligence as to their actual mode of existence. They merely restrict it, in certain respects, within certain limits. Thus:—

'When' we consider the physical peculiarities and probable condition of the several planets, so far as the former are known by observation, or the latter rest on probable grounds of conjecture, three features principally strike us as necessarily productive of extraordinary diversity in the provisions by which, if they be like our earth inhabited, animal life must be supported. These are—first, the difference in their respective supplies of light and heat from the sun; secondly, the difference in the intensities of the gravitating forces which must subsist at their surfaces, or the different ratios, which, on their several globes, the *inertiæ* of bodies must bear to their *weights;* and, thirdly, the difference in the nature of the materials of which, from what we know of their mean density, we have every reason to believe they consist. The intensity of solar radiation is nearly seven times greater on Mercury than on the earth, and on Uranus 330 times less: the proportion between the two extremes being that of upwards of 2,000 to one. Let any one figure to himself the condition of our globe, were the sun to be septupled, to say nothing of the greater ratio! or were it diminished to a seventh, or to a 300th of its actual power. Again, the

[1] Herschel, Outlines of Astronomy, p. 310.

intensity of gravity, or its efficacy in counteracting muscular power, and repressing animal activity, on Jupiter is nearly two and a-half times that on the earth, on Mars not more than one-half, on the Moon one-sixth, and on the smaller planets probably not more than one-twentieth: giving a scale of which the extremes are in the proportion of sixty to one. Lastly, the density of Saturn hardly exceeds one-eighth of the mean density of the Earth, so that it must consist of materials not much heavier than cork. Now, under the various combinations of elements so important to life as these, what immense diversity must we not admit in the conditions of that great problem, the maintenance of animal and intellectual existence and happiness, which seems, so far as we can judge by what we see around us in our own planet, and by the way in which every corner of it is crowded with living beings, to form an unceasing and worthy object for the exercise of the Benevolence and Wisdom which presides over all!"

The climate of the Moon is of the most extraordinary kind. Her *day* is a fortnight long—whence the heat and glare of the side exposed to the Sun, must exceed anything of the kind felt in the desert—and is suddenly succeeded, without the intervention of a moment's twilight, by a corresponding night of the keenest cold. From the small mass of the material of which she is constructed, it follows that muscular force would produce six times the effect that it does with us. But the want of any air, and the probable absence of any fluids, render it impossible that the Moon should be tenanted by any forms of life analogous to our own. Regarded by itself, this ought to present little or no obstacle to a theory of life in other globes. The glorious wisdom and omnipotence of the Creator may doubtless be exhibited on as noble a scale in a world where any atmosphere would *drown* its denizens as here. What renders it no necessary part of that theory that the Moon should be tenanted, is the fact that the Moon has an obvious use of another kind. The question is, Have the planets any such obvious use for us as our satellite has, and as *their* satellites would appear, by parity of analogy, to subserve for them? Jupiter's satellites are occasionally, even frequently eclipsed. This phenomenon occasioned to us the discovery of the rate of light; and serves roughly to determine longitude at sea. But will any one contend that this is sufficient, as a final cause of his creation? Such an hypothesis would be as ridiculous as the theory that he is but another and a miniature moon to us. Hanging in resplendent, though very distant radiance over the waters, his dancing gleam may serve to beguile the tedious hours of the mariner, or may lend a silver charm to the brief hour of lovers' converse. And if it lifts the hearts of these to the wise and good Father W holds all in equipoise, it is well. But has it no other mear no more independent reason for existence?

Such is the thought which will, again and again, s us, in spite of all the labored and devious lucubrati

learned author. It is utterly unworthy of an enlarged and philosophical line of thought, to limit our conceptions of other life to the forms around us. It was utterly unnecessary, therefore, that 'The Essay' should drag us tediously through such false assumptions as that 'Intelligence . . . . implies a history of intellectual development;' or such unhappy mistakes as that moral and religious progress 'has been far more extensively aimed at than a progress in abstract and general knowledge;' and 'has been, in many nations, and in a very great measure, really effected.' These labored premisses were, we repeat it, unnecessary in order to establish the conclusion (falsely, however, deduced from *them*) that Jupiter and Saturn can have no inhabitants analogous to men. It is not because it would be 'too bold an assumption to speak of the conscience of an inhabitant of Jupiter,' that we do not speculate concerning such matters, but simply because it is needless, and, in the absence of all data, unphilosophical. It is worthy of the author of a moral and metaphysical Euclid, to assume that 'When 'we attempt to extend our sympathies to the inhabitants of 'other planets and other worlds, and to regard them as living 'like us under a moral government, we are driven to suppose 'them to be, in all essential respects, human beings like our-'selves;' but the assumption is untrue. What proof have we of this? 'In all the attempts which have been made, with 'whatever licence of hypothesis and fancy, to present to us 'descriptions and representations of the inhabitants of other 'parts of the universe.' Marvellous indeed! Because absurd 'attempts *have been* made,' '*we* are driven' to be absurd and unphilosophical also! We beg leave to say, 'speak for yourself, oh author,' for as he himself immediately afterwards observes, 'There is no more wisdom or philosophy in believing 'such assemblages of beings to exist in Jupiter or Sirius, with-'out evidence, than in believing them to exist in the island of 'Formosa, with the like absence of evidence.'

'Since we know nothing about the inhabitants of Jupiter, 'true science requires that we say and suppose nothing about 'them.' Most true, with the single exception of their *existence*, and the very few conditions which we *do* know respecting its possible modes. Thus a most unnecessary array of false argument is collected to establish a conclusion which nobody denies, and which has no reference to the single topic of discussion.

We trust there may be nothing more than inadvertence in the meagre and not over-reverent phraseology, which in exalting the worth and dignity of man, and man's world, can speak of our Blessed Saviour as 'a special Messenger (!) whom in the

fulness of time, God sent upon the earth in the form of a man,' and in the typographical distinctions which speak of God's 'revealing *His* purpose . . by a Divine messenger, preceded by prophetic announcements of *his* coming.' But this sort of inadvertence is always to be regretted; and we cannot but deplore that so very learned and pious a man as our author shows himself to be, should rarely suffer any symptoms to betray that he considers *Christian* privileges, *Christian* tempers, *Christian* hopes, to be the only perfect 'glory and worship,' wherewith man is crowned; and *Christianity*, rather than intellectual 'dignity,' or even 'moral progress,' to be the normal condition of humanity. Everywhere we meet with a supreme reverence for MAN. He is honoured with all the distinctions which initial types, emphatic collocation, and wearisome repetition can bestow. 'MAN . . . . is an intelligent, moral, religious, and spiritual creature.'—'Man and Mankind.'—'Man is capable of, &c.'—'Man has occupied his thoughts.'—'Man is also capable of, &c.'—'He is, &c.' 'Perhaps man, &c.'; and, finally, 'Man is naturally, and reasonably, the greatest object of interest to man,' and to none apparently more so than to the author. Indeed, if there be such a religion as Anthropolatry, we conceive our essayist to be its Hierophant. And it would appear throughout his book, as if he were uneasy under an unconfessed, and perhaps unconscious feeling of humiliation, at so dignified a creature as man being made the tenant of so mean a globe as ours. He seems to deem it necessary to adduce every consideration which may mitigate the apparent disproportion. And the whole book seems based on this idea—if it can be said, indeed, to have any settled idea whatever. It conveys to one the impression of a somewhat rambling and verbose apology for the residence of the noblest of created existences in one of the smallest of the many mansions which he eyes.

The most valuable portion of this remarkable volume, is the two chapters on Geology; and, perhaps, the most original part of it is a chapter on The Nebulæ. It is not our intention to present our readers with an abstract of the very excellent geological sketch here displayed, for there is nothing new in the facts or the inferences deduced from them. We ought, however, to make one significant exception. It is, we believe, in this treatise, that geology has been made to contribute analogies, for the first time, to the consideration of the question before us. And though the argument is highly ingenious, and is not without its force, we conceive that it will scarcely be reproduced. For it appears to us to have very little weight, as compared with that steady and cumulative reasoning which our author endeavours to overthrow; and which he has scarcely met with any

other real analogy than the geological. But let him state it for himself:—

'When Geology tells us that the earth, which has been the seat of human life for a few thousand years only, has been the seat of animal life for myriads, it may be, millions of years, she has a right to offer this, as an answer to any difficulty which astronomy, or the readers of astronomical books, may suggest, derived from the consideration that the Earth, the seat of human life, is but one globe of a few thousand miles in diameter, among millions of other globes, at distances millions of times as great.'

There is certainly a great degree of plausibility[1] in this analogy, and it is forcibly put at considerable length, and in divers forms, by our author. *Valeat quantum.* But after all we do not *know*, even concerning our own earth, that it was untenanted by intelligent, moral, and religious beings in the bygone ages of its existence. That we find no remains in human form, may render it extremely improbable that such are to be found; may render it unlikely that *man* ever walked this globe before the creation of Adam. Indeed, the spirit of Scripture would seem to negative the supposition with more of certainty than the revelations of geology. But we must earnestly protest against the unwarranted assumption that, because we find no remains like unto our own, therefore no sentient and intellectual creatures can have preceded us. We must here quote our author against himself:—

'Not only does the analogy of creation not point to any such entire resemblance of similar parts, as is thus assumed, but it points in the opposite direction. Not entire resemblance, but universal difference is

[1] The above argument, as applied to the religious thinker, involves precisely the same fallacy as the 'Answer from the Microscope;' enhancing, in fact, the (so-called) *religious* difficulty, while it has considerable force as an analogy in removing a *philosophical* or intellectual one. Geology 'has a right to offer the above as an answer' to any analogy the astronomer may assert, or any difficulty he may raise on the supposed waste of space—just as the microscope offers *her* discoveries as a *confirmation* of such analogy—but neither can offer the least help to a man laboring under the difficulty, 'How can I believe all I am told of man, when I find him occupying so infinitesimal a part of Space?' It is a sort of *argumentum ad hominem* to say to him, 'You *do* manage to believe the same under the same difficulty with regard to *Time*,' but this argument can only raise fresh scruples in his mind. We admit the force of the analogy *as against a probable Plurality of Worlds*, and leave it to pair off with the Microscopic Analogies. There seems to be some difficulty in apprehending exactly *what is* the religious difficulty. Is it that he for whom Christ died should inhabit so *minute* a home? Then his ephemeral existence as a tenant even there does but increase the difficulty. Is it that he should inhabit so minute a home *among all other* homes? Then certainly Geology may offer her analogies from time, to neutralise the suggestion from space that there *are* any other homes. The objection very likely enters different minds in different forms, and probably not without some confusion of thought. To us it does not appear formidable; but, if any, it would assume rather the former shape. And thus it would be of nearly the same force when the Plurality of Inhabited Worlds was disproved.

what we discover . . . . not uniformity and a fixed type of existences, but progression and a climax.'

We decline to speculate on the possible forms of our possible predecessors, or on the possibility of their having been translated to another home. But we strenuously deny that the absence of a particular type of vertebrate mammals among geological fossils, is any *proof* that we were the first rational tenants of this sphere; or that it affords even a presumption that our race are 'the people, and wisdom shall die with them.'

We have already animadverted on our author's extraordinary respect for the species to which he belongs. This is not limited to a deep sense of the importance and responsibility attaching to free moral agents—nor to a grateful acknowledgment of the gifts of reason and intelligence. 'As an intellectual creature, 'he has not only an intelligence which he can apply to 'practical uses . . . . but also an intellect by which he can 'speculate about the relations of things, in their most general 'form; for instance, the properties of space and time, the 'relations of finite and infinite. . . . These are conditions to 'which the creation conforms, that is, to which the Creator conforms'—'*that is*, to which the *Creator* conforms'!! Without dilating on this grievous and palpable tendency to a pantheistic view of things, we will say only that we should prefer to have read, 'which the Creator *imposes*.' But we can never tolerate so cool an assumption, as that man's intellect is capable of 'speculation about the relation of things in their *most* general form.' It may be so. But it is at least equally likely that it is not so. The properties of space and time, for example, are among the 'most general' and abstract forms of which *we* have any conception; but they are not necessarily so in absolute omniscience. They are so ἐφ' ἡμῖν—who shall venture to add καὶ ἁπλῶς? On the contrary, they appear to be either conditions or accidents of *finite* existence; and they may very possibly be resolved into far higher generalisations in a future state. Yes, Sir Essayist, even I. xlvii. which seems to you so glorious and indelible an achievement of man's (MAN'S) dignities and intelligence, may hereafter appear a truism, or at best an axiom! Therefore, we object to the above assertion on your part, worded as it is 'in its most general form.'

But if our author seems inclined to over-estimate the elevation of man's apprehensions in matters of objective truth, he fully compensates for this by the extraordinary manner in which he makes the reality of spiritual life to rest on subjective opinion. We have seldom met with a more palpable avowal, that 'truth is what a man troweth,' than is comprised in the following passage, designed to establish, in a different way, the

worthiness of human nature, and its claim to Divine regard—'Man is capable in no small degree of a spiritual existence, of 'intercourse with God; and, as we are authorized to term it, of 'such a life with God, and in God, even while he continues in 'his present human existence. I say *authorized*, because'—Why, do you suppose, gentle reader? because the Bible teaches of a 'life hid with Christ in God?'—'because such expressions 'are used, though reverently, by the most religious men; *who* '*are, at any rate, authority* as to their own sentiments; which 'are the basis of our reasoning!' *We* are authorized, because *others* have certain sentiments, to make *their* opinions the basis of *our* reasoning! Then it is to be πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος (MAN!) after all!

Before we quit entirely the author's argument from geology, we must observe, that even if we were to concede his assertion, that 'we are compelled by geological evidences, to admit 'that a destitution of creatures who can know, obey, and worship 'God, has existed upon the earth during a far longer period 'than the whole duration of man's race,' we should still demur to the conclusion analogically inferred, 'that if other planets, 'and other stars, are the seats of habitation, it is rather of such 'habitation as has prevailed upon the earth during the millions, 'than during the six thousand years'—at least we vehemently protest against the conclusion, that *such* are their *permanent* inhabitants. There is a fallacy in the insidious transition from the past to the present tense. Such a state 'has existed on the earth;' therefore 'it is' the state of the planets. Say rather that analogy suggests it 'has been' also their condition; surmise if you will (from the preponderance of millions over 6,000 years) that it is their state even now: but in all fairness admit that the analogy, if pursued to its close, suggests a glorious sequence to their sometime chaotic state.

To investigate with any precision the curious and original theories which our author throws out with respect to the Nebulæ, would involve us in dynamics of too recondite a form. We will content ourselves by remarking, that the Nebular hypothesis, *i.e.*, the theory that our system, and any other systems which may be in existence, were framed by the gradual consolidation of a vortex of highly attenuated matter, does not stand the test of refined mathematical analysis. We are sorry to find anything approaching to the exploded doctrines of vortices (so ingeniously propounded by Des Cartes) receiving the support of so learned and weighty an author. Every succeeding revelation of the telescope has afforded fresh conviction to astronomers, that the Nebulæ are vast assemblages of distinct luminaries, and not enormous conglomerates of rarefied star-dust. Perhaps

it may be sufficient, as a popular argument, to object against our author's theory, that it supposes a highly rarefied fog (as it were) of revolving matter to possess sufficient luminosity to become visible by our telescopes; whereas we learn from its immeasurable, its inconceivable distance, that an intensely brilliant object, like our own sun, would be incapable of affecting the retina, even with all aids and appliances of optical art, did *it* occupy the place of a nebula. We may, therefore, dismiss, as the products of a mind determined to sacrifice philosophy to paradox, the strange conceptions that 'Nebulæ are of a granulated or curdled texture: they have run into *lumps* of light, or have been formed originally of such lumps. Highly curious.' Highly curious indeed! and not a little crude.

One can hardly reconcile the grave philosophy of an astronomer with such an intimation as the following:—

> 'If we were to say that the spiral nebulæ appear mere shapeless masses, flung off in the work of creating solar systems, we might perhaps disturb those who are resolved to find everywhere worlds like ours; but it seems difficult to suggest any other reason for not saying so.'

We will not imitate the rash conjectures of the Nebulæ theorist; or we could easily multiply theories, the most improbable of which should afford sufficient 'reason for not saying so.' But we have the best reason for 'not saying so,' in the consideration that it is not the method of the Creator to 'fling off shapeless masses' from his handiwork—and it is scarcely reverent in the creature to attribute to Him such a *modus operandi*. Were it not for our personal knowledge and assurance that we should malign him—were it not for a chain of pious and reverent reflections even in the present work—we should not hesitate to attribute irreverence to the writer of such language. As it is, we gladly content ourselves with expressing our own dislike of such theories. We shrink with awe from such speculations, as that 'Meteoric stones are bits of planets, which have failed in the making, and lost their way, till arrested by the resistance of the earth's atmosphere;' and again, 'The planets and the stars 'are the lumps which have flown from the potter's wheel of the 'Great Worker; the shred coils which, in the working, sprang 'from His mighty lathe;—the sparks which darted from His 'awful anvil when the solar system lay incandescent thereon;—'the curls of vapour which rose from the great cauldron of 'creation when its elements were separated.' Such language may be figurative, and may seem to be no more; to us it appears painful, and we prefer to contrast it with the author's expression of 'undoubting trust,' (we hasten to state our honest conviction of his entire sincerity,) 'that any view of the creation

'which is found to be true, will also be found to supply material 'for reverential contemplation.'

From his ingenious but fanciful speculations on the Nebulæ, (which he henceforward regards as established truths), the essayist passes to similar conclusions for the Fixed-stars and planets. By a gradual process of ingenious paradox, and arbitrary assumption, they are robbed of almost every attribute which has been hitherto accorded them. The Fixed-stars are not foci of life; because, 'as we have seen, the Nebulæ are not centres of inhabited systems.' And, inasmuch as *the Moon* (which evidently waits in a subordinate position on an inhabited sphere) bears little trace of life, it is concluded that 'our best chance of learning whether' the *planets* are inhabited, militates against the theory of a plurality of worlds. Step by step, we are led into conclusions more and more paradoxical, till at last we are told 'the Earth is really the largest planetary body in the solar system!' and are brought to the extraordinary proposition, 'that the Earth is inhabited, is not a reason for believing 'that the other planets are so, but for believing that they are 'not so.'

We gladly pass on to notice a very striking chapter on the Argument from Design. In our opinion this chapter is (as an effort of argument) worth all the rest of the book. The rest of the book contains several things that are new, and several things that are true. Unhappily, the things that are true (*vide* chapter on geology) are not new; and those that are new (as of the Nebulæ) are scarcely true. A cosmical theory is spun out hardly more probable than the gorgeous vision of the distaff-balanced universe at the close of Plato's Polity; and with scarcely less assumption of a docile and assenting audience. But the reader must outvie the submissiveness of a Glaucon who can answer ἔγωγε to every οὔκουν of our author's. However, in the chapter on Design, he really addresses himself to the gist of the argument *pro* and *con;* and though we do not concur in his conclusions, we must confess there is a great deal of beautiful thought, and even eloquent writing in this chapter. We should do the essay injustice if we omitted to quote the following passage:—

'The objection will perhaps be urged in another form. It will be said that the other planets have so many points of resemblance with the Earth, that we must suppose their nature and purpose the same. They, like the Earth, revolve in circles round the Sun, rotate on their own axes, have several of them satellites, are opaque bodies, deriving light, and probably heat, from the Sun. To an external spectator of the solar system, they would not be distinguishable from the Earth. Such a spectator would never be tempted to guess that the Earth alone, of all these, neither the greatest nor the least, neither the one with the most satellites, nor the

fewest, neither the innermost nor the outermost of the planets, is the only one inhabited; or, at any rate, the only one inhabited by an intelligent population. And to this we reply, that the largest of the other planets, if we judge rightly, are *not* like the earth in one most essential respect—their density; and none of them, in having a surface consisting of land and water, except perhaps Mars; that if the supposed external spectator could see that this was so, he might see that the Earth was different from the rest; and he might be able to see the vaporous nature of the outer planets, so that he would no more dream of peopling them, than we do of peopling the grand alpine ridges and valleys which we see in the clouds of a summer sky.'

This, in fact, contains a tolerable sketch of the whole argument on either side. We can only say that to us, neither the facts assumed nor the conclusions involved in the reply, seem satisfactory, or are sufficient to destroy the force of the analogy. But in the following we entirely concur—for a plurality of worlds is no integral part of our 'creed,' whatever it may be of Sir David Brewster's; nor would its proved falsity disturb our entire acquiescence in the Creator's love and wisdom :—

'One such fertile result as the Earth, with all its hosts of plants and animals, and especially with man, an intelligent being, to stand at the head of those hosts, is a worthy and sufficient produce, so far as we can judge of the Creator's ways by analogy, of all the universal scheme.'

Most fully do we concur in the poet's language:—

'Behold this midnight splendour, worlds on worlds;
Ten thousand add and twice ten thousand more,
Then weigh the whole; one soul outweighs them all,
And calls the seeming vast magnificence
Of unintelligent creation, poor.'

But, on the other hand, if one world like ours be a sufficient theme for worship and admiring awe,—if we gladly acknowledge that we should be *content* to believe (if we could) that we alone inhabit creation; we must contend that the religious mind should feel no difficulty (such as our author urged) in an opposite doctrine. A plurality of worlds need not seem to us to diminish that personal regard and care which religion teaches us to recognise in God's providence.

'Thou art as much His care, as if beside
Nor man nor angel lived in heaven or earth;
Thus sunbeams pour alike their glorious tide
To light up worlds, or wake an insect's mirth;
They shine and shine with unexhausted store—
Thou art thy Saviour's darling—seek no more.'

We cannot refrain from quoting from the essay we have considered at so much length, a very forcible passage on the apparent waste of beauty in creation. In answer to the plea that the symmetry and beauty of the heavenly bodies argues

'that every part has been framed with a view to some use; 'that its symmetry and its beauty are the marks of some noble 'purpose,' our author alleges (among other things):—

'The diamond, the emerald, the topaz, have got each its peculiar kind of symmetry. Gold and other metals have, for the basis of their forms, the cube, but run from this into a vastly greater variety of regular solids than ever geometer dreamt of. Ice crystallizes by the same laws as other solid bodies; and our Arctic voyagers have sometimes relieved the weariness of their sojourn in those regions, by collecting some of the innumerable forms, resembling an endless collection of hexagonal flowers, sporting into different shapes, which are assumed by flakes of snow. . . . . And what are we to conceive to be the object and purpose of this? As we have said, that part of the purpose which is intelligible to us is, that we have here a force holding together the particles of bodies, so as to make them solid. But all these pretty shapes add nothing to their intelligible use. Why, then, are they there? They are there, it would seem, for their own sake; because they are pretty; symmetry and beauty are there on their own account; or because they are universal adjuncts of the general laws by which the Creator works. Or rather, we may say, combining different branches of our knowledge, that crystallization is the mark and accompaniment of chemical composition; and that, as chemical composition takes place according to definite numbers, so crystalline aggregation takes place according to definite forms. The symmetrical relations of space in crystals correspond to the simple relations of number in synthesis; and thus, because there is rule, there is regularity; and regularity assumes the form of beauty.'

The following, again, repays one for a perusal of a great mass of heavy writing:—

'Do we not, in innumerable cases, see beauties of colour and form, texture and lustre, which suggest to us irresistibly the belief that beauty and regular form are rules of the Creative Agency, even when they seem to us, looking at the creation for uses only, idle and wanton expenditure of beauty and regularity? To what purpose are the host of splendid circles which decorate the tail of the peacock, more beautiful, each of them, than Saturn with his rings? To what purpose the exquisite textures of microscopic objects, more curiously regular than anything which the telescope discloses? To what purpose the gorgeous colours of tropical birds and insects, that live and die where human eye never approaches to admire them? To what purpose the thousands of species of butterflies with the gay and varied embroidery of their microscopic plumage, of which one in millions, if seen at all, only draws the admiration of the wondering schoolboy? To what purpose the delicate and brilliant markings of shells, which live, generation after generation, in the sunless and sightless depths of the ocean? Do not all these examples, to which we might add countless others (for the world, so far as human eye has scanned it, is full of them), prove that beauty and regularity are universal features of the work of creation in all its parts, small and great; and that we judge in a way contrary to a vast range of analogy, which runs through the whole of the universe, when we infer that, because the objects which are presented to our contemplation are beautiful in aspect and regular in form, they must, in each case, be means for some special end, of those which we commonly fix upon as the main ends of the creation, the support and advantage of animals or of man?'

We had intended to bestow some notice on the second of the works which form the title of this article. We are limited, however, by our space, to a few very brief remarks. It will hardly be a misfortune to Sir David Brewster if his treatise should be passed without closer criticisms than we can afford to give. He takes up the cudgels against our essayist with a spirit worthy of better logic than he knows how to wield. The side he supports is the one which we would advocate; but we blush for the forced analogies, the unsound argument, the daring speculation, the inflated diction, by which it is supported. Sir David is a votary of the superseded school which denies the undulatory theory of light—perhaps he is one of its last representatives. He comes to any conflict of opinion on astronomical questions with a prejudice amounting almost to an *odium* against writers of the Fresnel school. And he retains the antiquated notion that every syllable of the Bible is not only *verbally—literally*—inspired, but was intended to teach men astronomy and general science, as well as godliness. He is one of those who 'cannot doubt that inspiration revealed' to his royal namesake 'the magnitude, the distance, and the final cause of the glorious spheres which fixed his admiration!' We are loth to speak with severity of blunders and prejudices which are based on a feeling of devout reverence for God's Word; but the knowledge of the age is beyond such senile notions as some which our northern philosopher advances, and he may rest assured that the devotion of which ignorance is the parent needs no lamentation over its fall. A man is far, very far, from doing God and God's book service, who maintains such an absurdity as that not only isolated texts, but the *English garb* of isolated texts (!) can be used as bases for scientific theory. It is not true reverence—but it may give the sceptic good reason to sneer—to quote S. Paul's words that by our Saviour 'the *worlds* (*αἰῶνες*) were framed,' in order to prove 'more worlds than one.' Such is little better than punning! It is Bibliolatry of the worst order—a slavish subserviency to the accidents of English. We cannot too much deprecate, as most injurious to the real interests of religion, such *mis*quotations as those from Isaiah, Amos, Genesis, and Job. Critics of a really large and wise judgment will not fasten on inspiration the forms of thought and expression in which Judaic cosmogony happened to model prophetic imagery. At all events, a sensible man will refrain from toying with the English version of most holy Scripture, and adducing Isaiah's poetry, or the idiom of Genesis, as bearing on the questions of astronomical conjecture or scientific probability. When a philosopher of the nineteenth century can utter such unphilosophical conceptions as the axiom that 'man *must* (in his

'future state) live upon a *material planet* (!) subject to *all* the 'laws of matter' (!!)—when he can hence evolve the proposition that 'there is not *room* on our globe' for this purpose, and that, therefore, he must have recourse to other systems for his *habitat*, we feel indignantly disposed to ask him if he ever read the fifteenth chapter of S. Paul's first letter to Corinth; or rather to quote from it an exclamation addressed by the Apostle to a similar reasoner, 'Thou fool!' But, without so far giving way to our vexed astonishment, we will quietly commend such argumentation to the followers of Mr. G. S. Faber.[1]

We have complained, we think not without reason, of awkward style in the author of 'OF, &c.,' but the language of his opponent is miserable. It varies from the turgid bombast of pomposity, to the style of Lindley Murray's *un*corrected[2] exercises.

'Man as now constituted, could not have lived amid the storms, and earthquakes and eruptions of a world in the act of formation.'

Most true; but wherefore?

'The thunder of a boiling and tempest-driven ocean, as its waters rushed upon him at midnight, would . . . . have roused him from his couch!'

Sir David might really have expressed his discomforts more directly than by indicating the inconvenience of his Alarum!

Take the following as a specimen of English composition:—

'We shall not venture to ascertain how much more *of God's glory* is seen in the mere material structure of Saturn and his ring, and of Jupiter and his satellites, than *it* is (!) in the minutest insect that lives but for an hour.'

And, as suggestive of a new branch of logic:—

'The argument for a plurality of worlds may have two forms. It may embrace a new point of analogy between the inhabited earth and any of the planets, primary or secondary . . . . It may also have a second form, namely, that which is called a *reductio ad absurdum*, that is, an argument in which it is shown that the opposite opinion is an absurdity. The *strictest* truths in geometry have been considered as demonstrated by this species of argument; and it is still MORE applicable in the present case, where mathematical certainty CANNOT be reached, BECAUSE there may be different degrees of absurdity, and we may have an *argumentum ad absurdi*OREM (!), and an *argumentum ad absurdissimum*.'

This is truly the *ne plus ultra* of absurdity. Sir David says, truly enough, 'it is hardly necessary to illustrate these views by more familiar similitudes,' and then, after the manner of authors, proceeds to do it:—

'The Creator of a solar system, with but one of its smallest planets inha-

[1] The author of 'Many Mansions,' a work in which materialistic and spiritual conjectures are, in like manner, confounded and compounded together.

[2] All the following extracts are unaltered in the last edition.

bited, launched into an orbit of immeasurable circuit, and wheeling through ether with the velocity of fifty-seven miles in a second, may have some resemblance to a mighty autocrat, who should establish a railway round the coasts of Europe and Asia, and place upon it an enormous train of first-class carriages, impelled year after year by tremendous steam-power, while there was but a philosopher and a culprit in a humble van, attended by hundreds of unoccupied carriages and empty trucks!'

Here is a mystery. We are sorry that our efforts to divine the entire solution of this allegory have not been crowned with success; but the Emperor of Russia, the Master of a large College, and the Vice-President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, would seem to be parties to the plot.

We take our leave of Sir David Brewster's work with a very acute feeling of disappointment. We are sorry to find so very famous a man condescend to employ rhodomontade and bad reasoning on so very interesting a theme. We are the more sorry, because we feel that *such* an answer to so able (though we trust we have shown not immaculate) a work as his opponent's, cannot but weaken the cause which we ourselves incline to support. To Sir David, an advocate of a plurality of worlds may well exclaim, 'Save me from my friends!' Would that the author of the Essay had been writing on the opposite side! We should gladly have hailed so able and ingenious a thinker as an advocate instead of an opponent of a plurality of worlds. His immense information, his enormous capacity, his store of able if not profound thought, would have made him an irresistible pleader on a better cause than he has chosen. With the ingenuity which, in his present work, he exhibits—*δεινός τίς ἐστι θέσεις διαφυλάττειν*—he could easily have made the *better* appear the better cause. Nor are we aware that his habits of thought, as previously exhibited, would in any wise have unfitted him for such an advocacy. One, who, if we mistake not, is not *entirely* dissimilar from him in his antecedents, argues:[1]—

'The earth, the globular body thus covered with life, is not the only globe in the universe. There are circling about our own sun six other bodies, as far as we can judge, *perfectly analogous in their nature*, besides our moon. No one can resist the temptation to conjecture that these globes, some of them much larger than our own, may be dead and barren; that they are, like ours, occupied with organization and intelligence. To conjecture is all that we can do; yet even by the contemplation of such a possibility, our view of the kingdom of nature is rendered more and more elevated.'

Yes, to conjecture is all we can do; and we shall

[1] Dr. Whewell, Bridgewater Treatise, p. 269.

never attain a nobler or more enviable spirit than that of the child's poem—for a Poem it is:—

> 'Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
> How I wonder what you are!'

But if we cannot be content with grateful and admiring awe; if we must conjecture, let our conjectures be directed in the most natural, the most philosophical, the most religious course. We have scarcely done more than indicate in these pages *which* we conceive to be that tendency, but it is one which, to us at least, seems irresistible. We are at best children disporting themselves on the margin of truth's ocean, picking up here a pebble and there a shell, but ignorant of all that lies beyond. Yet it would be unwise to conclude that *our* shores and *our* shoals alone are tenanted with these beauteous creations, while the islands which appear to stud that ocean, and all its prodigious depths, are destitute of the activity that displays itself with us. We cannot forbear from quoting the beautiful and devout language of our own sweet psalmist:[1]—

> '"More and more stars! and ever as I gaze
> Brighter and brighter seen!
> Whence came they, Father? trace me out their ways
> Far in the deep serene."
> My child, these eyes of mine but faintly show
> One step on earth below:
> And even our wisest may but dream, they say,
> Of what is done on high, by yon empyreal ray.
>
> * * * * *
>
> But surely of yon lamps on high we deem
> As of pure worlds, whereon the floods of mercy stream
>
> Yea, in each keen heart-thrilling glance of theirs
> Of other stars we read;
> Stars out of sight, souls for whom love prepares
> A portion and a meed
> In the supernal Heavens for evermore,
> When sun and moon are o'er;
> Fixed in the deep of grace and song, as these
> In the blue skies, and o'er the far-resounding seas.
>
> * * * * *
>
> More and more stars! behold yon hazy arch
> Spanning the vault on high,
> By planets traversed in majestic march,
> Seeming to earth's dull eye
> A vault of gleaming air: but take thou wing
> Of faith, and upward spring:
> Into a thousand stars the misty light
> Will part; each star a world with its own day and night.

[1] *Lyra Innocentium.* The Starry Heavens.

Not otherwise of yonder Saintly host
Upon the glorious shore
Deem thou. He marks them all; not one is lost;
By name He counts them o'er.
Full many a soul, to man's dim praise unknown,
May on its glory-throne
As brightly shine, and prove as strong in prayer
As theirs whose separate beams shoot keenest through this air.'

Such is the poet's expansion of the ancient and most sure promise, when the patriarch, the father of the faithful, looked towards heaven and failed to number the stars, 'So shall thy seed be!' And this, we must confess, is a philosophy with which we would rather err, than be bereft of its noble and lofty imaginings, for the sake of fanciful speculations concerning the constitution of 'granulated nebulæ' and 'curdled lumps of light.' Let truth be paramount everywhere, and in all cases; let science demand our hearty assent to all she has to teach; but, while we are precluded from bringing positive science to bear on such a theme, while probability and balanced analogies are all our resource, we are loth to be robbed of such ideas as have animated and comforted the breasts of men like Bentley, Isaac Taylor, Chalmers, and Whewell, in past time. We have the fullest conviction that every advance made in physical knowledge will afford fresh matter for reverential and grateful thought. We do not, therefore, check the march of intellect, and the progress of certainty and truth. But, while speculation only can be applied to the subject, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to abandon the strong analogies which seem to tell u that there is a sweet harmony in the eternal heavens, in whi the discords of our own life shall be finally resolved in such pulse of symphony as man hath not heard nor in his heart co ceived; that there is some centre of the universe whence relations, and attributes, and mysteries of existence shall ass a glorious symmetry and proportion; that, for the moral intellectual, not less than for the material scheme of thin dare cherish no Ptolemaic theory;—that our earth is but a in God's wide, wide world.

ART. III.—1. *Ueber das Verhaltniss des Islams zum Evangelium. Von* DR. J. A. MÖHLER. *Ed.* DÖLLINGER. Regensburg. 1839.

2. *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'Epoque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Musulmane. Par* A. P. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, *Professeur d'Arabe au Collège de France, &c.* Tomes 3. Paris: Didot Frères. 1847-48.

3. *Mahomet et les Origines de l'Islamisme. Par* M. ERNEST RENAN. *Revue des deux Mondes.* Paris. 1851. Tome xii. p. 1063.

4. *Lettres sur la Turquie, ou Tableau Statistique de l'Empire Ottoman. Par* M. A. UBICINI. *Première Partie. Les Ottomans.* Deuxième Edition. Paris. 1853.

5. *Lives of Mahomet and his Successors.* By WASHINGTON IRVING. New York and London. 1850.

6. *History of Arabia and its People.* By ANDREW CHRICHTON, LL.D. New Edition. London and Edinburgh: Nelson and Sons.

7. *Lectures on the History of the Turks in its Relation to Christianity.* By the Author of Loss and Gain. Dublin. 1854.

IF, gazing upon the shelves of a well-stocked modern library, we should observe a large and increasing proportion of volumes, which, more or less directly, bore reference to the person and the creed of Mahomet; and if, further, we were informed that their general tendency was more favourable to the Arabian teacher than were, for the most part, those of an earlier age; the first and most obvious mode of accounting for this circumstance would be the existence of the War in the East. Nor indeed would it be difficult to point out many volumes, for whose tone and for whose very appearance our new armed alliance would sufficiently account. But this solution would before long find its limit. After glancing at the contents of numberless books of travel, and of biographical and historical sketches, professing to throw light upon the all-absorbing topic of the day, we should arrive by a retrograde course at rows of volumes upon the same theme, prior in point of time to the outbreak, or even the expectation, of the present war, yet often partaking of the same lenient tone in all that respects Mahomet

and Mahometanism.[1] It was long before the Anglo-French support of Turkey that Mr. Carlyle exclaimed, that Mahomet's creed 'was a kind of Christianity—I should say a better kind 'than that of those miserable Syrian sects, with their vain jang-'lings about'[2]—we rather shrink from finishing the sentence, since the words are those of the Nicene Creed and the Arian heresy respectively, concerning the nature of Him who is the object of Christian worship. It was in the days of European peace, that Sir Charles Fellowes, ignoring, if we mistake not, all reminiscences of the Seven Churches in Asia Minor, produced the account of his travels, as a panegyrist of the Mahometan conqueror, Mahmood, and his people. The ponderous tomes of Mahomet's latest German biographer, Weil,[3] were published some three or four years since. Of the works given at the head of this article, one only (that of Dr. Newman) can, we believe, be said to have been originally prompted by the stirring events occurring round us.

We must seek, then, some more adequate solution. The causes of these phenomena are probably manifold and varied: enough for us to indicate a few.

The mere appearance of fresh works upon Islamism and its founder may have originated, partly in the love of book-making, partly from the discoveries made by honest, student-like research. The book-making tribe is ever on the look out for a hero who is not worn threadbare, a theme which is not yet exhausted and certain of its members seem to have become aware (ev before the powerful impulse since imparted to their labor that such a theme and such a hero were yet to be found in past history and present condition of Arabia and Asia M Turkey and Hindostan. On the other hand, the truly le Orientalist, the critical and philosophic investigator, has al upon manuscripts hitherto undeciphered in the West, or d

[1] Lest any purist should be shocked *in limine* at our employment of the corruption, *Mahomet*, we beg to observe with M. Caussin (for the remar to Englishmen quite as well as Frenchmen)—'*cette altération du mot M est consacrée parmi nous.*' The same might be asserted of the term *M ism*, as applied to his creed. The reader who dislikes either form m substitute another. In the latter case, there is abundant choice. H the German word *Islam*, or the French *Islamisme;* may, with Mr. others, speak of *Mohammedism;* with Dean Prideaux and others, of The last two coinages are, we presume, as lawful as that of Irvingisr names.

[2] Heroes and Hero-Worship, Lect. ii. p. 98. We trust that neithe Milnes, nor Mr. Kingsley, in endorsing this lecture with the mark bation, intended to include this sentence. There are, as will be tions in the lecture of Mr. Carlyle which we are very far from co the other hand, there are some which Mr. C. all but controverts unsays where he is speaking of *the hero as poet.* Pp. 175, 176.

[3] *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre.* Stut

what appear to him mistakes in the ordinary estimate of Mahometanism by Europeans; and out of the fulness of his knowledge and strength of his convictions, imparted to us, as became him, the fruits of his study and meditations.

Thus much for the mere existence of this class of books. The greater tenderness displayed towards Mahomet is a distinct and somewhat more complicate affair. We are not ignorant that in venturing to assert it as a fact, we are speaking with some degree of vagueness and generality. Among the studious writers of the present century may be found those who have dealt severely with the creed of Islam. Our travellers, too, have, in many instances, been unsparing in their criticisms upon Turkish character and manners. And so, again, among authors of an earlier generation there are partisans, as they may be fairly termed, of Mahomet. The most learned English translator of the Koran, Sale, is pronounced, even by Gibbon, no harsh judge, to be half a Mahometan; and a French biographer, the Comte de Boulainvilliers, seems to have composed his untrustworthy *Vie de Mahomet*, as an attack, and hardly a covert one, upon Christianity.[1]

Nevertheless, if the least favourable of our list of books be compared with the earlier comments of Prideaux,[2] Maracci,[3] White,[4] the compilers of the Universal History, or even of Professor Smyth,[5] it will be allowed, we think, that the balance is in Mahomet's favour. Such modification of views, be it greater or less, as has really taken place, will be probably found to have arisen from an admixture of causes, some most honourable and generous, some very treacherous and malignant. If, for instance, any deeper research into the original sources of history, or calmer meditation upon facts already known, has led to discoveries which lessen the burden of charges against Mahomet, what lover of truth will hesitate to accept such results with cheerfulness? If, again, the changed circumstances of the Ottoman Empire—once keeping all Europe at bay, now reduced

[1] Boulainvilliers, who died A. D. 1722, is said to have ended his days as a Christian. He seems to have asserted that this, and other sceptical productions of his pen, were written in aid of religious truth from a conviction that Divine Providence would raise up defenders of sound doctrine. (Art. Boulainvilliers, *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*. Paris, 1853.) It would be equally easy to believe that the Czar intended the present war as a boon to Turkey, and under the conviction that powerful supporters of her cause would be vouchsafed to her.

[2] Life of Mahomet, by Humphrey Prideaux, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London, A.D. 1708. (Fourth Edit.)

[3] Maracci, Professor of Arabic at Rome, published his Latin translation of the Koran, with the *Prodromus* and *Refutatio Alcorani*, at Padua, in A.D. 1698. It is said to have been the result of forty years' labour. (See Chrichton, p. 227.)

[4] Professor White's Bampton Lectures were preached at Oxford, A.D. 1784.

[5] Lectures on Modern History, vol. i. lect. iii.

to beg Christian support against her powerful antagonist of the North—throw a different hue over the aspect, not merely of her present condition, but even of her past history, who will deny but that such alteration in the mental vision of men, arises from a noble sentiment, which may occasionally need to be checked and moderated, but seldom or never to be repressed? We too often behold, on the part of men in power and authority, a reversal of that grand old Roman rule:—

Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Let us rejoice at any proofs that it still abides in the hearts of Englishmen, for it is one which used to be deeply enshrined in their better nature, and has frequently shone forth amidst the fermentation caused by great events. Let any one, to take a modern example, look at the judgments passed by our countrymen upon Napoleon, at the time when he stood forth as the conqueror at Austerlitz or Wagram, and Napoleon as the exile of Saint Helena; it will hardly seem that the same person is being spoken of. Moreover, in such cases, there is apt to be a reaction, inasmuch as it is probable that enmity and alarm have unduly exaggerated the faults of a foe. And thus, too, the somewhat excessive anti-Mahometan zeal of a Prideaux, a Maracci, and in later times a Frederick Schlegel, was of itself calculated to provoke a counter-demonstration of feeling from tolerably unbiassed by-standers.

And here we would gladly close our list of causes for the phenomena in question. We wish that we could think that such motives had in all cases been the leading ones. But there is that about some writings of the day which forbids us so think; suspicions of the existence of a very different elem from those above-named will occasionally force themselves u the mind, and it were no true charity to conceal them. fear that, in some cases, the panegyrists of Islamism are, more or less consciousness of purpose, again trying to en it as a weapon against Christianity, or, at any rate, in su of the worst species of latitudinarianism. They fancy, an sibly not without reason, that infidelity has not yet itself to the utmost of the specious arguments deducib the origin and progress of the Arabian religion; the yet be made to perplex the evidence for the divini Christian faith just in the point where Christianity most strong, namely, its extension and adaptation to t races of mankind; and that thus, if Mahometanis longer hope to subdue Christendom by force of arr yet become an intellectual cause of its decay an overthrow.

Vain hope! vain as ever the expectation of the Mussulman forces on the eve of their meeting with Charles Martel at Poitiers, or Don John of Austria at Lepanto, or Sobieski under the walls of Vienna! He who hath promised to His Church that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, can, whensoever it pleases Him, raise up champions in the arena of discussion as bold, as true, as victorious as those who erst contended for His kingdom upon earth with sword and spear, and jeoparded their lives unto the death. Vain hope! yet not, therefore, to be contemned and disregarded by such as desire the glory of God and the highest welfare of their brethren. For even as the power of the Crescent, though doomed to wane and fade before the Cross, has yet been proved a source of sore trial and perplexity, and caused torrents of human blood to flow: so too the reasoners on its behalf, though never fated to enjoy any real and lasting triumph, may yet win for a season some mental realm of Spain, some moral Constantinople, and help to injure, if not slay, the souls of many, as their prototypes maimed and destroyed their bodies. We seem to detect some traces of such mischief even in quarters where deliberate hostility to revelation was certainly not intended by the writer.[1]

These considerations are, of course, open to controversy. As, however, we cannot afford to dwell upon them, for the present, at any greater length, they must be left to the judgment of the reader; but, whatever be the reason, it is at least plain matter of fact, that the theme of Mahometanism has received much illustration since the time of Gibbon. Those who, like that distinguished historian, 'must profess their total ignorance of the Oriental tongues,' may not only enjoy the advantage of

[1] The following illustration of our meaning is one of the *least* offensive that we could select. A living biographer, speaking of the commencement of Mahomet's career, remarks: 'The *good old* Christian writers, on treating of the advent of one whom *they* denounce as the Arab enemy of the Church, make superstitious record of divers prodigies which occurred about this time, awful forerunners of the troubles about to agitate the world. In Constantinople, at that time the seat of Christian empire, were several monstrous births and prodigious apparitions, which struck dismay into the hearts of all beholders.' [The italics are ours.] Some details are given; as moving crosses, hideous figures rising from the Nile; the sun diminished in appearance, and shedding pale and baleful rays; furnace-light on a moonless night, and bloody lances glittering in the sky. Now, we do not pretend to have examined the evidence for the appearance of these prodigies, and are quite ready to admit, that very possibly it might not bear a searching examination. But, for his own sake, and the sake of others whom he may influence, a Christian writer should be careful how he indulges in anything like sneers at assertions so closely resembling the promises made by our Lord with reference to events of which Mahomet's coming may be fairly considered partly typical. (S. Matt. xxiv. 11, 21—24, 29.) As for the words, 'whom *they* denounce,' &c., they are almost ridiculous. Mahomet's hostility to the Church (whatever be thought of his degree of consciousness or guilt in the matter) is *a simple historic fact*, quite independent of any one's denunciation, or any one's denial.

referring to the works which he consulted, and to the graphic pages of his own narrative, but may likewise have recourse to many valuable and important publications which add greatly to our stock of knowledge upon the subject. The field of inquiry has been surveyed from points of view the most remote, and even opposite, and there now exists an ample collection of essays and treatises, biographies and histories, in which Mahometanism is successively portrayed as it appeared to spectators who have gazed upon it with the glance of a philosopher, a sceptic, a latitudinarian, an ultra-Protestant, or a Roman Catholic divine.

Et nos ergo manum; we too have looked, in our humble way, at questions so intimately connected with some of the deepest problems which can occupy the human mind, some of the most weighty events which can affect the fortunes of the human race. We too have attempted to weigh in the balance the lucubrations of some authors of learning and of genius; and to form opinions upon Mahomet, and the antecedents of his country before his birth, upon the nature of his creed and its relation to Paganism and to Christianity.

Crude and undigested as our notions may probably prove, they may yet be not ill-founded in the main; they may present from the works of the distinguished authors before us some aspects of the case which will be new to a portion of our readers, and suggest to the happy few, who can extract gold as it were from sand, far more perhaps than was thought of by the writer. But before commencing our self-imposed task, it will naturally be expected that we render some account of our authorities. This reasonable expectation we proceed at once (briefly, but not, we trust, presumptuously) to gratify.

The essay of Möhler, so well-known as the author of the 'Symbolik,' was originally published in a review. Since h' death it has been reprinted, in company with other mir writings of its author, by Dr. Döllinger, and it may be ea procured in this form at a very reasonable price. It is some years since our Quarterly Reviewers called attentio its merits, and expressed a desire that it should be transla The hint has not been lost: in the catalogue of books re mended to their students by the authorities at S. Augus College, Canterbury, appears a translation of this essay English Clergyman, the Rev. J. P. Menge, of the ' Mission, Guruckpore. This version, however, we have n an opportunity of procuring.

It is indeed a dignified and masterly paper, full of ir tion, still fuller of thought. Truly Catholic in its would have delighted the honoured founder of those

London lectures,* which are directed to be launched 'against notorious unbelievers, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves.' In accordance with his title, Möhler has taken into consideration, 1. the external, 2. the internal, 'Relation of Islamism to the Gospel;' adding thereto a third part, upon the probable future of Mahometanism. Admirable as is the discussion of the main problems considered in the treatise, this third part must, we fear, be pronounced to be somewhat unduly sanguine in its expectations.

The interest which Möhler felt in these questions was aroused, if not created, by the events of 1829. And here, *en passant*, we would beg the thoughtful student, who would fain estimate at its just worth the excessive eulogy at present lavished on the Turks, to cast his eye backward for one instant on the history of the formation of the Greek kingdom. Let him compare, if possible, the language of the English press, or at least of a large portion of it, at that epoch, with the tone adopted by it now. If those fervid denunciations of Turkish cruelty and oppression are, for the moment, forgotten or explained away, it is no hazardous prophecy to foretel, that a day will surely come, when these far less merited praises will be likewise buried in oblivion, or if remembered, remembered only with regret.

The second work upon our list, which sets forth the results of the researches of M. Caussin de Perceval, Professor of Arabic, at Paris, is beyond doubt one of the most important contributions to a right understanding of the historic part of the question which has for some years issued from the press. M. Caussin has made diligent and judicious use of some hitherto unexplored manuscripts preserved in the noble library of the French capital; more especially of one by the Arabian author, Ibn Khaldoun. The arrangement of his materials is good; his style admirably transparent; and if, at times, the scantiness of information reduces his narrative to little more than a bare catalogue of names, the consequent aridity must in fairness be ascribed to a conscientious desire of imparting to us the whole of the discoveries he has made. Even those portions which are most in danger of appearing tedious, are frequently relieved by the point of some Arab proverb, or the sparkle of their native poetry. The critical parts of the work display much judgment and good sense; whatever can be won from the field of Holy Writ is gleaned with care and reverence. In his endeavours to extract some grains of truth from ancient Arabian legends, M. Caussin seems to us to follow in the wake of Niebuhr. His

* The Boyle Lectures, founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle, A.D. 1691.

subject, however, gives him one advantage over the historian of Rome. Niebuhr had to deal with stories which most of us had been brought up from childhood to believe implicitly. His scepticism (against which there now seems to be some degree of reaction) was a great shock to all the classically educated. Wordsworth expressed the general sentiment:—

> 'Those old credulities, to nature dear,
> Shall they no longer bloom upon the stock
> Of history, stript naked as a rock
> 'Mid a dry desert? What is it we hear?
> The glory of infant Rome must disappear,
> Her morning splendours vanish, and their place
> Know them no more.'

But, in the case of Arab legends, there is no such early partiality and implicit credence to be encountered: in many instances the tale investigated will prove new to the great majority of readers; and even those which may be previously known, are generally such as we are glad to find capable of yielding so much as a hint of truth and fact to the inquirer. And here again, M. Caussin reminds us of one of the best features of Niebuhr's great work, inasmuch as he might fairly adopt that historian's words, and say that he has written 'on the principle 'of asserting nothing, however slight, with any other than the 'precise shade of conviction which it has in his own mind.'[1]

The paper of M. Renan in the *Revue des deux Mondes* is not unworthy of that most ably conducted periodical. We are not sure that we can thoroughly, and in all respects, approve its tone; but it certainly seems to display a large amount of industry and acuteness. M. Renan has earned the right of criticising Orientalists, from having long made such subjects his especial study.

Two of the qualities which we have praised in M. Caussin, good arrangement and clearness of expression, may be almost said to be national excellences of French authors. They are again exhibited, though in a different way, in M. Ubicini's 'Letters upon Turkey.' This seems to be recognised by very high authorities as being at present *the* book upon all that relates to the statistics of that country.

The 'History of Arabia' by Dr. Chrichton, although not to be classed for originality or importance with the writings of Möhler, Caussin or Ubicini, yet contains much compressed information, and deserves praise for the evident care and candour with which it is composed. These qualities induce us to select it from among the many similar productions of the day.

We cannot give Mr. Washington Irving's book a very high

[1] Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. p. 286. (Eng. Tr.)

place among the efforts of his pen. The story is (with some slight exceptions) written in a good spirit and pleasantly told; but we agree with M. Renan in thinking that there is no great exhibition of critical power on the part of the biographer.

It remains to say a few words upon the Lectures, by the author of 'Loss and Gain.' That the lecturer should thus designate himself would naturally lead the reader to expect a controversial treatment of the subject, and such a treatment he will indeed discover throughout a considerable portion of the work. One leading idea, perhaps *the* leading idea, intended to be impressed upon the minds of the hearers, was the energy, perseverance, and virtual success of the Roman See in resisting the progress of the Crescent. To an audience of co-religionists, the task of proving this point must have been as easy as it was grateful. Nor, we imagine, will the candid Protestant of any school, who is well versed in history, deny to the Popes of Rome the just praise of their far-sightedness and noble zeal in such a cause; nor complain that a Roman Catholic writer should remind us on this head of much that we might be disposed to forget. It may be true, that if the voice of the Church of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been listened to by warriors and statesmen, 'there would have been no Turks in Europe for the Russians to turn out of it.' It is lamentable to reflect that the internal wars and jealousies of Christian states prevented such an effort to resist their entry being made. But the entire case seems to us, we must own, to be presented by Dr. Newman in a partisan-like way, which makes the ordinary reader who is not of the same communion somewhat suspicious and distrustful of his guide. Thus, for instance, it *looks* as if the historical sketch came to an end with the battle of Lepanto, in A.D. 1571, rather than with the victory of John Sobieski nearly a century later, because a Pope was more immediately concerned with the naval triumph than that gained by the Polish king before Vienna. Of the Popes who reigned just before the Reformation, he speaks as follows:—'As to the 'Pontiffs who filled the Holy See during that period, I will say 'no more than this, that it did not please the good Providence of 'God to raise up for His Church such heroic men as S. Leo of 'the fifth, and S. Gregory of the eleventh century.' Now, this is language which may possibly be excused, we suppose, in a zealous Roman Catholic, who shrinks from proclaiming the sins of a Pope, as any of us, in private life, might naturally hold back from publishing the errors of a parent. For ourselves, we should consider the employment of such terms a step towards depravation of the moral sense, towards obliterating the broad distinction between right and wrong, virtue and iniquity. Would

not total silence have been preferable to such extraordinary euphemisms? An Alexander VI. and a Leo X. not quite fit for the calendar, something short of being saints! And, further, though we have no desire to extenuate the faults of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical, in Constantinople and the regions round about before its fall in the middle of the fifteenth century, yet the student of history who shall peruse these Lectures will do well to bear in mind, that there is a Greek, as well as a Latin, account of the transactions of that memorable era; and that the two should be diligently compared by him who would form a correct judgment upon the entire case. A single instance may suffice for illustration.

Among the kingdoms which were attacked by the conquering Ottomans at the period of which we speak, was that of Bosnia. Its rude mountains, and the strong castles which crowned their summits, fitted the country to become a very rampart of Western Christendom. The Bosnians, however, were accused, and we fear not unjustly, of being tainted with Manichean heresy. Being a somewhat ignorant and barbarous race, they do not seem to have possessed very distinct and settled convictions; and, under a sense of alarm at the impending danger, they sought to form alliance with the Christians of the West. Their king, Stephen Thomas, in A. D. 1445, actually conformed to the Church of Rome. But as he declined to punish those among his subjects who retained their opinions, the Latins remained doubtful of his orthodoxy, and regarded the misfortunes which fell upon his country as a direct chastisement from Heaven. In the year 1462 (*i.e.* nine years after Constantinople had fallen), Stephen, son and successor of this Stephen Thomas, addressed Pope Pius II. upon the same subject. The Turk had been treating the Bosnian peasants with such favour as win a majority to their side; unless the Venetians, the Pope some of the Latin people lent assistance, the country w pass, without a blow, to the foes of Christendom. Bosnia w in that case prove a safe harbour to the Turks, whence t might, in their turn, oppress Italy or Germany. At prese few good troops would be enough to restore courage, and ir all the warlike Bosnians to imperil their lives for the defe their country, and remove the scourge of the barbarian Christendom. But if Bosnia were suffered to fall, th powerful armies would hardly avail to keep the Turk Italy and Germany. In conclusion, Stephen reminded that his father had announced to Nicolas V. the comin of Constantinople early enough for a few thousa soldiers to have saved it—the letter, remarks the hist exists, and is full of just and generous sentiments—and

Pius II. not to permit the Latins to fall a second time into the same mistake.

Pope Pius II. refused the wished-for aid; Bosnia fell; the predictions of King Stephen proved but too correct. Our authority for this narrative is Sismondi, in his *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes;*[1] and if that great historian be as extreme in one direction as any Papal writer can be in the opposite; if his reflections are but too frequently prompted (as one of his compatriots once remarked to us) *par la haine des rois, et la haine des prêtres;* yet his honesty has throughout prevented him from anything like misstatement of facts. Moreover, we are writing with the Italian translation before us, a version by Signor L. Toccagni, published but a few years since at Milan.[2] In this version the editors have added notes to such portions of Sismondi's work as appeared unfair to the Roman Church; but the portion referred to in the present instance has no such note. Whatever inferences may be fairly drawn from it (and the narrative tells against the Bosnians as well as the Italians), we leave to the judgment of our readers, simply observing that the very existence of such facts is but barely alluded to in Dr. Newman's Lectures.[3]

But having freely pointed out what we consider blemishes in this volume, we may be permitted to speak with equal freedom of its manifold beauties and attractions. Although bearing some slight marks of haste, and of being got up for the occasion, although at times almost *over*-charged with facts, this little production will impart to most readers a far clearer and more connected view of Turkish history than can be derived from many books of far greater pretensions. Despite its partisanship (nay, perhaps in consequence of it, for it is open and avowed) it may be safely read, we should imagine, by any one. And in its skilful use of very varied and diverse materials, in its harmonious reconciliation of apparently conflicting statements, in its fine discrimination, in the magic of its style,—now pausing in philosophic thoughtfulness, now hurrying onward with a vigorous flow of narrative, and breaking forth at moments into bursts of eloquence,—in its winning apostrophes, in its fulness alike of denunciation and of praise, some, at least, will recognise once more the workings of those marvellous gifts of head and heart, which erst held them as if spell-bound and enthralled, imparted to them fresh views of life, taught them much con-

[1] Chap. lxxix. [2] Milano, Borroni e Scotti, 1851.

[3] The advice and exhortations of Pope Pius II. to the heroic Scanderbeg (A.D. 1463) *to break a solemn treaty which had been most rigidly observed by the Turkish Sultan*, were as imprudent as they were morally indefensible. Scanderbeg had great scruples, but at length, to his cost, gave way.—*Sismondi*, chap. lxxix.

cerning themselves, much concerning the world around them, still more concerning the world unseen,—knowledge that cannot perish, thoughts that must abide with them their whole life long, lessons, of whose teacher they cannot but think, when, with good Bishop Andrewes, they thank their Maker for all who have benefitted them by their writings.

The works thus enumerated will be our principal, though not our sole, sources of information. We would fain employ them as the Roman philosopher professes to have used the writings of the Stoics: 'Sequimur, . . . non ut interpretes, sed . . . è fontibus eorum, judicio arbitrioque nostro, quantum quoque modo videbitur, hauriemus.'[1]

Among the characteristics of the nation and of the land where Mahometanism first arose, there are some which exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the reception and promulgation of that creed. Of these it will be well to make some mention.

And firstly, if for freedom of thought there be needed a long previous training of civil and social freedom, it may safely be asserted that in few countries could there have existed a safer asylum than in Arabia. Protected upon one side by deserts, which few foreign enemies would venture to traverse; seldom spoken of by the Egyptians, who desired to keep all Indian as well as African commerce in their own hands, it was little known to either Greeks or Romans: and although the fame of the fertility and wealth of at least one district (that of Yemen) had given the country at large some celebrity as early as the time of Herodotus,[2] it was reserved for the Macedonian conqueror to conceive the idea of subduing it, and making it a seat of empire. That design, however, Alexander did not live to realize; nor do we find any account of a conquest of Arabia before the Christian era. About a century after Christ, the all-absorbing influence of Rome had indeed cast its shadow upon the land, and medals were being struck by Trajan in honour of this addition to the empire. But the vaunted conquest only extended to a province; so that of this and of other later foreign dominations Gibbon is obliged to admit that they have been only temporary or local; that the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies; that neither Sesostris nor Cyrus, Pompey nor Trajan, had ever really become its master.

The Arab is considered by good judges to be a fine specimen of the human race, both in his physical and intellectual development.[3] Certainly no mere advantages of country could have

[1] Cicero, de Officiis, lib. i. cap. ii. § 6.
[2] Herod. iii. 107.
[3] Chateaubriand, cited with approval by Dr. Pritchard (Researches into Physical

availed to keep a people free, under the attacks of so many and powerful foes, without much courage and spirit on their own part. Great energy and strength of will seem conspicuous among them; and the strong attachment between those of the same tribe produced, as of old among the Highland clans of our own kingdom, much pure and generous sentiment, despite its tendency to the same grave faults of character. They have ever been respectful to their elders, and liberal in their hospitality; and their exceeding good faith towards one another is noticed by the father of history.[1]

Some of the tribes lived in tents, some in towns and cities. Although there seem to be instances of an alternation between predatory and mercantile pursuits on the part of some, yet commerce was naturally more flourishing among the inhabitants of the towns. Nor was merchandise considered in any way dishonourable: the noblest warriors united trade with the profession of arms. Indeed, the very name of the distinguished tribe (the Koreish, or, as French writers give it, Coraychites) from which Mahomet sprung, is thought to signify men of commerce.[2] And although the Koreish themselves may not have been descended from Ishmael, yet in both these features of character we may trace the influence of the tribes which owned that parentage. For while, on the one hand, this progenitor was to be a 'a wild man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against his,' yet we know that, in the third or fourth generation, the Ishmeelites were willing, as merchantmen, to purchase 'an Hebrew for a slave,' as they journeyed from Gilead to Egypt, 'with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh.'[3]

The descent of a large portion of the Arabian tribes from Ishmael, although for very obvious reasons the subject of some sneers on the part of Gibbon, does not appear to have been in any degree shaken, but on the contrary confirmed, by more recent research.[4] The remaining tribes, with a few comparatively unimportant exceptions, claimed descent from Kahtan, the son of Eber,—the Joktan of our version of the Bible,[5] the Yectan of the modern French writer. These last claimed to be

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History of Mankind). See Art. *Arabia* in Dr. Smith's 'New Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.'

[1] Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων δμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα. (Supply σεβομένοις in this construction, says Matthiæ, 'Greek Grammar,' § 290.) Herod. iii. 8.

[2] Caussin (tom. i. pp. 229, 230) thinks this a very probable derivation of the word.

[3] Genesis xvi. 12; xxxvii. 25—28.

[4] Mr. Forster, in his 'Mahometanism Unveiled,' is considered to have established this point, even by those who (like ourselves) are not prepared to accept his theories.

[5] Genesis x. 25—29.

the oldest and purest race, the 'Arab-el-Araba,' or Arabs of the Arabs, a phrase which has naturally been compared with St. Paul's expression, 'an Hebrew of the Hebrews.' They and their probable descendants, the Koreish, occupied the north of the country: the Ishmeelites and their descendants (the Himyarites, the *Homeritæ* of classic authors) held the south. Among the exceptions alluded to, seem to have been some of the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, and, subsequently, certain of the children of Esau. It is true that Herodotus,[1] and it appears also, Ibn-Khaldoun, agree with some ancient traditions in placing certain Cushite and Canaanite tribes in these regions: but these children of Ham disappeared; the Canaanites went to Syria and there became famous under the title of Phœnicians; the Cushites concentrated themselves in Ethiopia. Any remnants of these Hamite tribes were engulfed by the dominant children of Shem; and thus, *from a very early period, Arabia has been inhabited by a purely Semitic race.*[2]

This circumstance will not appear unimportant to those who consider how largely it has pleased the Almighty to make the sons of Shem depositaries of spiritual truth. It had been suspected by Mr. Hallam,[3] from the tone of the romance of *Antár* (supposed to be pre-Mahometan), that however much idolatry might prevail in some parts of Arabia, still the genuine religion of the descendants of Ishmael was a belief in the unity of God as strict as the Koran itself can teach. This suspicion, which had been stated by other writers also, may now be considered as an established truth. To M. Caussin de Perceval belongs the credit of having done the most towards its confirmation.[4] Nevertheless, it will be seen, as we proceed, how seriously, before the rise of Mahomet, the monotheistic creed had been sullied and impaired.

We know, from the vivid portraitures of Sir Walter Scott, how the principle of clanship, which gives rise to so much that is striking and devoted in human nature, has likewise its less favourable side; of this unfavourable aspect the Arab displays his full share. 'Their own writers,' observes Sale, 'acknowledge 'that they have a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty 'and rapine; being so much addicted to malice, that they scarce 'ever forget an old grudge.'[5] The same writer mentions an amusing theory of some physicians, to the effect, that this

[1] Herod. i. 1. *Φοίνικας . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης.* See, however, the note of Bähr upon this passage. The Red Sea *may* be meant to include the Persian Gulf.

[2] Caussin, tom. i. p. 5.

[3] Hist. of Middle Ages, vol. ii. chap. 6. (2d Note.)

[4] Cf. M. Renan, p. 1089.

[5] Preliminary Discourse, sect. i.

vindictive spirit is engendered by the frequent use of camel's flesh as food; the camel being an animal most revengeful and tenacious of its anger: but the genuine Arab would hardly, we suspect, care to invent this, or any other palliation, for what he believed a blameless feeling. Other nations have at least had *sayings* on the duty of forgiveness,[1] if they have not attained to the *practice* of that virtue, which, even in Christians, is one of the highest and latest fruits of heaven-sent grace; but the Arabian is unblushing on this score.

Perhaps in estimating the intensity of clannish rivalry and vengeance among this people, we ought to take into account the circumstance, that the Arabs, beyond all other nomadic tribes, have vividly expressed *the whole of what they felt*. Other people may have harboured sentiments in their breast, and waited till an opportunity arose to express them *in action;* but the dwellers in Arabia, from an early age, have prided themselves on the gift of language, and been passionately fond of poetry. Indeed they go so far as to imagine that their own is the only tongue possessing a grammar, and that all other dialects are but rude *patois*. One of their countrymen, who has travelled in France, the Sheik Rifaa, has been at great pains to remove this prejudice, and inform his brethren that the French language likewise has its own rules and elegances, and an academy to regulate them.[2] But, however much this ludicrous self-sufficiency betrays the spirit of a barbaric race, untaught by civilization even to approximate to a just estimate of the gifts of any nation beyond themselves, yet the critiques of Oriental scholars seem to justify the Arabs in not thinking meanly of the capacities and refinements of their tongue. Translated into the languages of the West, it must, of course, suffer an almost unappreciable amount of injury. 'In every 'language,' says Southey, 'there is a magic of words as un-'translatable as the *Sesame* of the Arabian tale,—you may 'retain the meaning, but if the words be changed the spell is 'lost. The magic has its effect only upon those to whom the 'language is as familiar as their mother tongue; hardly, indeed, 'upon any but those to whom it is really such.'[3] Hence, certainly, one great cause of the apparent poverty, to an European ear, of much that delighted and thrilled the hearts of the Asiatic hearers to whom it was first addressed.

[1] Mr. Trench (Hulsean Lectures, p. 155) alludes to a beautiful collection of Indian sayings of this kind. It must be owned that they do not exist in Greek or Roman writers; at least, we can only call to mind the fine exceptions in Juvenal and Homer, Il. ix. 492, *et seq.* The great speech of Demosthenes is not a real exception. He praises public and national pardons, which, after all, were in great part suggested by motives of policy.

[2] M. Renan.

[3] Quart. Rev. xxvii. 38, cit. ap. Hallam. Lit. of Europe, vol. ii. p. 287.

F. Schlegel, in his very able summary of the characteristics of the dwellers in Arabia, remarks: 'Those tribe-feelings, and 'passions of pride and hatred, anger and revenge, so prevalent 'among the Arabians, are displayed in their ancient poetry, and 'even constitute its essential spirit and purpose.'[1] Here, as in some other respects, this distinguished writer is perhaps *paullò iniquior* to the countrymen of Mahomet. Their loves, their liberality, their hospitality, their pride in their steeds, their fondness for poetry itself, at least claim a due share of the ancient Arab poems, as well as their love of pillage and their thirst for vengeance. But it is not to be denied, that this last-named passion, so dear to the natural man, is frequently expressed with great vigour and gusto on the part of the minstrel. A specimen may perhaps interest the reader. In a battle between Arabs of Irak against the Ghassanide Arabs of Syria, Aswad (king of Hira, from A.D. 471 to 491) overcame the Ghassanides, and took captive many of their princes. Aswad's own inclination was to accept a ransom and restore his prisoners. But a cousin of the king, by name Abou-Odheyna, who had lost a brother in the conflict, urged, only too successfully, a more sanguinary course of proceeding, in the following very celebrated verses:—

'Man does not obtain what he desires every day; and jealous fortune will not permit him to enjoy a success at his leisure.

'When we are in possession of opportunity, wisdom commands that we should not let it escape us.

'It is just to compel our enemies to drink of the cup whose bitterness they have made us taste,

'To slay them with the sword with which they first struck us.

'Mercy towards the weak is a virtue, towards the strong it is madness. Any contrary maxim is false.

'Thou hast killed one brother in battle, and thou wouldest leave the others alive! It would be drawing certain peril on thy head.

'Do not let go the serpent, after having cut his tail; if thou art wise, crush his head.

'They have bared the sabre, let them feel its edge; they have kindled the fire, let them become its food.

'What will be said if thou sparest them?—that it is not generosity on thy part, but a fear of consequences.

'For they are princes, the pride of the family of Ghassan; a powerful family, whose ambition naturally desires thy kingdom.

'They offer us a ransom; they boast of their horses and milch camels, whose beauty charms all beholders.

'What? For our blood, which they have shed, they offer us milk in exchange? Of a surety the bargain would be glorious for us!

'No, no! No ransom. Remember thou, that from us, in such a case, they would accept neither gold nor silver!'[2]

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[1] Philosophy of History, Lecture xii. *ad init.*

[2] Caussin, tom. ii. p. 65. They have also been given, with a Latin translation, says M. Caussin, by Schultens (*Monumenta veterum Arabum*, p. 57), and by M. Fleischer (*Histoire anteislamite*, p. 124).

In this instance the poet was stimulated by the desire of producing a practical result. This, indeed, was regarded by the Arabs as one great end both of poetry and eloquence;—a man who had thus persuaded his tribe to anything great, or dissuaded them from a dangerous enterprise, was thenceforth honoured with the title of *Khateb*, or orator. Among those who did not write poetry themselves, it was esteemed an accomplishment and mark of good birth to have been so educated as to quote with ease and aptness upon all occasions.[1] Another great aim of their poetry was to preserve, as in an historical record, the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great achievements: hence a poet was deemed an honour to his tribe; other tribes congratulated the fortunate one on their possession; and at entertainments given in honour of the bard, the women wore their nuptial garments;—only the birth of a son, and of a foal of generous breed, were celebrated with an equal degree of rejoicing. Once every year was a meeting held of all the tribes, at which poets contended for a prize. Their prize-poems are known as the *Moallacat.*[2] Comparatively few have come down to us, as the use of writing was more rare before the age of Mahomet, or, as the Arabs would say, *in the time of ignorance.* We select a few examples from the curious researches of M. Caussin. It need hardly be said, that the reader must not look for the logical sequence of the classic authors of Greece and Rome. The fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the allusive acuteness of the proverbial sayings, (frequently bearing reference to historic legends,) have been, from the days even of the inspired Solomon, the attractions of Eastern composition;—their verses are, indeed, as 'Orient pearls at random strung.'

Here is an extract from a prize-poem by Imroulcays, the founder of their laws of metre. It displays an observation of nature and enjoyment of its beauties which is but rarely exhibited in the pagan classics of the West:—

'My friend, seest thou those lightnings, which move like rapid hands, and flash above those mountains of clouds which they crown?

'They throw a light brighter than the lamps of the solitary, whose hand has lavished on the twisted wick, the oil expressed from the sesame.

'I stop to watch them; my companions also stop with me, between Dhâridj and Odbrayb. At what an immense distance lay the picture that attracted my attention!

'The storm, as far as my eye could discern it, extended on the right to Mount Catan, and on the left to the mountains of Setan and Yadhbal.

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[1] Sale, Prelim. Discourse, sect. i.

[2] That is, *Poems suspended;* for they were hung to the walls of the Caaba, the great temple of all Arabians, at Mecca. (Caussin; Sale.)

subject, however, gives him one advantage over the historian of Rome. Niebuhr had to deal with stories which most of us had been brought up from childhood to believe implicitly. His scepticism (against which there now seems to be some degree of reaction) was a great shock to all the classically educated. Wordsworth expressed the general sentiment:—

> 'Those old credulities, to nature dear,
> Shall they no longer bloom upon the stock
> Of history, stript naked as a rock
> 'Mid a dry desert? What is it we hear?
> The glory of infant Rome must disappear,
> Her morning splendours vanish, and their place
> Know them no more.'

But, in the case of Arab legends, there is no such early partiality and implicit credence to be encountered: in many instances the tale investigated will prove new to the great majority of readers; and even those which may be previously known, are generally such as we are glad to find capable of yielding so much as a hint of truth and fact to the inquirer. And here again, M. Caussin reminds us of one of the best features of Niebuhr's great work, inasmuch as he might fairly adopt that historian's words, and say that he has written 'on the principle 'of asserting nothing, however slight, with any other than the 'precise shade of conviction which it has in his own mind.'[1]

The paper of M. Renan in the *Revue des deux Mondes* is not unworthy of that most ably conducted periodical. We are not sure that we can thoroughly, and in all respects, approve its tone; but it certainly seems to display a large amount of industry and acuteness. M. Renan has earned the right of criticising Orientalists, from having long made such subjects his especial study.

Two of the qualities which we have praised in M. Caussin's good arrangement and clearness of expression, may be also said to be national excellences of French authors. They are again exhibited, though in a different way, in M. Ubicini's 'Letters upon Turkey.' This seems to be recognised by very authorities as being at present *the* book upon all that relates the statistics of that country.

The 'History of Arabia' by Dr. Chrichton, although it cannot be classed for originality or importance with the works of Möhler, Caussin or Ubicini, yet contains much curious information, and deserves praise for the evident care and skill with which it is composed. These qualities induce us to select it from among the many similar productions of the day.

We cannot give Mr. Washington Irving's book a

[1] Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. p. 286. (Eng. Tr.

'It is thus that men are divided into two classes; grovelling spirits delight in parsimony; great souls delight in the glory of generosity.'[1]

We can only afford space for one more such extract. Zohayr (reckoned with Imroulcays and Nâbigha as the three greatest poets of the time of ignorance) laments, at the age of eighty, the wife of his youth, whom he had rashly divorced; and subsequently appeals to chieftains of another tribe to keep inviolate a treaty of peace.

'Are these the traces of the sojourn of Oumm-Aufa, these mute remains of an encampment on the stony soil of Darrâdj and Motethallem?

'Has Oumm-Aufa occupied, between the two Racma, this abode, whose vestiges are like prints newly touched on the flesh of the arm?

'There wander by turns, troops of white gazelles, and herds of wild cows, with large eyes; their little ones, leaving their hiding places, bound along beside their mothers.

'I am again in these places, which I have not beheld for twenty years. Scarcely do I recognise them. At last my doubts vanish.

'These stones, blackened by the fire, served to support the kettles; this circular bowl-like trench not yet degraded, surrounded the tent of Oumm-Aufa.

'Yes, I remember this place; and I exclaim, Abode of my beloved, may this dawn bring thee a happy day, may Heaven preserve thee!

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'My friend, send these counsels to the Dhobyân and their allies; say to them, Are you not bound by the strongest oaths to observe peace?

'Do not attempt to conceal from God your secret thoughts; God knows all that is hidden.

'If sometimes he delays his vengeance, he writes it in the book of his decrees, and reserves it till the day when he will demand an account from each one of his actions; often also he punishes crime by a sudden chastisement.

'You know the evils of discord; you have felt them by bitter experience, and it is not on doubtful reports of them that you have formed your opinion.

'If you rekindle war, you will bring ignominy on yourselves; war, like a wild beast, will attack you furiously if you rouse it; as a fire, will it burn you; as a mill bruises the grain, will it crush you; as a camel which brings forth twins every year, will it be fertile to you in evils.'[2]

One circumstance revealed in these poems is the excessive amount of gambling, of drunkenness, and consequent quarrelling, prevalent among the pre-Islamite Arabs. Of the other positive qualities of their poetry we have already spoken. But it is time to remark upon one negative feature—we mean the total absence of anything like religious mysticism. If, in a later day, a mystic philosophy arose in the Arabian peninsula, that philosophy may be traced to Persia for its origin.[3] But Arabia had neither mysticisms nor mythology; between the Creator and the created universe there existed too profound a gulf to be bridged over by

[1] Caussin, tom. ii. pp. 614, 626. [2] Idem, pp. 531, 532. [3] M. Renan.

the lines of connexion imagined by the Hindoo or the Greek. The incarnations of a Buddha, the anthropomorphic visions of a Jove or Pallas, a Mars or a Diana, would have been in early time simply repulsive to the Arabian understanding. The very notion of a *goddess* would have shocked them hardly less than it would have shocked a sincere Hebrew. The idea is perhaps essentially *anti-Semitic*. The Greek and Roman worshippers of goddesses were sons of Japhet; and, if the idolatrous king of Judah 'went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians;'[1] if degenerate Jews could 'burn incense unto the queen of heaven;'[2] in both instances these sinful practices were learnt from children of the race of Ham.

Nevertheless, that deep pervading consciousness of sinfulness, impurity, and consequent unfitness for immediate access to an all-holy and glorious God, which is so frequently found to dwell even in the heart of unregenerate man, will naturally lead the worshipper to seek for something which may stand between himself and his invisible, eternal Maker. To the Christian this want is supplied by the sublime verity of the Incarnation, and its ordained accompaniment, a sacramental religion. For the Jew there was the hope of the promised Messiah, and meanwhile the presence of that Law, which was 'ordained by angels in the hand *of a mediator*'—the prophet 'whom the Lord knew face to face,' and who pleaded for Israel on Mount Sinai.[3] The pantheistic creeds, Buddhist or Braminical, which have prevailed so extensively, not only in the East, but likewise in pagan, and, alas! even in Christian, Europe, have their own way of evading, if not of fairly meeting, the difficulty. But where neither pantheism, nor Judaism, nor Christianity prevailed, there seemed to remain for the sinner, who would fain approach his Maker and yet shrunk from direct appeal, the refuge of idolatry alone.

At the time of Mahomet's appearance, Arabia possessed votaries of nearly all these creeds. Just as, in matters of state, some tribes were under Roman domination, some under that of Persia, some alternating between the rule of the two sceptres, and some, if nominally subject, yet practically free; even so was the inward life of the nation disunited and distracted between various forms of faith. Judaism prevailed extensively in Yemen; Christianity in Irak, Syria, and parts of the desert between Palestine and Egypt; but the majority, and more especially the entire race of Modhar, were buried in the darkness of paganism.

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[1] 1 Kings xi. 5. [2] Jeremiah xliv. 16—19. [3] Gal. iii. 19; Deut. xxxiv. 10.

Judaism had been introduced into Yemen (the *Arabia Felix* of geographers) by Abou-Carib, a *Tobba*, or king, of the Himyarites, about A.D. 235. Tradition said that the ministers of the false gods, with their idols, and some Jewish doctors, with their sacred books, had been compelled to enter a particular fire, which was believed by the inhabitants of the district to possess great powers of discrimination, and regularly appealed to in all trials of importance. The Jews, with their books upon their breasts, came out safe and unhurt; their rivals and the idols were utterly consumed.[1] Nevertheless, Judaism did not make any considerable progress until the commencement of the sixth century, when a king called Dhou-Nowâs propagated it with great zeal. This zeal led him to become a persecutor of Christianity; and his shameful treatment of the Christians of the district of Nadjrân was probably the main cause of the ruin of the Himyarite monarchy.[2]

Christianity, notwithstanding some local and temporary triumphs, seems never to have taken thorough root in the soil of Arabia. S. Pantænus is believed, on apparently good authority, to have preached the Gospel there towards the close of the second century, and to have discovered traces of S. Bartholomew:[3] but the converts make but little show in history. One Himyarite prince, Abd-Kelâl, who reigned from A.D. 273 to 297, (about the time of S. Pantænus,) was beyond doubt a Christian. And what was the result of his conversion? He did not dare to avow it openly; but his subjects, finding that he had renounced their worship, rose against him, slew him, and the Syrian missionary who had been his enlightener.[4] Another sovereign of the same dynasty, Marthan (A.D. 330—350), has likewise been claimed for a Christian, but in reality only, it would seem, because he exhibited in his kingdom the rare spectacle of universal toleration, being wont to say, 'I reign over bodies, not opinions. I require of my subjects that they obey my government; as for their doctrines, it is for God their Creator to judge them.'[5] This king was a wise ruler, generous and powerful; but it may be questioned whether such notions as his are often preludes to the acceptance of Christianity. A few churches were, indeed, built in his reign, through the influence of the Roman Emperor in the East, Constantius, but Christians remained few and isolated. Their neighbours the Abyssinians were Christians, and avenged the murderous persecutions of Dhou-Nowâs. The noble race of Ghassan were in

[1] Caussin, tom. i. p. 95.
[2] Idem, tom. i. pp. 128, 129.
[3] Eusebius says (Hist. Eccles. v. 10), that he reached India.
[4] Caussin. [5] Idem.

part converted, probably about the date of the edicts of Constantine in favour of Christianity in the fourth century; and at a much later date (about A.D. 600) a tribe called the Taghlibites, in Mesopotamia. It is worthy of observation that S. Simeon Stylites (about A.D. 410) made considerable impression upon them. We need hardly add, what is painfully well known, that the Arab independence of thought displayed itself even among the Christians in an acceptance of nearly every form of heresy. There might be found in the peninsula, Arians, Eutychians, Nestorians, and Ebionites; partisans of Beryllus, the Collyridians, and the Nazareans.[1]

The form of idolatry most in vogue was that known as the Sabian, which at the time of Cyrus divided the world with the Magian, or worship of fire.[2] Their idols, though in theory admitted to be intercessors only with Allah, received in reality far more of homage and attention. The sun and moon were adored by some, certain of the planets by others; some made prayers to Sirius, some to that fine star which even in Europe is best known by its Arab name of Aldebaran.[3] Some of their superstitions were dark and cruel. Those who believed in a future life would often slay a camel on the tomb of a relation or friend, or, far worse, fasten it and let it die of hunger, that it might be ready to be ridden by the deceased on the day of judgment. They thought, too, that the soul flitted over the grave in the form of an owl (a belief alluded to in one of the poems we have cited); and that if the person had been murdered the bird cried '*Escourri*' (*i.e.* give me drink), and ceased not till the blood of the murderer had been shed. But the most revolting and inhuman of their customs was one that obtained in some quarters of burying alive a female infant immediately it was born. This most wicked and unnatural practice arose sometimes from the reluctance to share nourishment with one who could not aid in the fight and foray, sometimes from a fierce and excessive pride, lest they should ever chance to endure the shame of seeing a daughter carried off and dishonoured by their enemies. Belief in genii and ghouls, (so well known to us as pervading the more recent scenery of the immortal 'Thousand and One Nights,') was likewise very widely extended. And although the Arabs would have probably shrunk, (as has been intimated,) even in their worst days, from imagining a goddess so nearly on a level with Jupiter as Juno, yet the angels

[1] The authorities are given by Sale, sect. ii.

[2] Prideaux's Connexion, &c., part i. book iii.

[3] This star, which is of great importance in navigation, forms the eye of Taurus near the Pleiades. A line through Orion's belt *upwards* almost touches it, just as the downward line from the same belt leads to Sirius.

whom they worshipped were considered to be feminine, and called *Benat-Allah*, or daughters of God.[1]

The Arab women frequently display, in scenes of history, great devotedness and affection as mothers, but very seldom as wives. The reason is obvious; polygamy being unrestricted, and divorce at will on the part of the husband, and (in case of very noble birth) on the side of the wife also, a woman might well regard her son as her own, but how could she venture to call her husband so? She possessed, so to speak, but a share of him at best, and the duration even of that share was never certain and assured. Moreover, before the rise of Mahometanism, a widow was considered as a part of the heritage of her deceased husband; and thence arose unions between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law, which were afterwards justly stigmatized as odious.[2] No wonder that a sort of vague syncretism was the creed of many: Jewish and Christian ideas insinuated themselves in some degree even into the minds of pagans. The famous temple, common to all the tribes, at Mecca, the Caaba,[3] had become a kind of Pantheon; and, strange to say, among the images of idols, there was a Byzantine figure of the Madonna, holding the Divine Infant in her arms.[4]

Such were the leading characteristics of that nation, whose boast it was that God had bestowed upon them four great and peculiar privileges: that their turbans should be their diadems; their tents their homes; their swords their entrenchments; and their poems their laws.[5] If a philosophic observer, like Thucydides, had cast his glance upon them, he might possibly have conjectured, (as that historian almost prophetically said of the Scythians,)[6] that if once at unity among themselves, they would be most difficult to resist. Unity was in store for both. The Scythians attained it under the sway of those great and terrible conquerors, Attila, Zingis, and Timour; the Arabians under the teaching and rule of Mahomet.

Some years before the preaching of Mahomet, there appeared

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[1] Caussin. [2] Idem.

[3] We do not dwell upon the Caaba, because it has so often been described. A picture (from an old MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford) is given by Ockley, in his 'History of the Saracens,' and a similar one by Sale. It was certainly a very ancient building: and the statue of Abraham is supposed, with reason, to indicate an Ishmaelite origin. The Koreish, as is well known, had enjoyed the custody of this temple for many years before the birth of Mahomet. Cossay, the first of that tribe who obtained it, rebuilt the temple about A. D. 450. (Caussin, Sale, Ockley, Irving, &c.) In the centre was the famous black stone, given to Ishmael by the angel Gabriel. It was originally white; but became black, either from the effects of fire, or as other authors maintained, from the sins of those who touched it. (Caussin, Chrichton, &c. &c.)

[4] Renan, Caussin. [5] Sale. [6] Thucyd. ii. 97.

among the idolatrous natives of Arabia, certain signs of distrust and dissatisfaction with the state of religion. At a great meeting of the tribe of the Koreish, four men, who seem to have been in advance of their countrymen, held a secret meeting, and imparted to each other their sentiments. 'Our fellow-country-'men,' said they, 'are in a wrong path, they are far astray from 'the religion of Abraham. What is this pretended divinity to 'which they immolate victims, and around which they make 'solemn processions? A dumb and senseless block of stone, in-'capable of good or evil. It is all a mistake: seek we the 'truth, seek we the pure religion of our father Abraham? To 'find it, let us quit our country, if need be, and traverse foreign 'lands.'

The four who thus spake were Waraca, son of Naufal; Othman, son of Houwayrith; Obaydallah, son of Djahch; and Zayd, son of Amr. How deep-seated was their sense of a religious void, how sincere their craving after truth, how earnest their search after its hidden treasures, may be gathered from the fact, that three out of the four (namely, Waraca, Othman, and Obaydallah) became converts to the faith of Christ: Waraca and Othman without any intermediate state of transition; Obaydallah, after having lived long enough to try, but without satisfaction of his heart's needs, the creed of the Arabian seer.[1]

Whether there was anything in the inmost soul of Zayd which made it less fit for the reception of divine truth than those of his companions, the Judge of all men can alone decide. He was certainly less favoured in external circumstances. His comrades received the Faith, more or less directly, from the teaching of strangers; but the relatives of Zayd, offended at his evident estrangement from pagan superstitions, would not suffer him to travel, and consult the wise of other lands. Detained at Mecca, Zayd went day by day to the Caaba, and prayed the Almighty to enlighten him. He might be seen leaning his back against the wall of the temple, deep in meditation, which constantly issued in the following prayer: 'Lord! if I knew in what way thou 'didst will to be adored and served, I would obey thy will; but 'I know it not.' And he would fall prostrate, with his face upon the earth.

Though not permitted to attain the full knowledge of what was true and right, Zayd could at least denounce much that was false and wrong. He adored the Divine Unity, publicly attacked

[1] Caussin, tom. i. p. 321, et alibi. Waraca had, however, entertained the idea that an Arabian prophet was at hand, and so spoke to his cousin Kadijah as rather to confirm her belief in her husband, Mahomet. (Caussin, tom. i. p. 356.) But this may possibly have taken place before his conversion—which, by the way, M. Renan (p. 1090) omits altogether—unless Waraca regarded Mahomet as an ultimate apostle of Christianity.

the false gods, and declaimed energetically against various superstitions. Among others he forbade men to eat the flesh of victims offered to idols, (a most remarkable injunction,) and strove to inspire his countrymen with a just detestation of their shocking practice of destroying their infant daughters. Imprisoned by an uncle, he contrived to escape, wandered from place to place, heard at length, (strange to say, from a learned Christian monk,) that an Arab prophet had arisen, who was preaching the religion of Abraham at Mecca. This was Mahomet. Zayd hastened back to hear him, but was robbed and murdered on the road. He may fairly be regarded as a kind of precursor of Mahomet himself. His very existence, however, says M. Caussin de Perceval, has been hitherto almost unnoticed by European *savans.*

We have dwelt at great, we fear at unreasonable and disproportionate, length upon these points of Arab character and pre-Mahometan history; partly, because they are probably but little known, even to many well-informed persons; partly, because they must necessarily exercise no inconsiderable influence upon our judgment of Mahomet and his work. But although we propose to offer, as has been stated, some remarks upon these last-named subjects, yet it forms no portion of our plan to give a sketch of the Arabian teacher's life. On this head, the reader may refresh his memory by referring to the famous fiftieth chapter of Gibbon, or may learn something of the more recent researches of Dr. Weil, by purchasing at a railway station the pages of Mr. Washington Irving.

His noble birth, of the family of the Hashemites, of the tribe of the Koreish: his journeys, as a mercantile traveller, for the wealthy widow, Kadijah, who in course of time offered him her hand, and thus made him independent: his love of solitude and meditation in the lonely valleys around Mecca: the commencement of his preaching in the forty-first year of his age: the ridicule and persecution at first entailed upon him: his scanty band of early proselytes, made even slenderer by his account of his famous journey by night to heaven: his flight from Mecca, the victory at Beder and defeat at Ohod: his failure to win the Jews, and consequent hostility towards them: his assassination (through the hand of others) of his enemies, Khalid, Cab, and other leading Jews: his breach of his own laws concerning matrimony, and subsequent revelations to justify his conduct: his embassies to sovereign princes, the letters sealed with a signet MOHAMMED - APOSTLE - OF - GOD, within six years after the era of the Hegira (the well-known flight of A.D. 622): his discussions with Christians: his re-instalment of the vague old lunary

calendar of Arabia: his contests with rival prophets, El-Aswad, Moseilama, Toulayha: his illness and death,—these are matters of history, which we shall, if necessary, assume and reason upon, without going into further details, excepting where they are wanted for an ulterior end, or illustrate what has already been advanced.

It is necessary, however, to premise that the sources of information for the life of Mahomet are of a twofold character, one appertaining to the Persian or Turkish histories, the other to that of the Arabian biographers. The Arabian alone are trustworthy, the Turkish and Persian accounts being full of legendary matter. In Pindaric language, we must seek from Mahomet's fellow-countrymen the *ἀλαθῆ λόγον*, while from Turkey and Persia spring the *δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις . . . . . μῦθοι*. This distinction, however, in the relative value of authorities does not appear, in general, to have received from European writers the degree of attention which it deserves. Even Dr. Weil, in the opinion of M. Renan, has not been sufficiently alive to its importance. But those who would fain study deeply the subject of Mahometanism and its founder, should certainly be on their guard in this respect.

Before proceeding to more serious questions, we may venture to exhibit one proof of the manner in which the tribe-rivalry, which has been alluded to, at first operated to the disadvantage of Mahomet. At an early period of his career as teacher, an order was issued by the Koreish, forbidding men, at their peril, to listen to him. When, therefore, he prayed in the porch of the Caaba, and recited aloud a chapter of the Koran, he found himself immediately deserted. Curiosity, however, proved too strong. Certain chiefs, who were among the authors of the prohibition, were the first to break their own regulations. Three, named respectively Aboudjahl, Abou-Sofyan, and Akhnas, went near his house one night to listen to his prayers: none knew of his comrade's intentions, and great was their mutual astonishment, as they came forth, each man from his hiding-place. The sequel shall be given from M. Caussin:—

'They mutually reproached each other for their curiosity, and promised not to yield to it again: nevertheless, the two nights following, the same scene took place. They then bound themselves by an oath not again to expose themselves to the temptation, and to maintain a profound silence on the affair.

'Akhnas had been touched. He wished to know what impression had been made on his companions. He went to Abou-Sofyan and said, "Father of Hanzhala, what thinkest thou of what thou hast heard?" —"I understood some things," replied Abou-Sofyan; "I found others above my comprehension." Akhnas went on to the abode of Aboudjahl, and put the same query to him. Aboudjahl replied, with some vexation,

"Hitherto we have been competitors for fame with the children of Abdmanâf on equal terms: they fed the poor, we feed them too; they paid the forfeits of others, we paid them also; they gave largesses, we gave them as well; our families were like race-horses, galloping side by side. And now we are to allow that they have amongst them a prophet inspired by heaven! No! never will we believe in Mahomet!" '[1]

To turn, however, to deeper problems. A writer who undertakes to treat of the subject of Mahometanism is expected to enunciate some opinion upon the character of Mahomet himself, and likewise upon the causes of his very marvellous and permanent success. With the latter problem we shall hardly attempt to grapple, although it may possibly receive some slight elucidation from the general views which will be set forth. But of Mahomet's character, so far as regards the question of his being a thoroughly self-conscious impostor, or the reverse, we must venture to speak plainly, and give reasons for the conclusions we have formed.

Be it avowed, then, that we think it impossible for any calm and candid investigator of the subject, as it appears amidst the lights cast upon it by the researches of this present century, to regard Mahomet *as a mere impostor*. A false prophet he was, if it be the mark of a false prophet to preach falsehood as well as truth, and to claim (whether from delusion or imposture) a mission which is not from the Most High. A shadow of Antichrist he must, we fear, in some sense be termed, if that last great enemy of the Church is to win his temporary power through the abounding of heresy among Christians, and is to claim that position among mankind which is due only to the Son of Man.[2] But by a mere impostor we understand such pretended Messiahs as the Jews have again and again accepted (which claimant, alas! except the true one, ever failed to find some acceptance with them?); such a teacher, for example, as that pseudo-Moses in Crete, who said that he had come again from heaven to lead them through the sea once more, and was followed by numbers, to their destruction;[3] such a deluder as, in fiction, is set before us in Moore's 'Veiled Prophet'—a picture, perhaps, hardly overdrawn; such a juggler of real history as Moseilama, supporting his pretensions by the display of an egg in a narrow-necked

[1] Caussin, tom. i. pp. 383, 384.

[2] It is right, however, to remark, that Mahometan Doctors esteem it an article of faith that Christ will return and conquer Antichrist, concerning whom they have a great deal to tell. See Möhler, p. 359. He cites an Arab poem, of which a verse is Latinized as follows: 'At Jesus certè reveniet aliquando contra Antichristum miserum astutumque, quem tunc perdet.' The consistency of this and other Mahometan teachings (as, *e. g.*, the truth of the miraculous conception) concerning our Lord, with His assumed inferiority to Mahomet, it is not easy to understand. Antichrist, under the name of Degial, is alluded to in 'Sinbad the Sailor.'

[3] Socrates, Hist. Eccles. vii. 38.

bottle,—a chemical trick, with which an Arab author, Tarikh-el-Khamicy, has shown himself perfectly acquainted;[1] such leaders as those half-ascetics, half charlatans, who have founded a kind of religious orders in Algeria. Such a one as these, Mahomet, we believe, was not; however much his sincerity may have been dimmed and tarnished on particular occasions, more especially amidst the complications of his later years.

In adopting this conclusion, we are well aware that we are running counter to the judgment of many whom we respect, and shall seem to be throwing our lot with the partisans of latitudinarianism and unbelief. Look, it will be urged, at the great names arrayed against such an opinion of Mahomet; take into account the admixture of Judaism and Christianity with Islamism; think of the fruits of this religion as displayed in its long, bitter, and enduring hostility to the Cross; consider the stains of voluptuousness and revenge which disfigure the character of the son of Abdallah; remember the convenient nature of those revelations, which were brought out at the exact juncture when they were needed to justify particular (and those very questionable) acts. Well, we have tried to ponder these objections, and allow to each of them their due weight. And, firstly, as regards the authority of great names, we cannot allow them to be decisive in a question of this nature. Unless proved to rest upon a sound basis, their judgments can but serve to remind us of the Aristotle-suggested saying, *Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas.* And while it ever must remain most true, that the hatred of evil is concomitant with the love of goodness, upspringing with its birth and growing with its growth, and that we are bound not to employ euphemistic terms concerning that which is wrong, nor put light for darkness, nor sweet for bitter; yet, assuredly, if in our denunciations we overstep the bounds of equity and truth, the truth will be most fearfully avenged. Undue re-action, as has been already intimated, has perhaps been thus brought about respecting Mahomet. Known to the earlier middle age under the names of *Maphomet, Baphomet, Bafum,* (whence the French words *bafumerie* and *momerie,* our English *mawmetry* and *mummery,*)[2] as a false god to whom human sacrifices were offered;[3] hardly understood, it would seem, in Western Christendom before the twelfth century, to be a pseudo-prophet only, and not a pretended divinity; regarded by Bibliander, Hottinger and Maracci, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *only* in the light of an antagonist to Christianity—

[1] Caussin, tom. iii. p. 310.
[2] M. Renan. Cf. Trench, On the Study of Words.
[3] Renan.

a most true, but certainly imperfect and one-sided aspect of the founder of Islamism—it can hardly be deemed a marvel, that later generations should have to witness a kind of turn in the tide of feeling. And let not those, who may be inclined to look only upon the darker side of the character and creed of the Arabian, imagine that in so doing they are of necessity allying themselves with the wise and good alone, in opposition to men of questionable character. The case does not stand thus. On the one hand, those who would impute to Mahomet a very large amount of conscious imposture, may find much to support their views in the sentiments of the sceptical Gibbon: those who would picture him as a monster of cruelty and injustice, will find the portrait already drawn to hand by the *crayon* of the infidel Voltaire. For Mahomet, however much he fell short of a high standard of religious faith and practice, yet displayed a great deal too much of both to please the unbelieving Frenchman. Voltaire accordingly, besides contemptuous notices in prose, has represented Mahomet (in a tragedy, of which he is the chief character) in the blackest tints. The play, though extolled by La Harpe as a *chef-d'œuvre*, is justly, we believe, represented to be as contradictory to the facts of history, as it is to all correct views of Arabian customs. But then Voltaire has admitted that he was unsupported by facts, and has betrayed the secret of his enmity to the memory of Mahomet, by maintaining that such a representation is *virtually* true, on the ground '*que celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie au nom de Dieu, est capable de tout.*'[1] While, on the other hand, those who, with us, are unable to see in Mahomet a mere pretender, may range themselves under the banner of one, whom both friends and opponents will recognise as one of the noblest examples of sanctified intellect which this century has seen,—the calm, the candid, the truly Christian, Möhler. Those who have studied the essay of Möhler will hardly, we suspect, lay much stress upon the second point adduced against belief in Mahomet's original sincerity, the admixture, namely, which his creed presents, of tenets and usages from the other religions existent in Arabia before his time. Is it really conceivable, we would rather ask, that he *could* have framed a system which should be quite independent of the influence of those around? And if, again, the prolonged and savage hostility of the Crescent to the Cross prove that Mahometanism combined, in its essence, a great lie with a most solemn truth; if Satan contrived, with consummate craft, to turn its weaknesses and falsities, thus mingled with eternal verities, into an instrument of evil which no unmitigated

[1] Dr. Chrichton, p. 222 (note).

error could have proved; nay, even if there was that within Mahomet's own heart which contained the germ of all this mischief,—it would still remain to be proved, that he was either an insincere or an hopelessly wicked man. Not necessarily insincere, because in error: for thus should we impute insincerity to all those who, in killing apostles, thought that they did God service; or even to that ardent Pharisee, who, before his conversion, raged furiously against the infant Church. Not necessarily bad: excepting in so far as the adoption of erroneous belief betrays some yielding to one of the three forms of temptation by which man is assailed,—the whisperings of that subtler spirit who, when Belial or Mammon have done their best and worst, comes forward with the allurements to singularity in creed, and spiritual pride, and domination over the spirits of our fellow-men. It is to this third, this most exalted and therefore most fatal, enchantment that all great heresiarchs have fallen a prey; yet they need not therefore, in the commencement of their career, have yielded to the two former lusts of sensuality or gold and temporal rule; need not have been immoral, nor covetous, nor tyrannical, nor even hypocrites. Pelagianism has been, in many respects, a far more unmixed source of evil than Mahometanism: but did the great antagonist of Pelagian heresy pursue its author with invectives only? On the contrary, S. Augustine treats with respects both the abilities and the character of Pelagius; calling him 'most acute;' 'circumspect;' 'one who is, as those who know him declare, good and to be extolled;' 'of chaste life and praiseworthy morals;' 'a man who is eminently Christian.'[1] Between Mahomet and Pelagius there cannot be any proper comparison: whatever were the faults of the former, he had not been, like Pelagius, brought up as one of the children of Christ's flock. Mahomet's revengefulness of temper does not seem to have been greater, if it were not less, than that of the average specimen of an Arab; neither do the annals of his early years present any feature which is morally reprehensible. But the remaining objection, that Mahomet produced fresh chapters of the Koran to justify his own acts, is certainly more serious, and needs some fuller consideration.

The circumstances were as follows:—Zayd, son of Haritha (not to be confounded with the Zayd already named, who was son of Amr), had been adopted as a son by Mahomet. The

[1] 'Vir acutissimus . . . . . circumspectus . . . . . istum, sicut eum qui noverunt loquuntur, bonum ac prædicandum virum . . . . . ipsi qui contra hæc disputant, cùm sint castâ vitâ, moribusque laudabiles . . . . . vir ille tam egregiè Christianus.'—S. Aug. De Peccat. Meritis et Remissione (tom. x. p. 73 C; p. 54 B; p. 74 B. Ed. Ben.)

prophet himself had given one of his cousins to Zayd in marriage, a lady who united much elegance of mind to great personal beauty,—Zeynab, the daughter of Djahch. On a visit to Zayd's house, Mahomet was deeply struck with the charms of Zeynab, and uttered words of admiration, which were probably involuntary. But Zayd, being informed of this, insisted on resigning his wife to one from whom he had received great benefits; and Zeynab certainly appears to have displayed no reluctance to make the exchange. Murmurs, however, were heard from some, it being contrary to Arabian usage, that any man should take the wife of an adopted son, however formally she might have been divorced. These murmurs were disregarded: the marriage was celebrated with greater magnificence than any of his former nuptials; and in the Koran (chap. xxxiii.) came forth a general permission to the Mussulmans to marry henceforth the divorced wives of adopted sons. The other occasion of this kind is far more lowering to his character. In March A.D. 630, his Coptic slave, Maria, gave birth to a son. In joy of the event—for he had no male issue—he enfranchised her. The son died at the end of the year, and, according to Arabian usage, Maria, having ceased to be a slave, was likewise obliged to resign a position which had been similar to that of Hagar in Holy Scripture. Mahomet's unwillingness thus to part led to quarrels with Hafsa, one of his wives, and subsequently with the rest. Hafsa he divorced, and the rest he kept separate for a month; but on the intercession of his fathers-in-law, Omar and Abu Beker, reinstated all into their old positions. He had first, however, by a fresh addition to the Koran (chap. lxvi.) freed himself from the oath he had made to Hafsa to resign Maria; and, in the same chapter, lectured his wives for their revolt.

Those who believe Mahomet to have been in the main sincere, may yet consider that on these, and some other occasions, he was inconsistent. Those who denounce him as wholly hypocritical, have, of course, not failed to make the most of such an extra ordinary course of procedure. The former of these conclusions is the one hinted at by Gibbon and Mr. Carlyle; and followed in the main by Dr. Weil, Mr. Irving, M. Renan, and others: the latter is that of men so different as Dean Prideaux and Voltaire. There is, however, a third line of argument, that, namely, in palliation of Mahomet's conduct, which is vigorously urged by Dr. Möhler. And it is only fair that it should be set forth; which we proceed to do, without committing ourselves either to the acceptance or rejection of the professor's views upon what appears to us a very curious and difficult question of psychology.

Möhler, then, after narrating, almost as we have done, the above transactions, asks what judgment we are to form upon them? do they not indicate the most thoroughly conscious deceit? Such, he observes, was the opinion of Voltaire, who supported his view of Mahomet by reference to the affair of Zayd. But 'I,' he replies, 'hold such a view to be unhistori-'cal; and maintain that if one admits the possibility of his own 'individual impressions, ideas, and thoughts passing, without 'suspicion, for divine inspirations, I cannot perceive the impossi-'bility of his considering God to be the author of all his other 'inward impulses."[1] He then refers to the Herodotean account of the practice of the daughters of Babylon at the temple of Mylitta,[2] and similar disgraceful customs in Carthage, Malta, Cyprus, Phœnicia, Syria, and India, (he might have added Nicaragua and Peru,) as a proof how men may come to regard the basest rites as allowable, and even divinely authorized. Mahomet, he proceeds to say, was in the above transactions inspired by the same spirit as these,—to wit, an earthly spirit (*Erdgeiste*). It was certainly a relapse into sheer paganism: 'but it is like-'wise,' adds Möhler, 'at the same time clear, that he might be 'convinced of the divinity of that inspiration, and act upon it 'in good faith. The *bona fides* of Mahomet is especially evi-'dent from this, that the two events in question were the 'occasion of two *Suras* (*i. e.* chapters) of the Koran. Surely 'he would never have immortalised them in this manner, if 'he had been conscious of evil.'[3] He further demands, how it came to pass that these events caused no diminution of the respect paid to Mahomet, as a prophet, by his followers; and were not adduced until modern times, to raise any doubt concerning his sincerity?

Such is the defence of Möhler. We leave it to do its work, simply observing, that while the phrase of an 'earthly spirit' seems somewhat lenient in such cases, and suggests the other epithets which an inspired writer has on one occasion added,[4] yet that learned men (we give an instance in a foot-note)[5] corro-

[1] 'Ich halte eine solche Betrachtungsweise für unhistorich und gestehe, dass ich, wenn man die Möglichkeit zugibt, seine individuellen religiösen Empfindungen, Vorstellungen und Gedanken für gottliche Inspirationen ganz arglos auszugeben, die Unmöglichkeit nicht begreife, Gott auch als Urheber seiner übrigen inneren Bewegungen zu betrachten.'—P. 368 (note).

[2] Herod. book i. c. 199. He calls it, ὁ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων.

[3] 'Es leuchtet aber auch zugleich ein, dass er von der Göttlichkeit jener Inspiration überzeugt seyn und *bonâ fide* handeln konnte. Die *bona fides* Mahommeds ist aber besonders daraus ersichtlich, dass ihm die beiden beigebrachten Thatsachen Veranlassung zu zwei Suren gaben. Gewiss aber würde er das Andenken an dieselben nicht in dieser Weise verewigt haben wenn er sich des Bösen bewusst gewesen wäre.'—P. 369.

[4] S. James, iii. 15.

[5] 'Neque omninò è corruptis Babyloniorum moribus hunc morem explicari posse

borate this view of Babylonian rites, and that the subsequent arguments are certainly deserving of the fullest consideration. But whatever be the reader's conclusion on these points, there remains an amount of positive evidence for the general sincerity of Mahomet, the force of which it is most difficult to gainsay. It may be, that the power of allurement which spiritual conquest over other hearts possesses for a mind like his, is somewhat overlooked by Irving, Caussin, and even by Möhler. But, taking into account the natural workings of an ardent imagination (exalted by meditation and solitude) on one who appeared at a season when many of his countrymen were looking for fresh light, and some even expecting the advent of a prophet; the late period of life at which he announced his mission; the conviction of Kadijah, and of others most dear to him, who had known him from his earliest youth; the endurance for twelve years of every species of raillery, insult, and persecution; the utter rejection of all offers of wealth and chieftainship, when made on the condition of his discontinuing his efforts; the simplicity of his mode of life to the very last (dates and water frequently the only food of himself and his household, and sometimes no fire in the house for a whole month); the thorough confidence in-wrought into the minds of such men as Omar and Abu Beker; we cannot, we repeat, see in this man the merely ambitious conqueror, or the deceiver without faith in himself or his own mission.[1] And then, again, the Koran: poor and monotonous as it may well appear beside the pages of the inspired seers of Israel; wearisome as its perusal must soon prove to us, who read it divested by translation of all charms of diction and of rhythm; yet does it, after all, look like the production of a mere impostor? Möhler recognises in it 'a very 'original piety, a moving devotion, a thoroughly individual 'religious poetry, which cannot possibly be forced or artificial.' And how is it possible, he eloquently asks, that a religious fire, wild though it may have been, which in so astonishingly short a period set all Asia in flames, could go forth from one in whom the kindling material had no real existence? 'Many 'millions of men,' he continues, with some change of metaphor, 'feed and foster from the Koran an estimable religious and 'moral life; and one cannot believe that they are drawing from 'an empty spring.'[2]

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aut origines cepisse, quivis, me vel non animadvertente, sentiet. Ad ipsam enim religionem pravasque de diis conceptas opiniones respiciendum esse, ubi hæc et talia legimus, vix dubitandum,' &c.—Bähr in Herod. lib. i. cap. 199; (tom. i. p. 445. Lipsiæ, 1830.)

[1] See Möhler, p. 370; Caussin (Preface); Irving; Carlyle, &c. [2] Ibid.

It is our earnest wish to expose with faithfulness, as we proceed, the grievous defects of the Mahometan creed, and the sins and short-comings, no less than the virtues, of the leading races which have adopted it. But considering, for a moment, merely the amount of influence (apart from the further question, whether it has been for good or evil) which Islamism has exercised, we cannot bethink us of any sheer impostor who has left such traces of his footsteps as has its founder. Zoroaster and Pythagoras may possibly be compared to Mahomet, in respect of the kind, if not the degree, of impression which they made. But unless it can be distinctly *proved* that they likewise were consciously deceivers, there is no room for reasoning from analogy from their cases to that of Mahomet, it being the very condition of this species of argument, 'ut incerta *certis* probet.' And, in truth, with all respect to the memory of a pious and truly learned author, to whom students of ancient history are deeply beholden,[1] we are by no means convinced of the existence of imposture in the sages either of Bactria or of Samos.

We have said that we are not prepared to enter at any length into the causes of Mahomet's success. In declining to investigate so important a branch of the subject, we may appear to be taking a leaf out of the writings of those Mahometan historians of Turkey, who, as M. Ubicini informs us,[2] refer everything to a Will above man, in such wise as to dispense with examination of the causes of events, or their probable results in the future. Such a mode of handling history is, indeed, neither Christian nor philosophic. Yet it may be allowable to suppose, that the contrary extreme is likewise evil; that the annalists and critics of the West, who seem almost to have adopted as their motto, the Virgilian—

'Felix, qui potuit *rerum cognoscere causas*,'

may likewise be sometimes leading us astray. The previous state of Arabia (of which we have been endeavouring to afford some idea); the actual amount of truth which was taught by Mahomet; the principles acquired, directly or indirectly, from Christianity; the points of contact with the past, and with all the religions then obtaining in his country; the elegance and purity of the language of the Koran, and its applicability to law and the practical business of life; the native force of its author's mind, and the courage and confidence thence infused into his warriors; the evident need, if it may be said with

[1] Dean Prideaux, Connexion, &c. Part . book iv. [2] Page 239.

reverence, of some great scourge upon idolatry; all these have been named as probable causes of the success of Mahometanism, and we are not prepared to assert that they did not, each and all, contribute to the great result. But that they form a complete and satisfactory explanation, we cannot, for our own part, pretend to feel: and if they accounted ever so completely for the first propagation of Islamism, they would still fail to reveal the secret of its extraordinary permanence and freedom from change; a point which, after all, as Gibbon observes, is more wonderful than even its first success. Rather should we be disposed to admit, in the somewhat quaint but forceful language of Sir Francis Palgrave, 'That after all our cogitations, we are 'coerced to acknowledge that blessings and judgments are 'equally inscrutable: that many failures are unaccountable, 'and many successes inexplicable; legitimate expectations of 'good sorely disappointed—good resulting from evil—large 'promises and small forthcomings; or the hap and the half-'penny turning to ten thousand pounds.'[1]

We must not, however, pass in silence one reason, which is usually alleged in our popular histories, and to which Gibbon has lent the sanction of his authority; that indulgence, namely, of voluptuousness which Mahomet has permitted in this world, and promised in the next. Those who have thus far followed our line of reasoning, will not be surprised to find that we agree with Mr. Hallam and Mr. Maurice,[2] in thinking that the influence of this motive has been much exaggerated. There may indeed be much truth in an observation of Dr. Arnold's,[3] that 'the unworthy idea of Paradise in the Koran justifies the 'ways of God in not revealing' [that is, we presume, fully and clearly revealing] 'a future state earlier, since man in early 'ages was not fit for it.' But the unseen is with the mass of mankind so far less potent than the visible and tangible world around them, that it is probably to the licence of the present life, rather than to the anticipations of a future state, that Gibbon, and those who follow him, mainly refer. On this point we cannot do better than cite the remarks of Mr. Hallam.

'Although the character of the founder of Mahometanism may have been tainted by sensuality as well as ferociousness, I do not think that he relied upon inducements of the former kind for the diffusion of his system. We are not to judge of this by rules of Christian purity or of European practice. If polygamy was a prevailing usage in Arabia, as is not questioned,

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[1] History of Normandy and England, vol. i. page 128.
[2] 'On the Religions of the World,' Lect. i. page 27.
[3] Life. Note to Appendix C.

its permission gave no additional licence to the proselytes of Mohammed, who will be found rather to have narrowed the unbounded liberty of oriental manners in this respect; while his decided condemnation of adultery, and of incestuous connexions, so frequent among barbarous nations, does not argue a very base and accommodating morality. A devout Mussulman exhibits much more of the Stoical than the Epicurean character;[1] nor can any one read the Koran without being sensible that it breathes an austere and scrupulous spirit; and, in fact, the founder of a new religion or sect is little likely to obtain permanent success by indulging the vices and luxuries of mankind. I should rather be disposed to reckon the severity of Mohammed's discipline among the causes of its influence.'[2]

The most recent researches certainly tend to confirm this view. Mr. Hallam mentions among the severe requirements of Mahometanism, the long fasting, the pilgrimages, the regular prayers and ablutions, and the abstinence from stimulating liquors. Yet these injunctions, great as is the self-denial they involved on the part of his first followers, who had been passionately fond of drink, and apparently not much shackled by any burden of ordinances, did not constitute the whole, perhaps not even the most trying portion, of his demands. Besides the condemnation of the wicked practice of destroying female infants,[3] (which his precursor Zayd had so forcibly denounced,) Mahomet forbade all illicit intercourse, beyond the bounds of marriage or concubinage; all usury; all games of chance; all divinations by arrows; all hostilities between tribes which had once accepted the creed of Islam. Most of these are trying restraints upon the will of the natural man. Games of chance are everywhere popular, alike in Christendom and heathendom. Bourdaloue, in his very strict sermon *Sur les Divertissemens du Monde*, after cutting off the great majority of the worldly amusements of his audience, yet leaves them the liberty of play, provided the time be not unduly extended, nor duties neglected, nor the sums at stake excessive. The Arabs, as has been observed, were devoted to gambling, insomuch that men had been known to lose all that they possessed, and then to stake their freedom, forfeit it, and become slaves. Divinations have always been popular, (witness the success of fortune-tellers even in Europe,) and the particular mode of divining by arrows, known by the name of *Kidâh* or *Arlâm*, had been practised in every emergency by the countrymen of Mahomet.[4] Yet how are these things treated in the Koran?

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[1] Compare M. Ubicini, in his somewhat too favourable estimate of the Turk (p. 497): '*Il y a en lui toute la force d'âme du Stoïcien, moins l'insensibilité.*' We doubt the justice of the latter clause.

[2] Middle Ages, chap. vi. vol. ii. p. 114, Tenth Ed.

[3] Koran, xvi. 60, 61; Ubicini, pp. 502, 503.

[4] We have not space for a description of this mode of divination, but the fol-

'O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and images, and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper. Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembering God and from prayer; will ye not therefore abstain from them? Obey God, and obey the apostle, and take heed to yourselves; but if ye turn back, know that the duty of an apostle is only to preach publicly.' [1]

These injunctions were enforced with a high hand, and although it be most true (as Mr. Hallam intimates) that strictness possesses a winning influence peculiarly its own, that numbers everywhere can sympathize with the sentiments of Dr. Johnson on this head, and the oft-recurring thought of our late Laureate, respecting 'the weight of too much liberty,' yet it is evident, that by many of the Arab tribes the restrictions were at first much felt as a very sensible diminution of their licence. Thus, for example, when El-Acha, a poet of very great celebrity, (and, like many of their poets, a keen satirist upon occasion,) had composed a panegyric upon Mahomet, and was journeying to present himself to the new teacher; certain hostile Koreishites, alarmed at the idea of such an accession to the cause they were opposing, bribed him with the splendid present of a hundred camels to desist from his intention. But they did not have recourse to this huge donative, until they had first attempted, though in vain, to deter him by a prospect of the self-denial, which the profession of Mahometanism would entail. 'Our compatriot,' said they (for Mahomet, as we have said, was of the tribe of the Koreish), 'will forbid you things of which you are extremely fond.' And they proceed to name the points above referred to, licentiousness, games of chance, usury and wine. It was when these remonstrances proved futile, that their spokesman, Abou-Sofyân—but we will not here risk spoiling, by translation, the *naïveté* of M. Caussin's narrative:—'Abou-Sofyân dit alors aux Coraychites: "Si 'El-Acha se rend près de Mahomet et s'attache à lui, il enflam-'mera par ses vers les Arabes contre nous. Donnons-lui cent

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lowing most characteristic story will give some idea of the kind of procedure:—The prince-poet, Imroulcays (of whose *Moallacat* or prize-poem we have given a specimen), was burning to avenge the murder of his father. He consulted an idol much revered by the Arabs, named Dhou-l-Kholosa. His pointless arrows were three in number, and bore the words *command*, *prohibition*, *delay*. He shook them together and drew out *prohibition*. Dissatisfied, he begins over again, and thrice following comes forth *prohibition*. Upon this he takes the arrows, breaks them and throws the pieces at the idol's head, exclaiming:—'Wretch! if it were thy father who had been killed, thou wouldest not have forbidden his being avenged.'—*Caussin*, ii. p. 310.

[1] Chap. v. 92, 93.

'chameaux, pour lui fermer la bouche."'[1] El-Acha took the bribe, but was thrown and killed on his road homeward.

This event happened in A.D. 628. About two years later, the tribe of Bacrites bethought themselves of submission to the new creed. One consideration, however, restrained them: 'The 'religion of Abdelmottalib's grandson,' said they, 'forbids those 'who embrace it to make war upon each other; it pronounces 'sentence of death against the Mussulman who slays a Mussul-'man. We shall be obliged to give up attacks and pillage of 'those tribes who, like ourselves, have adopted Islamism.' At length they made a compromise with their consciences. 'Let 'us make one more expedition against the Témim, and then 'we will declare ourselves Mussulmans.' Four days saw the Bacrites across the southern boundary of Irak, a space usually occupying eight days of travel; suddenly did they fall upon the Témim in the plain of Chaytayn, slaughtered numbers, and carried off their cattle. The injured Témim sent a deputation to the prophet, entreating from him a curse upon the authors of their calamity. But Mahomet declined; he knew of the disposition of the Bacrites, and had no desire to estrange them. Very shortly after, they were all among the number of his proselytes.

Now, although El-Acha was dissuaded by a bribe, and not by the dread of sacrifice of his inclinations, and although the schoolboy-like feeling of the Bacrites did not prevent them from ultimately becoming Mussulmans; yet, surely, in either narrative we may trace the conviction, that to adopt Mahometanism was esteemed a piece of self-denial, and not an acquirement of more licence, either of thought or action.

It remains that, in accordance with our promise, we attempt to describe the relation of Mahometanism to paganism and to Christianity. The latter branch of this inquiry ought to include, perhaps, some slight notice of the leading races (besides the Arabs) which have adopted it. But the accomplishment of such a task would carry us far beyond our present limits.

And firstly, then, as regards paganism. Writers of the most opposite schools of thought—we may instance Mr. Forster and Dr. Newman[2]—concur in representing Mahometanism as a kind of half-way creed, if we may so speak, between paganism and Christianity; excellent in comparison with the religions of heathendom, execrable when confronted with the faith of Christ. Such portraiture of Islamism demands respect, from

[1] Tom. ii. pp. 402, 403.

[2] Forster, 'Vindication of Mahometanism Unveiled,' p. 31; Newman, pp. 105, 106.

the mere circumstance of its having been drawn by learned men who have contemplated the subject from such different points of view. Neither do we purpose to deny that it is in the main correct; but inasmuch as it seems to us to need some modification, so far as regards paganism, we shall venture to draw out formally a sketch of the strong and weak points of Mahomet's teaching, when considered with reference to the heathen creeds. And as, in the prosecution of this portion of our task, we shall derive but little assistance from other writers, we must the more bespeak the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes into which we may fall, while, at the same time, we cannot complain if he should look more watchfully for their occurrence.

The three great errors of paganism, are Epicurism, pantheism, and polytheistic idolatry. The doctrine of Epicurus may not indeed be directly and immediately responsible for the conduct of all who called themselves Epicureans; but it is hard to prove that their general behaviour did not logically flow from their master's tenets. When once a man has taught that the gods have enjoyed for ever a perfect happiness, undisturbed alike by the trouble either of creating, or of governing the world, he is further removed from deism, than even deism itself from true religion.[1] Between such doctrine and sheer atheism, there is, *practically*, no real difference; the Lucretian doctrine, of a creation from a concourse of atoms, follows as truly as the Horatian carelessness and love of pleasure. The consistent Epicurist sees not God in the marvels of nature, nor seeks to influence him by prayers.

From miracles, be they genuine or feigned, he will turn away with supercilious contempt:—

> 'Credat Judæus Apella,
> Non ego. Namque Deos didici securum agere ævum;
> Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, Deos id
> Tristes ex alto cœli demittere tecto.'[2]

His comrades he will naturally exhort to imitate the Beings who are above them:—

> 'To live and lie reclined
> On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind.
> For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurl'd
> Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curl'd

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[1] Dean Prideaux, in the Preface to his 'Life of Mahomet,' has spoken to this effect; but the statements of the text were first suggested to the writer by the MS. of a highly gifted friend.

[2] Horat. Sat. lib. i. vv. 100, 103.

Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world;
Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps and fiery sands,
Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and sinking ships, and *praying hands.*'[1]

Most justly did Cicero, in opposition to this heartless, hopeless creed, maintain with the Stoics, the existence of a particular, as well as a general, Providence in the government of the universe: 'Stabit illud quidem .... de quo agimus, Esse Deos, et eorum 'providentiâ mundum administrari, eosdemque consulere rebus 'humanis, nec solum universis, verùm etiam singulis.'[2]

The pantheist, too, if he carry out his doctrines to their legitimate conclusions (as is done by the Hindoos) may easily bring himself to believe that the eternal and immutable distinction between right and wrong is a delusion, however necessary for our guidance in this life. For by deifying nature, and thus confusing the Creator and the created, he makes the Almighty to be all things, and each individual soul a part of the *Anima Mundi*, the one great soul of the universe. Thus every act of man becomes an act of the Divinity; and as the Deity cannot do wrong, so neither, properly speaking, can man. Unpardonable as is this self-deification in those who have been nurtured in Christian lands, it yet possessed a winning aspect for very pure and lofty minds among the ancients,[3] as a reaction from the grossness of the popular belief. With them pantheism was often perhaps the expression of a dim groping after two great truths; the one, that in Him who made us, 'we live, and move, and have our being;' the other, that men's highest bliss must consist in becoming 'partakers of the Divine nature.' But its teachers erred grievously, in that they denied the existence of a personal God, and reduced their Creator to a mere philosophic abstraction; they erred grievously, in that they made union with Him to be of such sort, as that man should become *of one substance* with the Eternal, and lose his own individuality by being absorbed into the Divine essence.

But even worse, perhaps, fared those who added 'drunkenness to thirst,'[4] (if we may adopt Bishop Andrews's explanation of those words,) by taking refuge from atheism in polytheism, and the worship of images. The close connexion between polytheism and idolatry has been commented upon by S. Athanasius[5]

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[1] Tennyson, 'Lotos-Eaters.'—The entire passage is as exact, as it is poetical.

[2] De Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 50. § 117.—Cf. De Naturâ Deorum, lib. ii., of which a large part is occupied in establishing this position. 'Nec vero universo generi hominum solùm, sed etiam singulis à Diis immortalibus consuli et provideri solet. Licet enim contrahere universitatem generis humani, eamque gradatim ad pauciores, postremò deducere ad singulos.' (Cap. 65. § 164.)

[3] For instance, Virgil, Georg. iv. 219—227: Æneid, vi. 724—729.

[4] Deut. xxix. 19.

[5] Cont. Arian. iii. 8.

and S. Austin.[1] There were no images in any country until religion became corrupted; Varro admitted that the Romans had for more than a hundred and seventy years worshipped the gods without an image: Plutarch (and, we believe, Pliny) bear witness to the same effect.[2] 'And if this had endured till now,' adds Varro, 'the gods would have been more purely served.'[3] Not only is idolatry most offensive to Him who is a jealous God, in that it gives His glory to another, but likewise because it appears to have the power of putting men into connexion with the unseen world, and establishing a fellowship with evil spirits; in which, perhaps, the essence of its exceeding sinfulness may lie. 'They provoked Him to jealousy with strange gods, with 'abominations provoked they Him to anger. *They sacrificed* '*unto devils*, not to God; to gods whom they knew not, to new 'gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not.' '*They* '*sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils*, and shed inno-'cent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, '*whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan.*' 'Are not they '*which eat of the sacrifices* partakers of the altar? What say 'I then? that the idol is anything, or that which is offered in 'sacrifice to idols is anything. But I say, that the things which 'the Gentiles sacrifice, *they sacrifice to devils, and not to God:* '*and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils,*' (*οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι*).[4]

Now against all three of these capital errors; against Epicurean or pantheistic notions of the Deity, and, still more vigorously, against idolatry, Mahometanism utters and enacts a most direct, a most energetic, and, on the whole, a most successful protest. We say, upon the whole, for it is not to be denied that the creed of the Schiite Mussulmans has admitted a pantheistic element, the mystic theology commonly known by the name of Soffeeism. This arose from the influence of the Persian mind after the conquest of that country by the Moslems: and hence Soffeeism has found its way into Turkish as well as Persian poetry, as most of the poets of these countries belong to some order of Dervishes,[5] and these devotees are the

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[1] De Civ. Dei, lib. v. cap. 31.

[2] A very learned writer (Morris, 'Essay towards Conversion of Hindus,' p. 226) supplies the following list: Herod. i. 131 of the Persians, and iv. 59 of the Scythians; Tacitus, Germ. cap. ix. of the ancient Germans; Eusebius, Præp. Evang. pp. 274, 275 of the ancient Seres and Brahmans; Windischmann of the Chinese (p. 348); and Rubbi (xi. p. 171) of the native Americans. The same writer is full of information upon Brahmanism and idolatry.

[3] 'Quod si adhuc mansisset, castiûs dii observarentur.'—Varro, cit. ap. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, v. 31.

[4] Deut. xxxii. 16, 17; Ps. cvi. 37, 38; 1 Cor. x. 18—20; Cf. verse 21; also Levit. xvii. 7; 2 Chron. xi. 15; Rev. ix. 20: and Ps. xcv. 5, as in the Septuagint.

[5] Taylor's Hist. of Mohammedanism, p. 307.

supporters, as indeed they were the originators, of this intrusive element. But although there has hence arisen a dangerous species of mysticism, we see no reason to believe that the disciples of Mahomet have, in the slightest degree, yielded to the temptation of disbelieving in the personality of the Almighty. And, assuredly, the God of the Koran is no Epicurean deity; so completely is all that is done in the universe regarded as His work and will, that even the research into secondary causes is, as we have observed, almost abjured. And, lastly, as regards idolatry, it has been seen, in that affecting history of Zayd the son of Amr, how he forbade men to eat the flesh of victims which had been sacrificed to idols, an injunction displaying a spiritual instinct so deep and true, as to incline us to think, that had his life been spared, he might have become a Christian like his three companions. And though Mahomet may have been in character inferior to his precursor, yet the progress of himself and his followers in the destruction of idol shrines, is undoubtedly the most grand and striking feature of their history. Never was Mahomet greater than on that memorable day, when he rode on his camel seven times around the Caba, and had the three hundred and sixty idols overthrown and crushed beneath his feet, saying, 'The truth has come, let falsehood disappear.'[1] Never were the Mahometan conquerors so thoroughly the instruments of the righteous vengeance of God, as when in Hindostan they disregarded all difficulties of country, of climate, of weather, all multitudes of enemies, all hostile appliances of war, the elephant and the armed vessel and the walled fortress, all bribes however fabulous in amount, so that they might utterly demolish those idolatrous temples, which had in every way become the haunts of diabolical wickedness. And, truly, obedience to the law of their creed proved, at the same time, the best earthly policy. Most readers of the history of India must have been struck with that incident in the life of Mahmood, when for a moment he paused in the infamous shrine at Somnaut, and gave ear to the enormous offer of the Brahmins, who would fain have saved its idol from the common doom; but then, recovering himself, proceeded in his work of destruction, and was repaid, not merely by the approval of his conscience, but by the magnificent outpouring, from the interior of the shattered image, of diamonds, and pearls, and rubies, beyond number.

But over and above these protests against errors, Mahometanism teaches many things clearly, which paganism of every kind had, in a greater or less degree, lost, or at best was teaching vaguely. Eternity and a judgment to come, fixed dogmas,

[1] Caussin, tom. iii. p. 230.

fixed rules of right and wrong, the existence of real revelations; these and other truths did the Arabian gain from Judaism and from Christianity. One other point we venture to mention, because we have not seen it named by any writer upon the subject of Mahometanism, namely, that Mahomet appears to have taught a reasonable doctrine of penance. The idea of penance is, indeed, very deeply seated in the human heart; it is a great mistake to imagine, that the rejection of distinctively Roman teaching on this head involves the rejection of *all* doctrine concerning it. On the contrary, that very important rule of S. Gregory, 'to cut off indulgence in things lawful, where we know that we have committed what is unlawful,' may be illustrated and enforced, not only from the Prayer-book and Homilies of the English Church, but likewise from writings whence it might be least expected; from the poetry of the Puritan Spenser, and from the treatises of Bishop Burnet and of Calvin.

'Since we ought,' (says the last named, commenting upon the very important word *revenge* in 2 Cor. vii. 11;) 'since we ought to do vengeance upon sins wherever they exist, nor that alone, *but more particularly to begin with ourselves;* the saying of the apostle has a wider range, for he is speaking of the signs of penitence. This one is conspicuous among the rest, since, by punishing our sins, we in some wise anticipate the judgment of God. As he elsewhere teacheth, "If we would judge ourselves we should not be judged," of the Lord. Not, however, that it is to be hence inferred, that men, by exacting punishment of themselves, can compensate for punishment due to God, so as to redeem themselves from his hand. But thus the matter stands, since it is the design of God, by chastening us, to destroy our heedless security, so that, warned of his wrath, we should henceforth take heed to ourselves: *when the sinner himself previously taketh spontaneous revenge, he does away the need for such an admonition of God.*'[1]

An illustration of the Mahometan doctrine on this point will be found, (if so abrupt a descent from comments upon Holy Scripture may be pardoned,) in that portion of 'The Thousand and One Nights,' which contains the adventures of the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid.

'At the foot of the bridge they met with an old blind man, who asked for their alms; the Caliph turned, and put a piece of gold into his hand. The blind man presently caught hold of his hand and stopped him. "Charitable person," said he, "whoever you are, that God hath inspired

[1] 'Cæterùm quia peccata debemus *ulcisci* ubicunque sint; neque id modò, sed à nobis potissimum incipere: latius patet quod dicit apostolus: loquitur enim de signis pœnitentiæ. Hoc unum est insigne inter reliqua; dum peccata vindicando, Dei judicium quodammodo antevertimus. Quemadmodum alibi docet, Si nos judicaremus, non judicaremur utique à Domino. Neque tamen hinc colligendum est, homines vindictam à se exigendo, compensare pœnas Deo debitas, ut ab ejus manû se redimant. Sed ita se res habet, Quum Dei consilium sit, nos castigando, securitatem nobis excutere, ut de irâ ejus commonefacti, caveamus nobis in posterum: quum spontaneam ultionem peccator ipse præoccupat, facit ut tali Dei admonitione non sit opus.'—Calvinus, in loc. cit.

to bestow his alms, do not refuse the favour that I ask you, to give me a box on the ear, for I deserve this and a greater punishment." After these words he let the Caliph's hand go, that he might strike; but for fear that he should not, held him fast by his clothes.'

When the man has told his story (which the reader can refer to in any of the old editions—for it is not given, we believe, in Mr. Lane's version),[1]

'The Caliph said, Baba Abdallah, thy sin is great; but God be praised! thou knowest both the enormity of that, and thy penance. As for thy first, thou must ask God's pardon for it in every prayer thy religion obliges thee to say every day.'

Now it is true that such ideas, though very hard, we imagine, to discover in Greek or Roman writers, were common in the East; and have, in many parts of Asia, been developed into very terrible and superstitious practices. But Mahometanism, if we mistake not, is utterly opposed to any Hindoo notion of abstract merit in penance, apart from religious sentiments in the heart of the doer of the penance (the doctrine so vividly pourtrayed in Southey's 'Curse of Kehama'); even Mahomet himself is held to have been accepted into Paradise by divine mercy alone, and not for any presumed good deeds; and the Koran, while it implies that one who has acted wrongfully cannot by mere regret, and by undoing (where it is possible) his actions, be restored at once to his former position, yet enjoins a kind of self-denial which may often prove beneficial to others, besides the offender himself. Thus, for instance, it was easy for an Arab, in a moment of vexation, to repeat the short *formula* which divorced a wife: it was easy to repent of such a step: but the book of the Moslems does not allow of a simple renovation of the tie. The man must pay a penalty for his fault.

'Those who divorce their wives, by declaring that they will for the future regard them as their mothers, and afterwards would repair what they have done, shall be obliged to free a captive, before they are re-united. This is what ye are warned to perform: and God is well apprized of that which ye do: and whoso findeth not a captive to redeem, shall observe a fast of two consecutive months. And whoso shall not be able to fast that time, shall feed threescore poor men. This is ordained you, that ye may believe in God and his apostle.'[2]

Another very important feature in the creed of Islam, is the sense of brotherhood with which it is calculated to inspire those who profess it. With the one exception of the ruler, Caliph or Sultan, all Mahometans are equal: difference of social position may indeed result from wealth, and from the possession of civil or military office; but such difference is not hereditary, and may

[1] This does not affect, we believe, its value for our purpose, though we cannot stop to give the grounds of our opinion.

[2] Koran, chap. lviii. sub init.

at any moment be utterly reversed by change of circumstances, or the *fiat* of a despotic ruler. Such notions are strangely opposed to the extremely haughty and aristocratic feelings of the ancient Arab tribes. The change, however, does not appear to be accidental, but to have been deliberately contemplated by Mahomet. 'Koreishites,' said he, on the day when he destroyed the idols at Mecca, 'no more pagan arrogance, no more pride 'built upon ancestry! All men are children of Adam, and Adam 'was formed out of the dust.' And he recited a verse out of the Koran. 'O men, verily we have created you of a male and a 'female, and we have distributed you into families and tribes. 'The common object of your existence is a brotherly society. 'The most honourable in the eyes of God is he who fears Him 'most. To God belongeth wisdom and knowledge infinite.'[1] Moreover, every Moslem, of whatever race or wherever he dwells, is considered by the mere profession of Islamism to have been symbolically grafted into the Arabian race, and when he prays with his face towards Mecca, to be united in the sanctuary of the common stock.[2] Such teaching we may allow with Möhler to be in advance of Judaism, since it is reflected from the light of that Faith for which Judaism was but the preparation. Certainly it is no mere theory, but a living idea, which has exercised great influence upon the Tartar races. An intelligent and observant traveller, Lieutenant Wood,[3] virtually ascribes to this, and some other tenets of Islamism, the apparently innate self-respect and gravity, even of the poorest Mahometans; and, if we remember rightly, M. Huc declares that the Chinese dare not treat with injustice Mahometan residents of the Celestial Empire; because it is well known, that, though comparatively few, they have a common bond, both social and spiritual, and that any ill-treatment of one would be taken up as a common wrong by all.

Concerning that truly noble idea of spiritual filiation, we shall have something more to say presently. The degree of success which has attended, or can attend, the attempt to offer Islamism to every race, and again, the amount of connexion between this creed and the intellectual development of humanity, open questions far less favourable to Mahomet and his work than the points on which we have now been dwelling. But let us not shrink from allowing it its full due. On the one hand the Marabout, as a Mahometan priest is called in Africa, teaches to the degraded children of Ham reading and writing, along with

[1] Caussin, tom. iii. pp. 231, 232. Koran, chap. xlix. 13. We have here followed the version of M. Caussin, which slightly, but not substantially, differs from that of Sale.

[2] Möhler, p. 393. [3] Cited by Dr. Newman, pp. 86, 87.

the belief in Eternity, and in a living, almighty, all-wise and good God, and produces a marked and sensible improvement, insomuch that the traveller would always choose, if possible, for a place of rest a village where a Marabout is living:[1] on the other hand, the courts of Bagdad and of Cordova undoubtedly patronised the labours of the intellect, and the throne was surrounded by multifarious, if not very original, science and learning. 'You only sent for a barber,' says the persecuting chatterbox in the tale, 'but here in my person you have the best barber in 'Bagdad; an experienced physician; a very profound chemist; 'an infallible astrologer; a finished grammarian; a complete 'orator; a subtle logician; a mathematician perfectly well versed 'in geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and all the divisions of 'algebra; an historian fully master of the histories of the kingdoms of the universe: besides, I know all parts of philosophy; 'I have all the traditions upon my fingers' ends. I am a poet, 'I am an architect; nay, what is it I am not? there is nothing 'in nature hidden from me.'[2] In some of these branches of knowledge, Europe is certainly under obligation to the *Saracens*, as the Arabs got named in the West. Those numerals which betray, in their very forms, their Eastern origin by opening towards *the left*, instead of, like Western alphabets, to the right,[3] were brought into Europe by them, and effected a perfect revolution in arithmetic. Algebra was at least made known to us through them, so far as to preserve its Arab name; and Alchemy, which, however futile in itself, proved a most useful handmaid to real chemistry, betrays a similar derivation.[4] We hear on all sides of their commentaries upon Aristotle: even Dante does not refuse to name

'Averroes, che il gran commento feo;[5]

And Sismondi thinks that their poets exercised considerable influence upon the taste and genius of the Troubadours.[6] Mahometan literature is, however, too large a subject to receive anything like justice at our hands, though we must add a word or two hereafter respecting one of its leading features. One more of the qualifications claimed by the barber, we must just allude to, we mean the architectural skill of the Saracens. The Turks have not, we believe, produced anything in this respect worthy of admiration; on the contrary, their buildings are said to be heavy, badly proportioned, and destitute of genius. But it was far otherwise with the first promulgators of Islamism. They

[1] Möhler, p. 386. [2] 'Thousand and One Nights.'—Story told by the Tailor.
[3] For instance, compare a 5 with an *e*, a 3 with a *c*, &c.
[4] Chambers's Cyclopedia, articles *Algebra* and *Alchemy*.
[5] Inferno, iv. 144.
[6] De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe, tom. i. chap. iii.

had a style which was really their own, and sprang out of their creed. 'The architecture of the Arabs,' says Mr. Owen Jones,[1] 'is essentially religious, and the offspring of the Koran, as Gothic 'architecture is of the Bible. The prohibition to represent 'animal life, caused them to seek for other means of decoration; 'inscriptions from the Koran, interwoven with geometrical 'ornaments and flowers, not drawn decidedly from nature, but 'translated through the loom; for it would seem that the Arabs, 'in changing their wandering for a settled life, in striking the 'tent to plant it in a form more solid, had transferred the luxu-'rious shawls and hangings of Cashmere, which had adorned their 'former dwellings, to their new, changing the tent pole for a 'marble column, and the silken tissue for gilded plaster.' Mr. Ford observes, that it might have been added, that the palm-tree was the type of the columns which they used in their court-yards *(patios)*. How brilliant was their success, we know, not merely from records, but from actual remains. Even now, when the spirit of the nineteenth century would fain collect in its Crystal Palace the finest specimens of the art of the most varied climes and ages, it is compelled to devote one of its chambers to the reproduction of one of the courts of the exquisite Alhambra!

But with all these features of superiority, there still remain points wherein, as it seems to us, Mahometanism is decidedly inferior to some of the other false religions of the world. We mean that there are certain needs in human nature which the creed of Islam does not satisfy, and which other religions have at least attempted to satisfy. Writers who are anxious, as we are, to do justice to the merits of the Arab-born creed, but too often, we think, ignore this side of the question.[2] It is not touched upon in any of the works which are named at the commencement of this article. And yet, unless it be duly taken into account, we shall surely obtain an imperfect, and perhaps an unduly favourable, estimate of Mahometanism.

Let it be granted, that the religions against which the Moslem hosts prevailed, had become exceedingly corrupt; and that it was not merely the power of the sword which laid them low: let it be granted, that there is a salt in Islamism, which has hitherto preserved it from a like corruption, from a like departure from its own original principles: still these religions found food for some cravings of the human mind, which were, in themselves, neither wrong or unnatural. Thus, for example, it is natural, and it is right, to imagine that the Divine nature

[1] Cited in Mr. Ford's 'Handbook for Spain,' sec. iii. p. 372.

[2] Mr. Maurice is an exception.—Religions of the World, p. 56, et alibi.

must in itself, and much more when viewed by our finite comprehension, be full of mystery; it is natural to seek for something which shall bridge over the vast gulf between the human and the Divine, the Creator and the created; it is, above all, natural to seek to propitiate the Almighty by offering sacrifice, and by thus softening the otherwise appalling notion of Almighty power, as a thing before which man must simply prostrate himself, to associate the performance of duties with soothing rites, and temper fear with love. How fully Christianity supplies all these needs; how clearly it proclaims that, as there is a mystery of iniquity, so likewise is there a mystery of godliness; how thoroughly the doctrine of the One Mediation and the One Sacrifice, from which all other sacrifices derive their worth and meaning, is its central verity, we have already hinted, and must not, for the moment, pause to enlarge upon; but it is important to observe, that Magianism and the better forms of Buddhism, and even classic paganism, possessed something in these respects which Mahometanism has not. Magianism, though it had done its work when Mahomet appeared, and lost its pristine excellence, had probably been of real service in preparing the way for Christianity. That noble nation, whose religion it was, has the glory of numbering among its monarchs the one great heathen type of Christ our Lord; Cyrus, the destroyer of Babylon, the restorer of the chosen race to their home in Palestine. Thinkers, so differently trained as Keble, Hengstenberg, and M. Nicolas, agree in extolling both Persia and its creed, as among the best and fairest specimens of heathendom.[1] A triad of deities, one eternal and two created and visible, of whom one fulfilled the office of Mediator; the immortality of the soul; the fall of the first man; the life to come, its bliss and punishment; resurrection of body and soul, and the three degrees of purity—purity of thought, of word, and of action; these doctrines are all claimed for the religious system of the Persians by a learned living writer;[2] though the teaching may probably have been somewhat vague and dim, and was evidently mixed up with much that was erroneous. Hence, we cannot but suspect, the strength of the Schiite schism among the believers in Islamism; the mere question whether the three first Caliphs were usurpers or not, and whether Ali ought not to have immediately succeeded Mahomet, could hardly have led

[1] 'Ne . . . nobili Persarum genti, *quam proximè à suis Hebræis caram fortasse habuit Divina Majestas*, iniquiores esse videamur.' Keble, Prælect Acad. (tom. ii. p. 819); Cf. Hengstenberg; Preface to Christology of the Old Testament. M. Nicolas, *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, tom. ii.

[2] M. Felix Lajard, *Lettre sur les Traditions Assyriennes et Persanes*, appended to the second volume of M. Nicolas' *Etudes Philosophiques*.

to such serious and lasting results. But an admixture of the idea of mediation, of union of the divine and human in one nature, and of other ancient Persian tenets, would at once give a subjective basis to a schism which was, at its commencement, rather personal and political, than religious.[1]

Take again the case of Buddhism. We are not about to defend its morality or its theology; though M. Huc's account of the Thibetians should certainly be weighed in the balance as well as the unfavourable portrait which others give of the Hindoo and Cingalese professors of this creed. In any case, Buddhism now possesses some deep and holy truths, however acquired. And so, likewise, does Brahmanism. We have before us, while we write, Wilkin's translation of that very curious Sanscrit work, the 'Bhagvat-Geeta,' which contains the system of those worshippers of Kreeshna, called the *Bluktahs*. A note, furnished by the present Bishop of Brechin, to Archdeacon Grant's most interesting Bampton Lectures, invites our attention to the following passage, as hinting at the Christian doctrines of remission of sin and the effects of faith, and of man's union with the Object of all true worship:—

'Those who serve me with adoration, I am in them, and they in me. If one, whose ways are ever so evil, serve me alone, he is as respectable as the just man; he is altogether well employed; he soon becometh of a virtuous spirit, and obtaineth eternal happiness. Recollect, O son of Koönteë, that my servant doth not perish.'[2]

Now, as the work whence this extract is taken is of the tenth century, and consequently coeval with the Mahometan conquest of Hindoostan, it may easily be conceived that men, who could imbibe such sentiments, would regard Islamism with little favour. And thus indeed it proved: Mahomet's disciples smote Indian idolatry, and that most righteously; but forasmuch as their creed, in its bare and rigid Monotheism, did not correspond to the needs of the mystic and contemplative Hindoo, even the sword of Mahmood failed, in the long run, to win the convictions of the mass of the inhabitants.

And with respect to rites of sacrifice: sad and shocking as it was that an offering like that of Abel should have been trans-

[1] Taylor's 'History of Mohammedanism' (chap. vii.) quite justifies us in taking this view of the Schiites, and thereby regarding the Sonnites as the truer Mussulmans. It is a sad blemish on this work, which is replete with curious and useful information, that its author commits the unpardonable error of asserting, more than once, that Mahomet taught the doctrine of the incarnation (p. 7 and p. 46). The Koran is *as explicit as possible* in denying the divinity of our Lord, though it admits His miraculous conception.

[2] Bhagvat-Geeta, lect. ix. In the same chapter occur the following striking words:—'I am the sacrifice; I am the worship; I am the spices; I am the invocation; I am the ceremony to the manes of the ancestors; I am the provisions; I am the fire and I am the victim.'—Krëeshna is the speaker throughout.

ferred from the true and living God to his rebellious creatures, the fallen angels; yet in the existence of the rite itself, and the many points of agreement in its mode of performance by all nations, how much of deep and solemn truth was involved; truth, assuredly, which needed to be purified and disentangled from masses of superstition, but not to be lost sight of and forgotten. In the selection of a victim as innocent as possible, and likewise one *near humanity* (tamed animals, as the sheep or the calf, never wild ones—as the boar or wolf, being employed), in the infliction of a blood-shedding death, the knife, not the strangling cord, being the instrument; in the consumption of part of the victim by fire, and the rest by the ministrants and the people; in all these leading features the nations of the universe were at one. All recognised thereby, however dimly and unconsciously, man's need of that Atonement which, in the divine counsels of God the Holy Trinity, was offered 'before the foundation of the world;' all admitted that repentance alone could not avail to blot out sins; all entreated the acceptance of a substitute for their guilty selves:—

'Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris sumite fibras:
Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus.'[1]

That Mahomet should either continue the sacrifices of blood, or, failing that, should have grasped the idea of spiritual and bloodless sacrifices, was not perhaps to be expected. But in that his doctrine concerning the Godhead stands, as it were, bare and lonely; in that the interval between man and his Maker is left in all its vastness; in that with the loss of sacrifices, he lost much solemn truth conveyed in such ritual; he has thereby framed a religion devoid of some things, which the better among the heathen had retained; and thus far justified the pointed comment of Schlegel upon himself and his work, as the spectacle of '*a prophet without miracles—a faith without mysteries, and a morality without love.*'

These words of Schlegel bring us naturally to another branch of our subject, the relation, namely, between Mahometanism and the Gospel. In attempting to investigate this problem, it is only fair to ask what ideas Mahomet himself has promulgated upon so very important a point. We may then add some comments of our own upon any real features of resemblance, as well as of contrast.

Now the first remark to be made is, that the Koran is inconsistent on this head. Not, indeed, that this is a solitary instance

[1] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 161, 2.—These striking lines are quoted by M. Nicolas, from whose chapter on sacrifices we have drawn largely.—'Etudes Philosophiques,' livre ii. chap. iv.

of its inconsistency; for the Mussulmans, according to M. Renan, recognise 225 contradictions in the Koran[1],—that is to say, 225 passages, which were abrogated by its author as a consequence of some change in policy. But the inconsistency is, in this case, unusually striking and important. In one set of passages Christianity is recognised as equally good with Mahometanism; in another it is merely a preparation for it, as Judaism had been for Christianity.

The mere fact of any view, however self-contradictory, being thus put forth, shows that Mahomet was compelled to recognise the existence both of Judaism and Christianity. He could not ignore them, as a Hindoo teacher might have done: the adherents of both creeds in Arabia were too numerous and too influential to admit of such a course. But, in truth, he had no such desire; the recognition of these religions in some way was compulsory upon Mahomet, quite as much from inward convictions, as from any force of external circumstances. No uninspired teacher ever seems to have felt more deeply the impossibility of grafting a religion upon his own subjective notions merely; none sought more anxiously to win for his doctrines an objective and historical basis.[2] In asserting that he came to restore the religion of that great Patriarch, the Father of the Faithful, he at once appealed to associations admitted to be most sacred both by Jew and Christian, and reverenced by numbers more, even of his idolatrous countrymen, with that honour paid everywhere, but most especially in the East, to the memory of a founder of a race:—

'Abraham was a model of true religion, obedient unto God, orthodox, and was not an idolater: he was also grateful for his benefits; wherefore God chose him and directed him into the right way. And we bestowed on him good in this world: and in the next he shall surely be one of the righteous. We have also spoken unto thee, O Mohammed, by revelation, saying, Follow the religion of Abraham, who was orthodox, and was no idolater.'[3]

And although there is real difficulty in ascertaining the precise amount of knowledge of the Bible which Mahomet possessed, inasmuch as apocryphal gospels, and all imaginable forms of heresy concerning the nature of our Lord, were rife around him, yet it seems certain that, either in the course of his travels, or from intercourse with his wife's cousin, Waraca, the most learned Arab of his time, he had gained at least a general idea of Scripture history, and the true Gospels and the Talmud.[4]

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[1] Möhler, p. 351. [2] Möhler.

[3] Koran, chap. xvi. 120—123.

[4] Caussin, tom. i. p. 353.—It seems to us quite possible, as Mr. Hallam and Mr. Taylor think, that Mahomet had never actually read any part of the New

Some men there are who have influenced their own generation and posterity, who stand single and apart in history. Such in the world of politics are Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Buonaparte: such in the world of philosophy are Pythagoras and Socrates. On the other hand, Augustus could hardly have had a career, so far as we can judge, without the prior work of his great relative: the present Emperor of the French (he would be the first to acknowledge it), whatever powers he may have displayed, has yet no political existence apart from that of his uncle. In like manner, the Alexandrian school of Greek philosophy is as nothing without Socrates and Plato to fall back upon: and so, too, in the far more solemn matter of distinctly religious teaching, it may be said that, apart from the revelations of God's true messengers, neither Mahomet nor his book have any being. 'Without Moses and the prophets and Christ, Mahomet is simply inconceivable:'[1] without the Old and New Testament, the Koran could never have been imagined.

Pascal[2] demands, concerning Mahomet, what mystery he revealed, what miracles he worked? To these queries the Mussulman can give no satisfactory reply. That the greatest of all prophets should teach nothing, which had not been known, even in patriarchal ages, is an admission surely ruinous to his claims. And the demands of his Arabian opponents, sarcastic as was their tone, do not appear in themselves unreasonable.[3]

'Since thou dost not approve our proposals, and persistest in declaring thyself sent by Allah, give us some evident proofs of thy claim. Our valley is narrow and barren; prevail on God to enlarge it, to remove further apart these mountain chains which enclose it; to send into it rivers, like those of Syria and Irak, or to raise from their graves some of our ancestors, and amongst them Cossay, son of Kilâb, whose word had such weight; let these illustrious dead acknowledge thee for a prophet, and we will acknowledge thee also.

* * * * * * * * *

At least, resumed they, ask thy Lord to cause one of his angels to appear to bear witness to thy truth, and command us to believe in thee. Ask Him, too, to show openly the choice He has made of thee, by relieving thee from the necessity of seeking thy daily subsistence in the markets, like the humblest of thy fellow-countrymen.'[4]

The spirited replies of Mahomet to such remarks,[4] though

Testament. Indeed, as M. Caussin remarks, '*Il est douteux qu'il sut lire et écrire.*' Such ignorance is of course quite compatible with a general, however imperfect, knowledge of Christian doctrine.

[1] 'Ohne Moses, die Propheten und Christus ist Mahommed undenkbar' (Möhler, p. 353), for, as he adds, 'der wesentliche Inhalt des Coran ganz dem alten und neue Testamente entnommen ist.'

[2] Pensées, Seconde Partie, art. xii. § vii. [3] Caussin, tome i. p. 378.

[4] 'God,' rejoined Mahomet, 'has not sent me to you for this. He has sent me solely to preach His law. I fulfil my mission, and I repeat,—If you accept that

fairly enough appealed to as evidence of his sincerity, yet leave the difficulty untouched. If he claimed only to be a restorer of forgotten faith, still God had never left even the restorer of Judaism, Elias, without the witness of miracles, any more than its founder, Moses. It must have been, in part, the sense of this deficiency, which has led the Persian and Turkish annalists, to embellish the narrative of the false prophet's life with so much fable. Nor could Mahomet himself, though he frequently said that the composition of the Koran was his only miracle, preserve entire consistency in this respect. The famous nocturnal journey to heaven, known as *Isra*, though regarded by the more judicious of his followers as a vision, was yet announced by himself as matter of fact. It brought on him a perfect storm of ridicule, and led many to renounce him and his creed. Pascal, however, likewise asks, with no less reason, whether this latest of prophets had himself been foretold: '*Ce prophète, qui devait être la dernière attente du monde, a-t-il été prédit?*' Now seeing that, as Bishop Butler observes, miracles and prophecy are the proper proofs of a revelation, the absence of miracles seems to increase the need of prophecy. And of this, too, Mahomet was evidently conscious, though Pascal does not seem to have been aware of the circumstance. He accused both Jews and Christians of having falsified their sacred books, by expunging passages bearing reference to his appearance.[1] His disciples did not however allow that this work had been so thoroughly effected as to leave *no* Scriptural testimony in favour of their prophet, and maintained that certain texts of either Testament distinctly pointed out his advent. One of these, which is well known, is too painful to dwell upon; we mean the blasphemous (we believe, the quite unconsciously blasphemous) interpretation of S. John, xvi. 7; where the followers of Mahomet, as those of Manes had done in an earlier age, understood the Paraclete to mean their new teacher. That Mahomet himself was under some extraordinary misapprehension in this respect seems tolerably clear from the following words of the Koran:—

'Jesus, the son of Mary said, "O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed." [Ahmed being, as Sale remarks, another form of Mohammed.]'[2]

The Persian paraphrast attempts to support this passage by

which I bring you, it will be your happiness in this world and in the next. If you reject my advice, God will judge us.' (Caussin, ibid.) Cf. Koran, chap. xxv. ad init. which is equally straightforward and vigorous; indeed, Mahomet's arguments with his countrymen seem to display a thorough belief, mistaken though it was, in his own mission.

[1] Möhler. Cf. Sale, Notes to Koran, chap. ii. [2] Koran, chap. lxi.

reference to the above-mentioned text of S. John.[1] Another text of these Moslem doctors, is Psalm l. 2, where, with the aid of the Syriac, they try to wrest the words 'perfection of beauty' into meaning the 'crown of Mahomet.' In a third very curious instance, they would fain lay hold upon that connexion of mountains with religion, which is so frequent among all nations,[2] and which divine inspiration has condescended, if we may so speak, to ratify; as will be admitted by any Christian, who thinks for one moment on the ideas associated in his mind with the names of Mount Sinai, Mount Tabor, and Mount Calvary. If, then, we can grant to the Mahometans that Mount Seir is a mountain in Galilee, or near Jerusalem, instead of being in Idumea; and that Mount Paran means the hills round Mecca, instead of that mountain in Arabia Petræa, near which Moses began to deliver his law, and which is distant from Mecca some 500 miles; then, but not otherwise, can they appeal with success to the words of Moses, in Deut. xxxiii. 2, as a setting forth of three revelations, the Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan. Such, however, is the Islamite interpretation:—

> 'The Lord came from Sinai, [Judaism.]
> And rose up from Seir unto them, [Christianity.]
> He shined forth from Mount Paran.' [Mahometanism.]

One more like application of Scripture remains, certainly by far the most ingenious. The seventh verse of the twenty-first chapter of Isaiah stands in the Vulgate thus: 'Et vidit currum duorum equitum, *ascensorem asini, et ascensorem cameli.*'[3] Herein, say these Eastern critics, is clearly signified the advent of the two great prophets; the prophet of Christianity who rode into Jerusalem upon the ass; the prophet of Islamism who was constantly mounted upon his camel. Now the many excellent persons who maintain that the Bible is always sufficient to interpret itself, will be ready to assert that *they* at least could never have been deceived by such a manifest perversion of its sense. Certainly, those who have been nurtured in the fold of Christ's Church, 'the witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' and for whom a thousand sacred influences outward and inward have given to the written word its illuminating power,[4] are not very

[1] Sale, *in loc.*

[2] Möhler reminds us of Olympus among Greeks; Mount Maru, the source of the Ganges, with the Hindoos; the hills causing the cataracts of the Nile, with the ancient Egyptians; the Albordi of the Persians; and the Phrygian title of Cybele, 'the mother of mountains,' p. 355.

[3] In the English version the latter part runs thus:—'A chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels.' Vitringa gives a kind of *via media:* 'vecturam asinorum, vecturam camelorum.'

[4] See the admissions even of Sir J. Stephen (no supporter of Church authority) in this respect, 'Essays in Eccl. Biography,' vol. ii. p. 199.

likely to be perplexed by such a reference. The Christian student will be content, with learned commentators,[1] to see in this chapter of Isaiah a general picture of the advance of Cyrus against Babylon, with a possible allusion (but this is a private fancy of our own) to that conqueror's ingenious employment of the camel against the cavalry of Crœsus; admitting, of course, that the spiritual fulfilment may be in store in the ultimate conquest of the mystical Babylon by the *true* Cyrus. Nevertheless, if we had been brought up from infancy to regard this verse from a Mahometan point of view, it would probably be very difficult for us to unlearn our traditional interpretation.[2]

But to return to the contradictory enunciations of the Koran respecting Christianity. The following passage is one of those which is favourable to the 'four people of the book,' as Mahomet termed the professors of those religions which had, or claimed to have, a written revelation.

'Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and 'Christians and Sabians, whosoever believeth in God, and the 'last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their 'reward with their Lord; there shall come no fear on them, 'neither shall they be grieved.'[3]

But in the very next chapter, according to the existing order, we read, 'Whoever followeth any other religion than ISLAM, it 'shall not be accepted of him, and in the next life he shall be 'of those who perish.'[4]

In attempting to account for this divergence, we shall chiefly follow the admirable guidance of Möhler; and even where we make remarks which are not directly traceable to his Essay, they will yet most probably have been prompted by his original and most suggestive hints.

Möhler observes that one way of extracting a decisive sense from the Koran, in this respect, has been sought by a mere enumeration of passages upon either side, with the intent of adjudging the palm to the majority. Such a method he naturally rejects, as being neither very profound nor philosophical.

Another, and certainly a more plausible, solution of the difficulty is offered by the very common assertion that the favourable passages are those of Mahomet's earlier life, while the hostile and exclusive ones belong to his later career, and consequently abrogate the previous *dicta*. This account of the matter is very largely assumed, and of course coincides with the views of those who, with Gibbon, esteem Mahomet sincere at first, and an impostor afterwards. But, without reopening

[1] Vitringa in loc. *item* Cornelius à Lapide.

[2] These texts are given by Prideaux, Life of Mahomet: and one of them (Deut. xxxiii. 2) likewise by Maracci (cit. ap. Möhler).

[3] Koran, chap. ii. [4] Ibid. chap. iii.

this part of the question, it must be observed that the chronological view, even though it should prove true, is by no means easy of proof. The Koran, as is well known, was not reduced into its present shape until after its author's death; and Abu Beker, its first editor, having collected the chapters, (which were in a disjointed state, on skins and palm-leaves and blade-bones,) placed, as a rule, the longest chapters first, and the shortest last,[1]—a plan admirable for its simplicity, but not conducive to a clear comprehension of Mahometan doctrine.

While other writers attribute this change on Mahomet's part to the mere inflation produced by success, and his growing ideas of consequence as a statesman and warrior, Möhler penetrates more deeply, and arrives at the conclusion, that the turning-point of the whole is to be found in the fact, that *Mahomet commenced his career merely as the prophet of Arabia, and by degrees persuaded himself that he was the destined prophet of the world.* We cannot afford space for the various arguments by which the learned and thoughtful essayist maintains and, in our judgment, establishes this position; but a brief statement of the important consequences which would naturally result from such a change in the author of the Koran, will, we trust, be found interesting and important in itself, and at the same time confirmatory of the correctness of the theory.

It is evident that this account of the matter does not militate against the chronological view. There is good reason to believe, from a number of historical facts, that hostility to Christianity *is* the *later*, and therefore the true, doctrine really deducible from the Koran, though it cannot be proved from the book alone.

Sabian idolaters could not long remain on terms with one who pounded their images into dust. The Jews, though a few accepted Mahomet as no bad representative (as in truth he was not) of their carnal notion of a Messiah, yet in the main scorned the idea of submission to one who proclaimed himself to be the descendant of the bondswoman, Hagar; and thus became, as Dean Milman [2] truly remarks, his first opponents and the first victims of his sanguinary teaching. The zeal of the son of Abdallah was awakened against the Jews much sooner than against the Christians; indeed a singular passage in the fifth chapter of the Koran contrasts *Jewish* with *Christian* reception of Islamism, to the great advantage of the Christians; a circumstance accounted for by the favour shown towards some fugitive Mussulmans on the part of the Christian king of Ethiopia.[3] All this, however, was perfectly compatible with

[1] Sale and others. [2] Hist. of Jews, vol. iii. p. 243.

[3] Sale's Notes to Koran, *in loc.* Cf. Caussin, tom. i. p. 388, *et seq.* This event took place in A.D. 615, seven years before the Hegira.

the earlier and more restricted claims of Mahomet. The Jewish tribes had opposed him even within the confines of Arabia. But when once the conviction had settled upon his mind, that he was to be the teacher not of a nation only but of the world at large, Christianity must needs appear to him in a different light. There are, as Möhler observes, only two possible inward relations between systems in connexion with each other; the relation of co-ordination, and the relation of subordination. When Mahomet commenced his career, thinking only of Arabia and her needs, he regarded Christianity as a religion *co-ordinate* with that he preached; when, extending his sphere of thought and action, he looked upon the whole of God's earth as the object of his mission, he was obliged to regard Christianity as *subordinate* to Islamism. If Christians would not acknowledge this, they became enemies to the creeds of Islam, and must be treated accordingly: though, like the other 'people of the book,' they might be permitted, on becoming tributary, to escape that death by the sword, which was to be the fate of unbelievers, who did not even pretend to a revelation.

What temper of mind it was that produced this change in Mahomet, who, with mere mortal eyes, can pretend to judge? Of a more worldly conqueror Manzoni has magnificently sung:—

'La procellosa e trepida
Gioja *d'un gran disegno*,
L'ansia d'un cor, che indocile
Ferve pensando al regno,
E'l giunge, e tiene un premio
Ch'era follia sperar,
Tutto ei provò; *la gloria*
Maggior dopo il periglio
La fuga, e la vittoria.'

But although these glowing words might be transferred to a description of some portion of the inner, as well as the outer, life of Mahomet, they would still describe a portion only. The logical connexion between Monotheism and a World-Religion, whereas idolatry had always been peculiarly local: the deepening conviction of the truth of many of his first principles (and they were in the main most true); the strange growth of spiritual ambition, a spell more potent than even the lust of wealth and temporal power, though the last may not have been wholly absent from the mind of Mahomet; the physical and mental condition of one subject to fits of epilepsy, and so affected that even Kadijah feared that he was possessed by an evil spirit; the countenance given to his mistakes respecting Christian doctrine by the perverse teaching of the sad heresies around

him; the fatal manner in which any one great error may lead to more, and become a powerful instrument in the hands of Satan for the deterioration of character; all these jarring and conflicting elements, who, we repeat, of mortal men can combine and harmonize, so as to pronounce a safe and confident verdict?[1]

In pursuing the line of thought thus laid open, we shall find ourselves gliding almost imperceptibly from *Mahomet's* view of the relation between Islamism and the faith of the Cross, to ideas which are, we hope, more consonant to a Christian aspect of the subject.

In attempting to become a Universal instead of merely a National Prophet, Mahomet was evidently unconscious of the far larger demands, if we may so speak, which would be made upon both his creed and character.

Nearly all the national religions are inseparably bound up with the State. We see this not only in the case of the false creeds of Paganism, but likewise in that of the divine creed of Judaism, which we know to have been eminently national. Mahomet, in trying to found a universal religion, retained this idea, and therefore virtually sought to found at the same time a universal Monarchy. He was himself Priest and Prince, *the one, because the other;* the earliest Caliphs were likewise High Priests;[2] and if the Ottoman Sultan does not actually exercise priestly functions, yet the Mufti who does exercise them is only his representative. Hence the singular circumstance that in Turkey a *jurist* and a *divine* go by the selfsame name of *Ulema*. Hence, in theory at least, all Mussulmans should recognise one sovereign only, whose authority is unique and absolute; and the Mahometan Princes of Hindostan and the Emperors of Morocco have acknowledged their subjection to the 'Ottoman Lord.'

But this element of a national religion, how shall it ultimately suit a creed which pretends to universality? Judaism owned such a feature, but then Judaism did not pretend to be a faith for all times and nations. No, though Mahomet failed to apprehend this, a religion which shall win the world must enjoy an independent existence of its own, capable indeed of union with any rational form of government, but equally

[1] For the proof of Mahomet's liability to epileptic fits, often, though not universally, preceding his visions, see the note to the sixth chapter of Mr. Irving's Life of Mahomet. Möhler (p. 379, text and note,) thinks that these attacks may be fairly compared with the bodily affections of the Montanists and, in a later day, the Jumpers.

[2] M. Ubicini (Lettre Sixième) denies this view of the Caliphate. But this writer, though most trustworthy in statistics, is not happy upon points of criticism or history. The best authorities are all against him here.

capable, if need be, of standing in the completest isolation. If this inseparable connexion imparted to Islamism no small amount of its first unity and strength, it is not difficult to show that it likewise contains within itself the seeds of disunion and decay.

A similar judgment may likewise be passed, perhaps, upon the use of the sword as an instrument of conversion. Under the elder dispensation, the Almighty had employed that dread scourge as the chastiser of guilty nations, whom He might have punished, had it so pleased Him, with a second flood, or with the fiery doom of the cities of the plain. Mahomet knew this well; he believed and inspired his followers with the belief, that they were as much thoroughly the divinely appointed scourges of God, as ever the Israelites had been. Now, we will not say that in conquest lay the secret of Mahometan success; herein we admit the full force of Mr. Carlyle's remark, that before you proceed to convert with the sword, you must first get your sword, and that the founder of every religion is at first in a minority of *one*. Neither do we pretend that war has had no share in the defence and propagation of the Christian faith. But most assuredly in no other creed is war a part of its very essence; no other religion ever admitted, as Islamism does, that too long continuance of peace endangered its vigour and vitality. This, again, is a feature which would of itself make the claim of Mahometanism to be a world-religion of the universe utterly hopeless and untenable. It knows nothing of universal love, it cannot imagine the union of special favour to its own, with benevolence to all; it cannot comprehend the maxim, 'Let us do good unto all men, but especially unto them who are of the household of faith.'

A similar result would probably follow from an investigation of its countenance of *the principle* of slavery. Granting the many humane provisions of the Koran, and of Turkish law and custom, with regard to slaves; granting, that Christian states, in both hemispheres, have been fearfully guilty at times in this respect, and have treated their slaves far worse than Turks and Arabs treat them, it still remains true that the Mediæval Church was the great instrument for the abolition of slavery in Europe, and that Christianity is at this moment the lever which will in time raise up slavery to freedom from the earth. The principle of slavery can never be recognised by a faith which is to subdue to itself all kingdoms of the earth.

There remains to be noticed the great *personal* distinction between the position of a national prophet, and a prophet of the universe, a distinction which Mahomet entirely failed to grasp, or even to catch a glimpse of. Heathen races have generally some *favourite* vices, respecting which the national

conscience is deadened; whence follows an equally faint approbation, perhaps a positive *dis*-approbation, of some particular virtues. These, however, will vary in different climates, and different ages; one nation will be shocked at sins which are unblushingly enacted by another; the heathen Germans and the heathen Romans, for example, could mutually condemn some glaring faults in each other's characters and moral practice. Now all that is, humanly speaking, required for the teacher of a race is, that he be a good man, *according to the standard of that race.* His disciples will not ask from him the inculcation of virtues of which they have never dreamt, nor the repression of vicious customs and ideas, which in their minds have long ceased to appear reprehensible. Such a teacher Mahomet might not irrationally, (however mistakenly as respects a *divine* mission,) claim to prove; whatever his faults, and they were in reality deep and terrible, there is yet no reason to doubt but that he was in the main *a good Arabian;* in few respects inferior to the average standard of his countrymen, in many respects extremely far above it. But the prophet of the world must be more than this; the morality which *he* teaches must accord, not with the conventional rules of his own peculiar age, or clime, or race, but with those eternal, unalterable, rules of right and wrong, wherein even God is a law unto himself; the doctrine which *he* imparts must satisfy all the *really* religious needs, not of this nor of that nation, but of humanity at large. He must be, in short, not merely a good Greek, a good Arab, a good member of any of the great human families, he must be emphatically *a good* MAN. A good man, nay, rather a perfect man; *a type and model of humanity.* And what son of man should there be found who could be capable of such an office? Who, since the fall of our first parent in Paradise, could suffice for such a task? Not even the holiest among fallen men, not Enoch nor Noah; not Abraham nor Moses; not David nor Elias; nor even the Holy Baptist; these were all great in their generations, endowed with Heaven-sent gifts for special times and circumstances; but for the office of prophet for all times and all nations, ONE alone was fit, *the one true and perfect man,* who is VERY AND ETERNAL GOD.

If true and saintly prophets could not avail for so vast a work, how far less one with no really Divine mission, a man blood-stained, and lust-stained, capable of treachery and fierce revenge, and withal unconscious of his shame.[1] And therefore,

[1] Neither the treacherous assassination of his Jewish enemies, nor the command to slaughter Nodar, son of Hareth, because he had satirised him, at all diminished his self-respect, nor the respect of the Arabians. Such deeds were not *crimes* in their eyes.

when the Arabian teacher proclaimed to all the nations round his celebrated motto, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God,' he combined with a great and vital truth, a hopeless and tremendous falsehood. So long, indeed, as his followers turned eastward, and met with superstitions worse than their own, that truth held its way triumphantly,

> 'And overthrew, and scatter'd, and destroy'd,
> And trampled down;'

with something, it may be, of a blessing in its train. But when, in course of time, the influence of that false claim worked itself to light, and Moslems turned westward, and met the banners of the Cross, then, however much the sins and divisions of Christendom may have deserved the chastisement, they became tools of Satan, and supporters of his kingdom.[1] Denying alike the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the verity of our Saviour's Godhead,[2] and the historical fact of his crucifixion,[3] claiming for their false prophet the place which is due to Christ alone, they must be regarded, within the pale of Christendom, as the abettors of a God-denying heresy.

We say a heresy, for there is no denying that the amount of truth in Islamism is such as to warrant the adoption of such a term in ordinary parlance, though not perhaps in the scientific language of theology. For there is, as Möhler has acutely remarked in another of his works,[4] one marked and leading distinction between Mahometanism and all heretical creeds, properly so called. Heresies, however much they may distort the Catholic faith concerning the person and office of our blessed Lord, yet agree in recognising in Him the first and best of all teachers, through whom the human race has received its last and highest religious culture. But Islamism does not make this admission; though Jesus be a great prophet, Mahomet is supposed to be greater. Bearing this weighty difference in mind, we may readily admit the many points of resemblance between Moslem and heretical teaching. We have heard a distinguished missionary of our Church, who has had practical experience of Mahometanism side by side with idolatrous beliefs, not long since express himself in this way concerning it; and De Maistre[5] quotes Sir William Jones, Leibnitz, Nicole, and the French Protestant minister, Jurieu, to the same effect. He might have looked yet further back. In the *Divina Commedia*, the great antagonist of the Church in the West is classed, not with the heathen, but with heretics and schismatics.

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[1] Cf. Dr. Newman, p. 106. [2] Koran, chap. v. et alibi. [3] Ibid. chap. iv.
[4] Symbolism, ad init. [5] Soirées de S. Pétersbourg. Onzième Entretien.

'Vedi come storpiato è Maometto:
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Alì,
Fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto:
E tutti gli altri, che tu vedi qui,
Seminator di scandalo e di scisma
Fur vivi, e però son fessi così.'[1]

And there is, indeed, one point on which the comparison of Mahometanism to a heresy most certainly holds good. It is a leading characteristic of heresy, that after the denial of some one or more portions of saving truth, it imagines itself to hold the remainder in the same way as the mind of the Church, nay, very often still more clearly, simply, firmly. Whereas, in reality, the truth which heretics still maintain, inevitably loses some vital portion of its character, by its isolation from the accompanying *dogmas*, to which it stood in a fixed and definite relation; it is held less firmly and completely than by the orthodox, who kept it in its due and proper place; it is held less clearly, and presents, to the really enlightened and sanctified reason, even greater difficulties than those which it strives to shun. The analogy of sounds and colours might serve to teach us this—these are not the same to eye and ear, when their relation is destroyed.

'Is not Truth *one* and indivisible?
Take from the Harmony a single tone—
A single tint take from the Iris bow.
And lo! what once was all, is nothing—while
Fails to the lovely whole one tint or tone!'[2]

If it be over-bold to term the residue *nothing* in such cases, we may yet say that it has become something very different from what it was. This is not, however, generally observed with respect to erroneous creeds, least of all with respect to Mahometanism. Let us look at the matter for one moment, then, in a few particulars.

The Church teaches the unity of the Divine Majesty and the Omnipotence of His Will. So does Islamism. But the Mahometan must bow prostrate before His Maker as a *Power*, and has nothing like mediation to soften this aspect of the Almighty. Do we assert that this truth exercises no influence over the Moslem mind? Far from it; with the better among them it causes much sedateness, pensiveness, and even melan-

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, xxviii. 31—36.

'Lo!
How is Mohammed mangled: before me
Walks Ali weeping, from the chin his face
Cleft to the forelock; and the others all,
Whom here thou seest, while they lived, did sow
Scandal and schism, and therefore thus are rent.'—CARY.

[2] Schiller (Bulwer Lytton's translation), Veiled Image at Sais.

choly.[1] It is, we know from revelation, the dogma, which even 'devils believe, and tremble.' But viewed in connexion with a Mediator, or apart from that connexion, it becomes subjectively, in the believer's mind, as well as objectively, an absolutely different doctrine. Nay, even the teaching of Mahometanism respecting the unity is not, in strictness of speech, identical with that of the Church. For Mahometanism teaches an unity of person, a doctrine probably harder for the reason to grasp (apart from its falsity) than that of the sublime and holy truth of the Trinity in Unity. It is at least worth while to listen to the words of Möhler upon this head. He denies that the monotheism of Islam can ever satisfy the philosophic reason. 'That the Godhead should be one person is utterly 'inconceivable, absolutely irrational, and opposed to all true 'speculation.'[2] And he adds, with a more startling boldness—yet may not this assertion be true likewise?—'that God has not become man is even a [moral] contradiction.'[3]

In respect of moral precepts, we own that the resemblance between Mahometanism and the Gospel is more marked. Hospitality and almsgiving (with a promise of greater blessing upon *secret* almsgiving) are strongly enjoined in the Koran, and have been duly practised by Mahomet's disciples. The resemblance of some of these commands to those of our Lord, is too great to be merely a coincidence. But even the moral precepts sometimes display ambiguity. It speaks in two opposite ways concerning revenge.[4] Can we marvel if Moslems should follow the *example* of their prophet, and be revengeful? How sublimely opposite, if we may even hint at a comparison without impiety, is the model which is set before the Christian.

Predestination is a point on which identity of opinion between the Mahometan and *many* Christians is often supposed to exist.

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[1] A Spanish scholar points out to us Condé's account of Abdallah, king of Cordova (A.D. 922), and Abderrahman, his successor about 50 years later, as quite confirming this remark. (Hist. de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España, pp. 178, 227.) Abderrahman, a most pious Mussulman, when charged with melancholy, said, 'How can it be otherwise to man, who has the world for his house, and Eblis for his neighbour, who is perpetually writing down all his words, deeds, and thoughts.' (Condé, chap. lxxxvii. p. 227.) How differently might he have thought, could he have known of the meeting of Eblis with the Son of Man in the wilderness, and of all that hangs thereby! The pictures of the present Sultan of Turkey seem to reveal a like state of feeling.

[2] 'Dass die Gottheit eine Person sei, ist eben das ganz und gar Undenkbare, durchaus Unvernünftige, und aller wahren Speculation Entgegengesetze.'—P. 397. Bp. Jer. Taylor employs the English word 'speculation' precisely in this sense.

[3] 'Das Gott nicht Mensch geworden, ist eben das Widersinnige.'—Ibid.

[4] Koran, chap. xvi. compared with chap. xxii.

Such identity we cannot admit. It is true that the insuperable difficulty, to finite intellects, of reconciling the truth of the Divine prescience and government with man's free agency must underlie all religions. Christianity has not escaped the troubles arising from such perplexities; all theologians know how intimately this thorny question is connected with the great name of S. Augustine; all readers of history are aware of the part played among Protestants by Calvinism, and among Roman Catholics by Jansenism. M. Ubicini goes so far as to say, that neither Mahomet nor his commentators have spoken so strongly upon predestination, as S. Augustine. But we must again warn the reader (and the more, now that an English version of the book is being advertised) against following this very philo-Turkish writer, when he quits his one strong point, viz., statistics. Among Christians, even the most Augustinian in their tenets, the doctrine of election is tempered and modified by a thousand other influences. In Islamism it stands unmodified and alone. The inconsistent attempt of the Ulemas, to refer the doctrine to the spiritual life alone, fails, M. Ubicini himself admits to influence the mass of the people; on the contrary, the idea of fatalism seems never absent from their minds. We may grant, with him, that it lends a kind of dignity to the conduct of the Moslem under reverses; that no accident extorts a murmur, that if a fire has burnt down his house, a fraud robbed him of half his fortune, he says *kismet* (it was written), and passes uncomplainingly from a state of opulence to one of wretchedness.[1] But it would not be difficult to show that this feeling is something very distinct from the resignation of a true Christian. Indeed, M. Ubicini's own expression (before cited) of 'la force d'âme du Stöicien,' as applied to the Osmanlis, at once betokens the presence of a heathen idea. We cannot stay to dwell longer on the topic; but little more perhaps is required to suggest to the thoughtful reader, that neither in theory, nor in practical results, is the Mussulman doctrine of *kismet* identical with the Christian teaching concerning Divine Providence; to say nothing of the fact, that the words, even of so great a doctor as St. Augustine on this subject, have never been regarded as constituting an article of the Church's Creed.

If we have tried to make the fullest admissions that in fairness can be made on behalf of Mahomet and his creed, and its influence upon the human race, this arises, we trust, from a love of truth, and from a conviction that Christianity can never

[1] Ubicini. Lettre Vingtième, p. 497.

suffer from any equitable comparison. What one good thing does Islamism contain, in which the Gospel did not anticipate its teaching? The claim of the former to universal dominion may surely by this time be considered to be virtually negatived. Not only has it failed to triumph in the extreme East, but it has proved more signally weak in the West, where it never once succeeded in converting any single one of the great European families. Regard Mahometanism intellectually: we have already named the cycle of arts and sciences, in which the Saracens attained excellence. But even the Arabian intellect was receptive rather than originative. The researches of this century (incomplete, at present, we admit) have tended to lower the estimate of the literary wealth supposed to lie enshrined in the '*intactis Arabum thesauris*.' Mr. Colebrooke tells us that the Hindoos far excelled them in algebra. Condé[1] finds that numbers of their historians are but copyists from their predecessors; and even of their greatest names a recent French writer does not hesitate to say—'La science arabe est une science d'emprunt; 'pour savoir ce qui appartient à chacun d'eux, il faut les juger 'avec Aristote, Galen, Ptolémée, Euclide à la main.' This is said *à propos* of one so famous as Avicenna, concerning whom it is observed—'Comme la plupart des savants arabes, Avicenne est au-dessous de la réputation qu'on lui faite.'[2] And yet the Arabs are, intellectually, quite the first of Mahometan nations. We allow them poetry and fiction; but these gifts are thoroughly pre-Islamite, and owe little or nothing to Mahomet. Even of the greatest of Persian poets, Firdusí, it is doubted (though he lived after the Mahometan conquest of his country) whether he was not an adherent of the ancient national faith,—still a Gheber in his heart. In many regions of art, Mahometanism has no existence. Has it any Haydn, Handel, or Mozart? Sculptors and painters it cannot have. Yet what a void is here; how mighty, though insensible, has been the influence of Christian art! What would Europe be without its Giottos and Raphaels,—its Flaxmans and Thorwaldsens? Jurists, *properly speaking*, it cannot have. All legislation is shut up in the Koran. The realms of thought connected with Roman law, and all that it has done for Europe, are to the Moslem a sealed book. Commerce, so mighty an agent in the civilization of mankind, it can hardly pursue, for the entire system of modern finance involves transactions at variance with the Koran: and the merchandise of Turkey is in the hands of

[1] Ubi supra (Prologo).
[2] Nouvelle Biographie Universelle. Art. *Avicenne.*

Armenians and Greeks.[1] Above all, it has no spirit of progress: its false origin is here avenging itself: there is about it (to adopt the fine suggestion of Möhler) a spiritual and intellectual poverty, which betrays the limited and finite conceptions of a merely human author; whereas Christianity, in the manner in which it becomes 'all things to all men;' in its ceaseless adaptation to the changing needs of the most varied ages, climes, and races, partakes of the Divine and *infinite* Spirit of its Founder, and is exuberant with 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.'

Mahometanism knows nothing of the might of meekness: since it once gained an army of supporters, it has never exhibited to the world the spectacle of a suffering body: it has had indeed its fervid soldiers, but *no real martyrs*. What again (a crucial text this for a religion), what has it done for women? Granting that Mahomet in some degree exalted their condition among the Arabs, we need only glance at the accounts of Turkish harems, to feel convinced that Kadijah, and Ayeshah, and Fatima, have not been reproduced, nor even imitated, by the later daughters of the Moslem. The continuance of polygamy at all would prove fatal to its universality, perhaps even if Christianity were not at hand to confront it. It can never satisfy the needs of woman's heart.

But Islam will not perish till its work is done; and what is that work to be? A profound question, which meets with very contrary replies. Professor White, in a sermon appended to his 'Bampton Lectures,' spoke hopefully of the chances of converting Moslems, as distinguished from votaries of Buddhism or Brahmanism; Mr. Forster maintains that it must eventually prepare the way for the missions of the Cross, and claims the support of Mede and Warburton for his opinion; Möhler, who regarded the subject from a point of view the most opposite to that of Mr. Forster, yet displays in many respects a truly surprising amount of agreement with his views, and is sanguine that Mahometanism in Africa (where it has won converts by fair persuasion as well as by the sword), is doing the work which Judaism was at first divinely commissioned to effect, that of preparing the way for a purer faith in hearts as yet hard and stubborn, and incapable of its reception; so that one day the true labourers shall find a harvest ready for their reaping, and the Gospel speed thither on its way rejoicing, and Mahomet prove the servant of Christ.

[1] Cf. on these points, Lectures on the Turks, pp. 242, 243. Lord Lindsay (Progression by Antagonism), Mr. Maurice, Möhler, and others, question, and not without reason, how far intellectual development was ever a *bonâ fide* result of Islamism.

Visions these so bright and winning, so consonant to the glory of Christ's religion, so worthy of the triumphs of Him who is ever justified in His sayings, and overcomes when He is judged, and overruleth all to good, that we almost shrink from venturing even to hint a doubt of their correctness. We wish to believe them true; we dare not call them false: but it must be, though with regret, remarked, that they do not yet seem to have been ratified by the stern reality of facts. Rather do we fear, with Archdeacon Grant, that the system of the false Prophet 'offers the most formidable obstruction to the faith of Christ, from the fact of its being, as it is, a counterfeit of the truth itself."[1] Such fear is increased by the accounts of missionaries of the extreme difficulty of converting a Mahometan. One of our own Church to whom we have already alluded, told us, that though he would rejoice in hearing of any idolaters whom the Gospel *could not* reach turning Mahometans; yet that where the Malay (who is at present the Mussulman missionary) confronts the Christian priest, the only chance, humanly speaking, of the latter making a convert lay in his anticipating the teacher of Mahometanism. We do not wish, however, hastily to prejudge the somewhat peculiar case of Africa. Blessed indeed were it, if these sanguine expectations should prove true!

We have spoken chiefly of the Arab, or Saracen, Mahometans; whom we imagine to be the finest specimens of Mussulmans. But if there be a race, who have seldom, if ever, fought against pagan idolatry, but *constantly* against the Cross; who, though truthful, dignified, and amiable in repose, are cruelty personified when once aroused to deeds of blood; who are, as a nation, at once most proud and most depraved; under whose blighting yoke the most fertile portions of God's earth lie desolate and withering,[2]—how, it may well be asked, should Christians feel towards such a race? They may succour them if oppressed, for the Gospel teaches us to befriend all such; they must keep all promises, not in themselves sinful,[3] for the good man observes his plighted word, 'though it be to his own hindrance;' they must pray, earnestly and lovingly pray, especially on the anniversary of the Crucifixion, that He, the Crucified, would

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[1] Bampton Lectures, Lect. vii. p. 227.

[2] It is with extreme reluctance that we omit the inimitably beautiful passages, upon this part of the subject, contained in 'Lectures upon the History of the Turks,' (p. 138, *et seq.*) Dr. Newman may be naturally suspected of partiality, where he compares Italy with Turkey, but we can safely affirm that he has, in this respect, *under*-stated rather than *over*-stated his case.

[3] Cf. Dr. Newman's Preface.

have mercy upon them, that, being acknowledged by them in part, He may be acknowledged by them altogether, and may lead them, with all other misbelievers, into His flock; but really to sympathise with them is impossible. What pagan, what Mahometan race has shed the blood of so many thousands of Christ's people?

'The Saracens even, who gave birth to an imposture, withered away at the end of 300 or 400 years, and had not the power, though they had the will, to persevere in their enmity to the Cross. The Tartars had both the will and the power, but they were far off from Christendom, or came down in ephemeral outbreaks, which were rather those of freebooters than persecutors, or were directed as often against the enemies of the Church, as against her children: but the unhappy race of whom I am speaking, from the first moment they appear in the history of Christendom, are its unmitigated, its obstinate, its consistent foes. They are inexhaustible in numbers, pouring down upon the south and west, and taking one and the same terrible mould of misbelief, as they successively descend. They have the populousness of the north, with the fire of the south; the resources of Tartars, with the fanaticism of Saracens. And when their strength declines, and age steals upon them, there is no softening, no misgiving; they die and make no sign. In the words of the Wise Man, "Being born, they forthwith "ceased to be; and have been able to show no mark of virtue, but are con- "sumed in wickedness." God's judgments, God's mercies, are inscrutable; one nation is taken, another is left. It is a mystery, but the fact stands; since the year 1048, the Turks have been the great Antichrist among the races of men.'[1]

Not, we hope and trust, from any lack of patriotism, but in a spirit of truest love for our mother country, we may be permitted to regret that any circumstances should have rendered an armed alliance with Turkey so imperative.

The present war is essentially against Russian ambition; it is only accidentally in behalf of the Crescent: that it may be overruled to the establishment of the Cross again in Constantinople is at least a subject of patriotic and Christian hope.

Already, indeed, that admiration for Turks, of which we spoke at the commencement of this article, is beginning to evaporate. There can be no doubt that, as has been happily said, the Turk receives Christian succour—the succour of Giaours (men, that is, without souls) as he calls them,—in the same spirit as he might eat swine's flesh to save himself from starving. But if any of our readers shrink from accepting sketches of Turkish character at our hands, and would fain look into the subject for themselves, thus much of advice we may beg them to accept, namely, that they would be extremely cautious in

[1] Dr. Newman, pp. 127, 128.

trusting books of travel and the like, written *since the war has broken out.* Hardly any, not even Mr. Curzon's, are free from the evident mark of the pressure of the times. How different the tone of tourists but a short season before! Look at the graceful pages of 'Wayside Sketches; or, Seven Years' Wanderings among the Greeks and Turks.' Look at—but perhaps Mr. Thackeray is too professed a satirist for us to speak of his 'Cornhill to Cairo'—look at, then, the able pages of Mr. Bayle St. John's 'Turks in Europe.' Consider, for they are well worth considering (as suggestive of thoughts in danger of being ignored at present) the following words from such a man as Niebuhr:—

'In those *happier times*, when the Turkish empire was verging, without any hindrance, to its dissolution and ruin, through its own barbarism and wickedness; and when the Christians under its yoke were taking advantage of the growing sluggishness, rapacity, and shortsightedness of their tyrants, to lay the foundations of freedom for their posterity, which must have been attained but that the malice of fiends has converted the noblest hopes into the agonies of despair;—in those happier times, when much that was great and excellent was surviving here and there in that unfortunate country unobserved, and thus escaped being crushed and destroyed; some bands of free-spirited men retired from various parts of Epirus to the mountains of Suli. There was formed that people, whose heroism and misfortunes have left the Messenians far behind it, and the extermination of which, through the agency of the Franks, *will draw down the curses of posterity on our age*, long after all the guilty have been called before the judgment-seat of God.'[1]

All Europe is now condemning with the just voice of indignant reprobation the cruelties practised in the battle-field by the Russians, who are, thus far, more guilty than their Turkish opponents, in that Christianity should have taught them better things. We are not apologists for Russian barbarity in the soldier, any more than for Russian ambition in the Emperor; but our notices of Mahometanism would be *most unfair and incomplete*, if, after having allowed the most that can be said on behalf of Mahomet and his disciples in Asia and Africa, we should omit to touch upon the history of their anti-Christian deeds in Europe. A summary of a portion (and only a portion) of those deeds has been executed for us in a manner so far above anything that we can pretend to, that we cannot resist quoting it at some length:—

'I am not insensible, I wish to do justice, to the high qualities of the Turkish race. I do not altogether deny to its national character the grandeur, the force and originality, the valour, the truthfulness and sense of

[1] Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 309. (Eng. Tr.)

justice, the sobriety and gentleness, which historians and travellers speak of; but, in spite of all that has been done for them by nature and the world, Tartar still is the staple of their composition; and their gifts and attainments, whatever they may be, do but make them the more efficient foes of faith and civilization.

* * * *

'I might allude, if I dare, but I dare not, nor does any one else dare, else allusion might be made to those unutterable deeds which brand the people which allows them, even in the natural judgment of men, as the most flagitious, the most detestable of nations. I might enlarge on the reckless and remorseless cruelty which, had they succeeded in Europe as they succeeded in Asia, would have decimated or exterminated her children; I might have reminded you, for instance, how it is almost a canon of their imperial policy for centuries, that their Sultan, on mounting the throne, should destroy his nearest of kin—father, brother, or cousin, who might rival him in his sovereignty; how he is surrounded, and his subjects according to their wealth, with slaves carried off from their homes, men and boys, living monuments of his barbarity towards the work of God's hands; how he has, at his remorseless will, and in the sudden breath of his mouth, the life or death of all his subjects; how he multiplies his despotism by giving to his lieutenants in every province a like prerogative; how little scruple those governors have ever felt in exercising this prerogative to the full, in executions on a large scale, and sudden overwhelming massacres; shedding blood like water, and playing with the life of man as if it were the life of a mere beast or reptile. I might call your attention to particular instances of such atrocities, such as that outrage perpetrated within the memory of many of us, how, on the insurrection of the Greeks at Scio, their barbarian masters carried fire and sword throughout the flourishing island, till it was left a desert, hurrying away women and boys to an infamous captivity, and murdering youths and grown men, till, out of 120,000 souls in the spring-time, not 900 were left them when the crops were ripe for the sickle.'[1]

The same writer reminds us of some particulars of facts which some persons among us seem bent upon forgetting or explaining away:—

* * * * * How, when the Ottomans added an infantry—I mean the Janissaries—to their Tartar horse, they formed that body of troops, from first to last, for near 500 years, of boys, all born Christians, a body of at first 12,000, at last 40,000 strong, torn away, year by year, from their parents, circumcised, trained, corrupted to the faith and morals of their masters, and becoming, in their turn, the instruments of the terrible policy of which they had themselves been the victims; and how when at length, lately, they abolished this work of their hands, they ended it by the slaughter of 20,000 of the poor renegades whom they had seduced from their God. I might remind you how, within the last few years, a Protestant traveller tells us that he found the Nestorian Christians, who had survived the massacre of their race, living in holes and pits, their pastures and tillage land forfeited, their sheep and cattle driven away, their villages burned, their ministers and people tortured; and how a Catholic missionary has found in the neighbourhood of Broussa the remnant of some

[1] Lectures on Hist. of Turks, pp. 135, 136.

twenty Catholic families, who, in consequence of repudiating the Turkish faith, had been carried all the way from Servia and Albania across the sea to Asia Minor; the men killed, the women disgraced, the boys sold, till out of 180 persons but 87 were left, and they sick, and famished, and dying amongst their unburied dead.'[1]

We have ventured to warn the reader against lending too implicit credence to the minor publications of the day. One exception, however, must be made on behalf of a traveller who, if not among our profoundest thinkers, is at least an independent one, and never writes otherwise than as a scholar, a gentleman, and a Christian. The 'Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters' is being so extensively read, and quoted in newspapers, that it is enough for us to mention it. To Lord Carlisle, then, we refer the reader for hints concerning the shocking state of morals in Turkey, 'such as, if fully known, would tend much to arrest the 'somewhat profuse flow of English sympathy for the Ottoman 'race;' the thorough corruption of officials, the incredible ignorance of the mass of the people, the incurable indolence, 'the deserted villages, uncultivated plains, banditti-haunted 'mountains, torpid laws, and disappearing people.'

Surely, not all the heroism of France and England can *ultimately* save a race like this. The ambition of Russia, the guile of Greece, may have prolonged their term of European existence, but can it be more than a prolongation? They may be saved from external enemies, but can they be saved from themselves? The Sultan (even a Turk, Lord Carlisle tells us, has suggested the possibility of such an event)—the Sultan might become a Christian. But what, we must ask, in this case, would his Asiatic subjects say? what all those other Mahometan tribes, who, being Sonnites, recognise in him the spiritual successor of Mahomet? And yet, without such a conversion (which we regard for the moment in a temporal and political point of view, apart from its higher import), how can the Turks in Europe become civilized, and how, if uncivilized, can they hope to retain their position? They, and they perhaps alone, among the proselytes of Mahometanism, have been constantly and solely the enemies, not of paganism, but of Christianity; they have brought out, not the better, but the worst features of the creed of Islam; they, for the last 800 years, have been troubling, and, whenever they dared, persecuting the Church of Christ; and they are reaping at length their sad and bitter reward. In their fatalistic book—in the Koran, they find it

[1] Lectures on Hist. of Turks, pp. 137, 138.

written: 'Each nation has its allotted period: when that period has arrived, men can neither hasten nor retard it.' That text of their self-styled prophet they may well be called upon to ponder now. But the Christian knows of righteous laws which, even upon earth, bring woe upon rebellious races; he knows of chastisements denounced upon unrelenting foes of the Lamb's Bride; he opens the Book of God's truly inspired Prophet, and reads: 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, *those nations shall be utterly wasted.*'

ART. IV.—*Selections, Grave and Gay. By* THOS. DE QUINCEY. *From Writings published and unpublished.* Edinburgh: James Hogg.

AN autobiography, the subject of which still lives, presents some features of peculiar delicacy to the candid reviewer. It is easy, in the case of any other form of composition, to forget for the time that the writer has a private personal existence; for while we discuss the author we need never approach the man. But if that author builds his hopes of interesting us in *himself* as a person, it is evident that he lays himself open to another and more intolerable form of criticism, to strictures on the most intimate and sensitive parts of his nature,—what men can least bear to be touched and handled, except in the tenderest and most sympathising spirit. Fondly trusting to some particular grace and charm in the records of his own feelings and memories, he unconsciously, perhaps, incurs the risk of a rude shock to his sensibilities; and the critic is embarrassed by the fear of wounding, it may be, a heart, where he is only pursuing his vocation of passing judgment on what he has a right to consider an abstraction—a book.

It may be well then in the outset to state, that these curious, and in many parts interesting, volumes are, in spite of their real character, abstractions to us. We can recal the time when we regarded Mr. De Quincey and his 'Opium Eater,' as alike unrealities. In our childish ignorance, we never supposed these absorbing pages to be real genuine history, scenes actually passed through by flesh and blood, but a sort of grand dream-land; and the name of the writer, when it reached us, sounded in our ears just as feigned as the narrative. And though we are aware now of our mistake, the first impression remains undisturbed by any knowledge of the author or his history beyond what we learn from these pages; and all the vivid and most characteristic facts are still so dreamy—fading off on all sides into shadows—as happily still to sustain the original idea of unreality. We say *happily*, not that we have any very disagreeable things to discharge our conscience of, but as making our task easier and pleasanter to ourselves.

These volumes consist of autobiographical sketches, essays, and papers of a livelier strain;—the autobiographical part being of far the most value; and of that part, whatever concerns the author's childhood and early youth, the most attractive and original. The greater part of these were contributed to periodicals

many years since, but have been collected and added to by large interpolations for the present republication.

We see no reason to doubt Mr. De Quincey's recollections of his infancy; and if so, he relates facts of a more prematurely developed intellect than we can recollect to have found recorded elsewhere: so premature as to produce a painful impression. It is so evident that this precocity, this rapid growth of mind, this early maturity of the powers, all evident in the history of the author up to his sixteenth or eighteenth year, did leave a sort of blank. It was a promise that could not be fulfilled. The stage that succeeded so brilliant an opening brought the reaction of nervous bodily suffering, to which succeeded a weak and excessive indulgence in opium as a relief. This proved a most effective intellectual stimulant for a time, at the inevitable expense of impairing the mental powers, and of reducing what should be the mind's prime—the season of its most vigorous thought and action—to a period of mere retrospect; a time for dwelling upon, gathering up, amplifying the recollections of youth, its triumphs and its acquirements—but in which all original power is exhausted, the inventive faculty worn out, and what is worse, where the power of embracing the present, realizing its facts and throwing the mind into existing events or future contingencies, is lost. A diffusive rambling style is always fatiguing, but it is more painful when we regard it as a sign that the writer has no grasp of the subject that should engage him; that his mind is perpetually losing its hold of the point at issue, and slipping away into prolix disquisitions, the fruit of past thought; such untimely reminiscences showing that the past is more prominent to him than the present, and for ever pushing it out of its place. No display of learning, no appositeness in the recollection, can save these ramblings from an air of garrulity and failing power: and who is so great a rambler in this sense as Mr. De Quincey? to whom the present—*i. e.* the to-day, the work in hand, the current question whatever it may be—has but one prominent feature, as suggestive of the past—his past: his precocious observations, his youthful learning, his early visions, his experience of life; all having the additional remoteness that these acquirements were won at an age when others are yet children, with their course still before them, and their experience yet to learn.

These remarks apply only where the retrospect is an interference with the matter in hand. Where early recollections are the author's main subject, or vivid capricious impressions borrowed from childhood, and curiously influencing later opinions, in 'The Opium Eater,' they are often more than commonly eresting. They form, indeed, in their right place, Mr. De

Quincey's most original contributions to the literature of his country. Nor does this discursiveness at all interfere with the literary merits of 'The English Opium Eater.' We see in it the natural fruit of the baneful habit, whose attractions and horrors he so powerfully describes; while the pomp of his style, its mystery and exaggeration, are eminently adapted for the pageantry of dreams, or dream-like scenes, gliding one into another, which make the power of that narrative. The strange minutely detailed history of an incident in his boyhood, (which, though true, sounds so improbable,) is a fit introduction for the concluding phantasmagoria.

Many of our readers may remember the impression of those sounding sentences on his young ear; a luxury seldom now enjoyed; for though little more than thirty years have passed since the 'Opium Eater' was written, the revolution in the art of writing has made the grand style a rarity, nor can we recal any author but Mr. Ruskin in our own immediate time, who indulges in it with success. This work does not form part of the volumes before us, yet we are tempted to quote a few sentences from it, to remind the forgetful ear of the pompous yet very effective music of some passages, though we know not how far they may lose their force, and appear extravagant, away from the context; not led up to, as they should be, by pages of gathering mystery and gloom. As an apology for the digression, we will call them, after the idea of their author, a kind of voluntary, appropriately introducing the reader to the mysterious infancy of which his first volume gives the portraiture. The first is a dream from 'The Pains of Opium:'—

'The dream commenced with a music which now I often heard in dreams—a music of preparation and of awakening suspense; a music like the opening of the Coronation Anthem, and which, like *that*, gave the feeling of a vast march—of infinite cavalcades filing off—and the tread of innumerable armies. The morning was come of a mighty day—a day of crisis and of final hope for human nature, then suffering some mysterious eclipse, and labouring in some dread extremity. Somewhere, I knew not where—somehow, I knew not how—by some beings, I knew not whom—a battle, a strife, an agony, was conducting,—was evolving like a great drama or piece of music; with which my sympathy was the more unsupportable from my confusion as to its place, its cause, its nature, and its possible issue. I, as is usual in dreams, (where of necessity we make ourselves central to every movement,) had the power, and yet had not the power, to decide it. I had the power, if I could raise myself to will it, and yet again had not the power, for the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon me, or the oppression of inexpiable guilt. "Deeper than ever plummet sounded," I lay inactive. Then, like a chorus, the passion deepened. Some greater interest was at stake; some mightier cause than ever yet the sword had pleaded or trumpet had proclaimed. Then came sudden alarms; hurryings to and fro; trepidations of innumerable fugitives, I knew not whether from the good cause or the bad: darkness and lights: tempests and human faces: and at last, with the sense that all was lost, female forms, and the features that

were worth all the world to me, and but a moment allowed, and clasped hands, and heart-breaking partings, and then—everlasting farewells! And with a sigh, such as the caves of hell sighed when the incestuous mother uttered the abhorred name of Death, the sound was reverberated—everlasting farewells! and again, and yet again reverberated—everlasting farewells! And I awoke in struggles and cried aloud—"I will sleep no more." '
—'*The Pains of Opium*,' *London Magazine*, vol. iv. 1821, p. 377.

The next is an apostrophe, in somewhat pagan fashion, to this awful drug, in the conclusion of what he calls, 'The Pleasures of Opium:'—

'Oh! just, subtle, and mighty opium! that to the hearts of poor and rich alike, for the wounds that will never heal, and for "the pangs that tempt the spirit to rebel," bringest an assuaging balm; eloquent opium! that with thy potent rhetoric stealest away the purposes of wrath; and to the guilty man, for one night givest back the hopes of his youth, and hands washed pure from blood: and to the proud man, a brief oblivion for

"Wrongs unredress'd and insults unavenged:"

that summonest to the chancery of dreams, for the triumphs of suffering innocence, false witnesses; and confoundest perjury, and dost reverse the sentence of unrighteous judges:—thou buildest upon the bosom of darkness, out of the fantastic imagery of the brain, cities and temples, beyond the art of Phidias and Praxiteles—beyond the splendour of Babylon and Hekatompylos; and from the "anarchy of dreaming sleep," callest into sunny light the faces of long-buried beauties, and the blessed household countenances, cleansed from the "dishonours of the grave." Thou only givest these gifts to man; and thou hast the keys of Paradise, oh, just, subtle, and mighty Opium!'—*Ibid.* p. 361.

Sensations so vivid, depressions so awful, are at once a sequel and interpretation of a childhood and boyhood of morbid feeling and intellect. 'From my birth I was made an intellectual creature,' our author tells us, in the work we have just quoted from; 'and intellectual in the highest sense my pursuits and pleasures have been, even from my schoolboy days.'

The first autobiographical sketch introduces our author to us before the close of his sixth year, at which time 'the first chapter' of his life was already closed; and so great a shock of grief fallen upon him that 'life is finished' was the secret imagining of his heart, and he said to himself, 'Now is the blossoming of life withered for ever.' Let us not smile at this record of a child's grief, for we doubt not it is true, even to this sounding record of it; and before his sixth year this precocious child had won a large experience. Mr. De Quincey has distant recollections of a period before he could have reached the close of his second year. He 'recals a remarkable dream of terrific grandeur, concerning a favourite nurse,' and remembers to have connected at the same age, a profound sense of pathos with the reappearance, in very early spring, of some crocuses. We can read often in a young child's countenance the movements of thoughts like these, but to remember them is rare indeed. But

this is not so strange as his recollections connected with his first acquaintance with death; when a little sister died, he being at the time eighteen months old, 'more or less by some trifle,' but the date must be pretty closely ascertained. 'Death,' he says, 'was then scarcely intelligible to me; and I could not be so properly said to suffer sorrow as a sad perplexity.'

'With my sister Jane's death (though otherwise, as I have said, less sorrowful than perplexing), there was, however, connected an incident which made a most fearful impression upon myself, deepening my tendencies to thoughtfulness and abstraction beyond what would seem credible for my years. If there was one thing in this world from which, more than from any other, nature had forced me to revolt, it was brutality and violence. Now, a whisper arose in the family, that a female servant, who by accident was drawn off from her proper duties to attend my sister Jane for a day or two, had on one occasion treated her harshly, if not brutally; and as this ill-treatment happened within three or four days of her death, so that the occasion of it must have been some fretfulness in the poor child caused by her sufferings, naturally there was a sense of awe and indignation diffused through the family. I believe the story never reached my mother, and possibly it was exaggerated; but upon me the effect was terrific. I did not often see the person charged with this cruelty; but when I did, my eyes sought the ground; nor could I have borne to look her in the face; not, however, in any spirit that could be called anger. The feeling which fell upon me was a shuddering horror, as upon a first glimpse of the truth that I was in a world of evil and strife. Though born in a large town (the town of Manchester, even then among the largest of the island), I had passed the whole of my childhood, except for the few earliest weeks, in a rural seclusion. With three innocent little sisters for playmates, sleeping always amongst them, and shut up for ever in a silent garden from all knowledge of poverty, or oppression, or outrage, I had not suspected until this moment the true complexion of the world in which myself and my sisters were living. Henceforward the character of my thoughts changed greatly; for so *representative* are some acts, that one single case of the class is sufficient to throw open before you the whole theatre of possibilities in that direction. I never heard that the woman accused of this cruelty took it at all to heart, even after the event which so immediately succeeded had reflected upon it a more painful emphasis. But for myself, that incident had a lasting revolutionary power in colouring my estimate of life.'—*Autobiographic Sketches*, vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

The idea of a baby of a year and a-half 'suspecting the true complexion of the world in which it lives,' is somewhat alarming. We must suppose that the man adds a little definitiveness to the child's misgivings; but with every modification the recollection is a remarkable and genuine one. From all we can gather of the author's mother, she was not a woman to observe her children's minds with modern curiosity. She was a mother of her own day; the children lived a great deal in the nursery, and stood in awe of her. He somewhere says she always thought her own children below those of other people, and was evidently a disciplinarian, training her children to a Spartan simplicity of diet. Though he speaks respectfully of her,

describing her as a very religious person, an 'Evangelical,' and friend of Hannah More's, she did not make one of the leading characters of his own childhood, or help forward by any unwise fostering of her own, this extraordinary precocity.

The female influence of his infancy was his sister Elizabeth, three years older than himself, and it was her death which closed the first chapter of his life, in his sixth year, with the solemn words we have reported. This child shared in the family brilliancy of intellect. Her head was the wonder of phrenologists. He looks back on 'her serene and capacious mind.' She was his guide and companion; and thoughts, beyond what children think, were shared between them. In losing her, he describes himself as losing the only being to whom he was ever able to utter the feelings of his heart without reserve—'For I was 'the shyest of children; and at all stages of life, a natural sense 'of personal dignity held me back from exposing the least ray 'of feeling which I was not *wholly* encouraged to reveal.' To this shyness, no doubt, and to the loss of this sympathising hearer, the *public* now owes the unlimited confessions for which our author has chosen it for his confidant. This precious sister was taken ill suddenly,—

'In such circumstances, a child, as young as myself, feels no anxieties. Looking upon medical men as people privileged, and naturally commissioned, to make war upon pain and sickness, I never had a misgiving about the result. I grieved, indeed, that my sister should lie in bed; I grieved still more to hear her moan. But all this appeared to me no more than as a night of trouble, on which the dawn would soon arise. O! moment of darkness and delirium, when the elder nurse awakened me from that delusion, and launched God's thunderbolt at my heart in the assurance that my sister MUST die. Rightly it is said of utter, utter misery, that it "cannot be *remembered*."[1] Itself, as a rememberable thing, is swallowed up in its own chaos. Blank anarchy and confusion of mind fell upon me. Deaf and blind I was, as I reeled under the revelation. I wish not to recall the circumstances of that time, when *my* agony was at its height, and hers, in another sense, was approaching. Enough it is to say, that all was soon over; and the morning of that day had at last arrived which looked down upon her innocent face, sleeping the sleep from which there is no awaking, and upon me sorrowing the sorrow for which there is no consolation.

'On the day after my sister's death, whilst the sweet temple of her brain was yet unviolated by human scrutiny, I formed my own scheme for seeing her once more. Not for the world would I have made this known, nor have suffered a witness to accompany me. I had never heard of feelings that take the name of "sentimental," nor dreamed of such a possibility. But grief, even in a child, hates the light, and shrinks from human eyes. The house was large enough to have two staircases; and by one of these I knew that about mid-day, when all would be quiet (for the servants dined at one o'clock), I could steal up into her chamber. I imagine that it was

[1] 'I stood in unimaginable trance
And agony, which cannot be remembered.'
Speech of Alhadra, in Coleridge's Remorse.

about an hour after high noon when I reached the chamber door; it was locked, but the key was not taken away. Entering, I closed the door so softly, that, although it opened upon a hall which ascended through all the storeys, no echo ran along the silent walls. Then, turning round, I sought my sister's face. But the bed had been moved, and the back was now turned towards myself. Nothing met my eyes but one large window, wide open, through which the sun of midsummer at mid-day was showering down torrents of splendour. The weather was dry, the sky was cloudless, the blue depths seemed the express types of infinity; and it was not possible for eye to behold, or for heart to conceive, any symbols more pathetic of life and the glory of life.'—Vol. i. pp. 11—13.

In the 'Opium Eater' there is a striking passage on the connexion of death with summer, and its greater terrors at that season. This sentiment is traceable to the moment described in this scene, where the glories of the season contrasted themselves so painfully to the young child's mind with the bleak of death. After following out the idea at greater length than we can quote, he continues,—

'Out of this digression, for the purpose of showing how inextricably my feelings and images of death were entangled with those of summer, as connected with Palestine and Jerusalem, let me come back to the bedchamber of my sister. From the gorgeous sunlight I turned round to the corpse. There lay the sweet childish figure; there the angel face; and, as people usually fancy, it was said in the house that no features had suffered any change. Had they not? The forehead, indeed—the serene and noble forehead—*that* might be the same; but the frozen eyelids, the darkness that seemed to steal from beneath them, the marble lips, the stiffening hands, laid palm to palm, as if repeating the supplications of closing anguish—could these be mistaken for life? Had it been so, wherefore did I not spring to those heavenly lips with tears and never-ending kisses? But so it was *not*. I stood checked for a moment; awe, not fear, fell upon me; and, whilst I stood, a solemn wind began to blow—the saddest that ear ever heard. It was a wind that might have swept the fields of mortality for a thousand centuries. Many times since, upon summer days, when the sun is about the hottest, I have remarked the same wind arising and uttering the same hollow, solemn, Memnonian, but saintly swell: it is in this world the one great *audible* symbol of eternity. And three times in my life have I happened to hear the same sound in the same circumstances—namely, when standing between an open window and a dead body on a summer day.

'Instantly, when my ear caught this vast Æolian intonation, when my eye filled with the golden fulness of life, the pomps of the heavens above, or the glory of the flowers below, and turning when it settled upon the frost which overspread my sister's face, instantly a trance fell upon me. A vault seemed to open in the zenith of the far blue sky, a shaft which ran up for ever. I, in spirit, rose as if on billows that also ran up the shaft for ever; and the billows seemed to pursue the throne of God; but *that* also ran before us and fled away continually. The flight and the pursuit seemed to go on for ever and ever. Frost gathering frost, some Sarsar wind of death, seemed to repel me; some mighty relation between God and death dimly struggled to evolve itself from the dreadful antagonism between them; shadowy meanings even yet continue to exercise and torment, in dreams, the deciphering oracle within me. I slept—for how long I cannot

say; slowly I recovered my self-possession; and, when I woke, found myself standing, as before, close to my sister's bed.

'I have reason to believe that a *very* long interval had elapsed during this wandering or suspension of my perfect mind. When I returned to myself, there was a foot (or I fancied so) on the stairs. I was alarmed; for, if anybody had detected me, means would have been taken to prevent my coming again. Hastily, therefore, I kissed the lips that I should kiss no more, and slunk, like a guilty thing, with stealthy steps from the room. Thus perished the vision, loveliest amongst all the shows which earth has revealed to me; thus mutilated was the parting which should have lasted for ever; tainted thus with fear was that farewell sacred to love and grief, to perfect love and to grief that could not be healed.'—Vol. i. pp. 15—18.

So early was our author's singlar faculty of trance-like dreams developed. It is his one intellectual peculiarity, wholly independent of the artificial stimulant to which it was afterwards attributed, though no doubt it was intensified by it. This gift might, on first thoughts, have been expected to lead to high poetic excellence, but we believe would rather be a bar to it, as holding back the child's mind, in its most impressible age, from seeing things as they are, and without any colouring from the individual mind, and so probably narrowing the range of thought. We are not speaking so much of this individual instance, under intense excitement, as of the general musing, dreamy tendency of his mind, which led him to fasten on certain congenial subjects, shaping them to his own fancy, at the expense of leaving the wider scene of general thought and observation unsought into. So morbid was his state after his sister's death, that he haunted solitary places in the hope of some visionary reunion. All nature suggested but one idea: the services of our Church,—for even then he was alive to the beauty of their tone and language,—ministered to it; while the fine architecture of the collegiate church at Manchester, which he then attended, and its painted windows, inspired trances and visions, and opened glimpses of heaven itself to his childish fancy. The result might have been most serious to mental health, but for a salutary break upon this luxury of grief, in the unwelcome arrival upon the scene of an elder brother, one of those vigorous and overbearing personages, that must make their presence felt on the most preoccupied mind, and will not suffer any shadows but of their own creating to interfere with their influence. So profound was the impression he made upon his little brother's mind, and so paramount was the authority he established over body, soul, and spirit, that the account of him, though leaving little room for the indulgence of Mr. De Quincey's peculiar vein, is one of his best efforts, and the humour almost the only genuine example of that quality his writings furnish. Some few qualities the brothers must have possessed in common, the same precocity of intellect,

the same power of realizing the fancies of the brain, and making them each his world, the same command of lofty, high-sounding diction,—but more points of contrast; for whereas the junior had been brought up in the society of girls, and was gentle, shy, retiring, a lover of solitude and peace and quiet above all things; his elder was endued with a two-fold boldness and audacity of nature; mind and body alike fearless, loving storm and contest; and of a prodigious, almost heroic confidence in himself, and contempt by consequence of all others; his little brother foremost of all. Some preliminaries of explanation are given before our author enters upon the scene. Mr. De Quincey, the father, was a wealthy merchant of the higher class, with aristocratic friendships beyond what is common with men of his order. His health for some years had been failing, and in the hope of restoring it he had travelled; wandering from country to country, with only occasional returns to England, when his wife would join him for a time, at the watering-place nearest his landing, but leaving the family, the younger members of it at least, at their country house, close upon Manchester. Thus it happened that our author scarcely ever knew his father, till he came home confessedly to die. He goes on then to account for having up to this time been equally a stranger to his brother,—

'My brother was a stranger from causes quite as little to be foreseen, but seeming quite as natural after they had really occurred. In an early stage of his career, he had been found wholly unmanageable. His genius for mischief amounted to inspiration; it was a divine *afflatus* which drove him in that direction; and such was his capacity for riding in whirlwinds and directing storms, that he made it his trade to create them, as a νεφεληγέρετα Ζεύς, a cloud-compelling Jove, in order that he *might* direct them. For this, and other reasons, he had been sent to the Grammar School of Louth, in Lincolnshire—one of those many old classic institutions which form the peculiar glory of England. To box, and to box under the severest restraint of honourable laws, was in those days a mere necessity of schoolboy life at *public* schools; and hence the superior manliness, generosity, and self-control, of those generally who had benefited by such discipline—so systematically hostile to all meanness, pusillanimity, or indirectness.'

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'Fresh from such a training as this, and at a time when his additional five or six years availed nearly to make *his* age the double of mine, my brother very naturally despised me; and, from his exceeding frankness, he took no pains to conceal that he did. Why should he? Who was it that could have a right to feel aggrieved by his contempt? Who, if not myself? But it happened, on the contrary, that I had a perfect craze for being despised. I doted on it; and considered contempt a sort of luxury that I was in continual fear of losing. Why not? Wherefore should any rational person shrink from contempt, if it happen to form the tenure by which he holds his repose in life?'—Vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

This resignation to a low place in the intellectual estimation of others is not without precedent. Children of a low, nervous

organization, are sometimes oppressed by the thought of the laborious life of learning and acting which they see stretched out before them; and, in contrast to children of more vigorous health, like to remain humble and helpless, putting off as lo[illegible] the first step which is to lead to their being men an[illegible] hard workers of the world. But dear as his brother's contempt was in the abstract, and in principles of reason, there was sometimes 'an altitude—a starry altitude,' in the station of contempt assumed for him, which he owns sometimes nettled him; and he would imprudently betray some bookish accomplishment, not without the rash indulgence of a momentary triumph. However, though these displays shook his brother's judgment for a moment, it was formed on *à priori* arguments, that could not be overthrown by any demonstrations, and that seem to have had weight even in the innocent judgment of their victim:—

'The pillars of Hercules, upon which rested the vast edifice of his scorn, were these two—1st, my physics; he denounced me for effeminacy; 2d, he assumed, and even postulated as a *datum*, which I myself could never have the face to refuse, my general idiocy. Physically, therefore, and intellectually, he looked upon me as below notice; but, *morally*, he assured me that he would give me a written character of the very best description, whenever I chose to apply for it. "You're honest," he said; "you're willing, though lazy; you *would* pull, if you had the strength of a flea; and, though a monstrous coward, you don't run away." My own demurs to these harsh judgments were not so many as they might have been. The idiocy I confessed; because, though positive that I was not uniformly an idiot, I felt inclined to think that, in a majority of cases, I really *was;* and there were more reasons for thinking so than the reader is yet aware of. But, as to the effeminacy, I denied it *in toto;* and with good reason, as will be seen. Neither did my brother pretend to have any experimental proofs of it. The ground he went upon was a mere *à priori* one, viz. that I had always been tied to the apron-string of women or girls; which amounted at most to this—that, by training and the natural tendency of circumstances, I *ought* to be effeminate; that is, there was reason to expect beforehand that I *should* be so; but, then, the more merit in me, if, in spite of such reasonable presumptions, I really were *not*. In fact, my brother soon learned, by a daily experience, how entirely he might depend upon me for carrying out the most audacious of his own warlike plans: such plans, it is true, that I abominated; but *that* made no difference in the fidelity with which I tried to fulfil them.'—Vol. i. pp. 40, 41.

He next draws the portrait of this brother:—

'This eldest brother of mine was in all respects a remarkable boy. Haughty he was, aspiring, immeasurably active; fertile in resources as Robinson Crusoe; but also full of quarrel as it is possible to imagine; and, in default of any other opponent, he would have fastened a quarrel upon his own shadow for presuming to run before him when going westwards in the morning, whereas, in all reason, a shadow, like a dutiful child, ought to keep deferentially in the rear of that majestic substance which is the author of its existence. Books he detested, one and all, excepting only such as he happened to write himself. And these were not a few. On all subjects known to man, from the Thirty-nine Articles of our English

Church, down to pyrotechnics, legerdemain, magic, both black and white, thaumaturgy, and necromancy, he favoured the world (which world was the nursery where I lived amongst my sisters) with his select opinions. On this last subject especially—of necromancy—he was very great; witness his profound work, though but a fragment, and, unfortunately, long since departed to the bosom of Cinderella, entitled, "How to raise a Ghost; and when you've got him down, how to keep him down."'—Vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

We have not space to pursue this interesting question with our author; but from the report of his views and reasonings on the subject of ghosts, we see that this young necromancer could have ruled the spiritual world with a power, sense, and authority which would have put to shame the inane revelations from the world of spirits, which the American ghost-seers gravely publish with so much circumstance to the world; and which our readers have had a recent opportunity of perusing in the columns of the *Times;* where we see proved to demonstration how much less capacity is required than used to be supposed to make a conjuror. Our wiser schoolboy soon tired of his commerce with the unseen world, and turned his thoughts to science with equal ingenuity and success:—

'This hypothesis, however, like a thousand others, when it happened that they engaged no durable sympathy from his nursery audience, he did not pursue. For some time he turned his thoughts to philosophy, and read lectures to us every night upon some branch or other of physics. This undertaking arose upon some one of us envying or admiring flies for their power of walking upon the ceiling. "Pooh!" he said, "they are impostors; they pretend to do it, but they can't do it as it ought to be done. Ah! you should see *me* standing upright on the ceiling, with my head downwards for half an hour together, and meditating profoundly." My sister Mary remarked, that we should all be very glad to see him in that position. "If that's the case," he replied, "it's very well that all is ready, except as to a strap or two." Being an excellent skater, he had first imagined that, if held up until he had started, he might then, by taking a bold sweep ahead, keep himself in position through the continued impetus of skating. But this he found not to answer; because, as he observed, "the friction was too retarding from the plaster of Paris; but the case would be very different if the ceiling were coated with ice." As it was *not*, he changed his plan. The true secret, he now discovered, was this; he would consider himself in the light of a humming-top: he would make an apparatus (and he made it) for having himself launched, like a top, upon the ceiling, and regularly spun. Then the vertiginous motion of the human top would overpower the force of gravitation. He should, of course, spin upon his own axis, and sleep upon his own axis—perhaps he might even dream upon it; and he laughed at "those scoundrels, the flies," that never improved in their pretended art, nor made anything of it. The principle was now discovered; "and, of course," he said, "if a man can keep it up for five minutes, what's to hinder him from doing so for five months?" "Certainly, nothing that I can think off," was the reply of my sister, whose scepticism, in fact, had not settled upon the five months, but altogether upon the five minutes. The apparatus for spinning him, however, perhaps from its complexity, would not work: a fact evidently owing to the stupidity of the gardener. On re-considering the subject, he announced, to the disappointment of some amongst us, that, although the physical discovery was

now complete, he saw a moral difficulty. It was not a *humming*-top that was required, but a *peg*-top. Now, this, in order to keep up the *vertigo* at full stretch, without which, to a certainty, gravitation would prove too much for him, needed to be whipped incessantly. But that was precisely what a gentleman ought not to tolerate: to be scourged unintermittingly on the legs by any grub of a gardener, unless it were Father Adam himself, was a thing that he could not bring his mind to face.'—Vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

Who does not sympathise with such schoolroom recollections? Who so clever and brilliant as a clever schoolboy to a fit audience? such audience as every memory can supply, for surely each reader can recal some hero of fun as reckless as this, as full of resource, as boundless in assumption, as ready to cut every Gordian knot, as certain to secure the laugh and the last word against all odds. Such fit audience our elder brother had amongst his brothers and sisters; sisters, to banter and question, and excite to greater efforts of ingenuity, in spite of his insulting allusions to 'the most excruciatingly mean of capacities' to which he was condemned to lower his speculations; and brothers, to do his bidding with a servile deference. He gave lectures, and they listened to them; he wrote dramas, and they acted them. These were their peaceful pursuits, such was his quiet and domestic aspect. But it was in his character of warrior that he tormented the heart of his poor little brother, and it is the history of a long feud and daily battle with the boys of a Manchester manufactory, which is one of the most effective stories of these recollections. The writer still suffers from the remembrance of a war in which he was compelled to share, through the mere force of his brother's genius, who had established a thraldom over his reason and inner mind more oppressive than any bodily slavery, and under which he could hardly say that his soul was his own. As an instance of this mental bondage, each of these brothers had, after the fashion of Hartley Coleridge and many another boy, an imaginary kingdom, which one might suppose each would rule, after his own will, with undisputed sway. But not so; by dint of searching questions, the elder became possessed of every feature of his little brother's territory, and, henceforth, allowed his shadowy subjects no rest from his withering contempt and tyrannical aggressions.

'How, and to what extent,' my brother asked, 'did I raise taxes upon my subjects?' My first impulse was to say, that I did not tax them at all, for I had a perfect horror of doing so; but prudence would not allow of my saying *that;* because it was too probable he would demand to know how, in that case, I maintained a standing army; and if I once allowed it to be supposed that I had none, there was an end for ever to the independence of my people. Poor things! they would have been invaded and dragooned in a month. I took some days, therefore, to consider that point, but at last replied, that my people, being maritime, supported themselves mainly by

a herring fishery, from which I deducted a part of the produce, and afterwards sold it for manure to neighbouring nations. This last hint I borrowed from the conversation of a stranger who happened to dine one day at Greenhay, and mentioned that in Devonshire, or at least on the western coast of that county, near Ilfracombe, upon any excessive take of herrings beyond what the markets could absorb, the surplus was applied to the land as a valuable dressing. It might be inferred from this account, however, that the arts must be in a languishing state, amongst a people that did not understand the process of salting fish; and my brother observed derisively, much to my grief, that a wretched ichthyophagous people must make shocking soldiers, weak as water, and liable to be knocked over like nine-pins; whereas, in *his* army, not a man ever ate herrings, pilchards, mackerels, or, in fact, condescended to anything worse than sirloins of beef.

'At every step I had to contend for the honour and independence of my islanders; so that early I came to understand the weight of Shakspeare's sentiment—

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown!"

Oh, reader, do not laugh! I lived for ever under the terror of two separate wars in two separate worlds: one against the factory boys, in a real world of flesh and blood, of stones and brickbats, of flight and pursuit, that were anything but figurative; the other in a world purely aërial, where all the combats and the sufferings were absolute moonshine.'—Vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

The occasion of the *actual* warfare arose from their having to pass daily a manufactory, on their way from Greenhay, their mother's residence, to their tutor in Manchester:—

'The cause lay in our aristocratic dress. As children of an opulent family, where all provisions were liberal, and all appointments elegant, we were uniformly well-dressed; and, in particular, we wore trousers (at that time unheard of, except among sailors), and we also wore Hessian boots—a crime that could not be forgiven in the Lancashire of that day, because it expressed the double offence of being aristocratic and being outlandish. We were aristocrats, and it was vain to deny it; could we deny our boots? whilst our antagonists, if not absolutely *sansculottes*, were slovenly and forlorn in their dress, often unwashed, with hair totally neglected, and always covered with flakes of cotton. Jacobins they were not, as regarded any sympathy with the Jacobinism that then desolated France; for on the contrary, they detested everything French, and answered with brotherly signals to the cry of, 'Church and King,' or, 'King and Constitution.' But, for all that, as they were perfectly independent, getting very high wages, and these wages in a mode of industry that was then taking vast strides ahead, they contrived to reconcile this patriotic anti-Jacobinism with a personal Jacobinism of that sort which is native to the heart of man, who is by natural impulse (and not without a root of nobility, though also of base envy) impatient of inequality, and submits to it only through a sense of its necessity, or under a long experience of its benefits.

'It was on an early day of our new *tyrocinium*, or perhaps on the very first, that, as we passed the bridge, a boy happening to issue from the factory sang out to us derisively, "Holloa, Bucks!" In this the reader may fail to perceive any atrocious insult commensurate to the long war which followed. But the reader is wrong. The word "*dandies*," which was what the villain meant, had not then been born, so that he could not have called us by that name, unless through the spirit of prophecy. *Buck* was the nearest word

at hand in his Manchester vocabulary; he gave all he could, and let us dream the rest. But in the next moment he discovered our boots, and he consummated his crime by saluting us as "Boots! boots!" My brother made a dead stop, surveyed him with intense disdain, and bade him draw near, that he might 'give his flesh to the fowls of the air.' The boy declined to accept this liberal invitation, and conveyed his answer by a most contemptuous and plebeian gesture, upon which my brother drove him in with a shower of stones.

'During this inaugural flourish of hostilities, I, for my part, remained inactive, and therefore apparently neutral. But this was the last time that I did so: for the moment, indeed, I was taken by surprise. To be called a *buck* by one that had it in his choice to have called me a coward, a thief, or a murderer, struck me as a most pardonable offence; and as to *boots*, that rested upon a flagrant fact that could not be denied; so that at first I was green enough to regard the boy as very considerate and indulgent. But my brother soon rectified my views; or, if any doubts remained, he impressed me, at least, with a sense of my paramount duty to himself, which was threefold. First, it seems that I owed military allegiance to *him*, as my commander-in-chief, whenever we 'took the field;' secondly, by the law of nations, I, being a cadet of my house, owed suit and service to him who was its head; and he assured me that twice in a year, on *my* birthday and on *his*, he had a right, strictly speaking, to make me lie down, and to set his foot upon my neck; lastly, by a law not so rigorous, but valid amongst gentlemen—viz. 'by the *comity* of nations'—it seems I owed eternal deference, to one so much older than myself, so much wiser, stronger, braver, more beautiful, and more swift of foot.'—Vol. i. pp. 51—53.

The oppression of these acknowledged obligations was a burden on the cadet, to which he submitted without resistance, even in thought. He obeyed like a faithful vassal, leaving the responsibility to his chief, and gaining few of the honours of the war; being, indeed, frequently unjustly accused, in reports daily written in a gazette reporting the progress of the war, of 'horrible 'cowardice, even with a cowardice that seemed inexplicable, except 'on the supposition of treachery.' As they fought against numbers, the daily battle generally ended by our heroes running away, but not the less did the master spirit signalize assumed victories by appropriate triumphs and *Te Deums*. The junior, satisfying his scrupulous conscience by giving his view of the real state of the case, was not unwilling to join these ovations; for he loved chanting and Church music; and the pleasures of the campaign to him were all included in these musical triumphs; sung on his part, not without due solemnity; for his nature was grave, and resisted the burlesque, and a weight of awe and mystery brooded over him.

This scrupulousness led him into other difficulties; for in childhood he evidently began that habit of over-accuracy—a sort of hair-splitting nicety in the use and understanding of words, hedging them round with provisos, definitions, reservations, and analytical comments,—which so often disfigure Mr. De Quincey's style, and mar and fret away the interest of what he says. The

perspicacious elder brother manifested a characteristic impatience of these refinements and impertinent metaphysical subtleties, which he detected, and would have nipped in the bud. The narrative first explains that circumstances on both sides led to a tacit truce every morning; so that only on great days—a royal birthday, a victory, or the 5th of November—was the leader excited by the eagerness and joy of his spirit to any outbreak at that early hour; otherwise—

'Some natural growls we uttered, but hushed them soon, regardless

"Of the sweeping whirlpool's sway,
That, hush'd in grim repose, look'd for his evening prey."

'*That* came but too surely. Yes, evening never forgot to come; this odious necessity of fighting never missed its road back, or fell asleep, or loitered by the way, more than a bill of exchange, or a tertian fever. Five times a-week (Saturday sometimes, and Sunday always, were days of rest) the same scene rehearsed itself in pretty nearly the same succession of circumstances. Between four and five o'clock, we had crossed the bridge to the safe, or Greenhay side; then we paused, and waited for the enemy. Sooner or later a bell rang, and from the smoky hive issued the hornets that night and day stung incurably my peace of mind. The order and procession of the incidents after this were odiously monotonous. My brother occupied the main high road, precisely at the point where a very gentle rise of the ground attained its summit; for the bridge lay in a slight valley; and the main military position was fifty or eighty yards above the bridge; then—but having first examined my pockets, in order to be sure that my stock of ammunition, stones, fragments of slate, with a reasonable proportion of brickbats, was all correct and ready for action—he detached me about forty yards to the right, my orders being invariable, and liable to no doubts or "quibbling." Detestable in *my* ears was that word "*quibbling*," by which, for a thousand years, if the war had happened to last so long, he would have fastened upon me the imputation of meaning, or wishing, at least, to do what he called "pettifogulising"—that is, to plead some distinction, or verbal demur, in bar of my orders, under some colourable pretence that, according to their literal construction, they really did not admit of being fulfilled, or perhaps that they admitted it too much as being capable of fulfilment in two senses, either of them a practicable sense. True it was that my eye was preternaturally keen for flaws of language, not from pedantic exaction of superfluous accuracy, but, on the contrary, from too conscientious a wish to escape the mistakes which language not rigorous is apt to occasion. So far from seeking to "pettifogulise"—*i. e.* to find evasions for any purpose in a trickster's minute tortuosities of construction—exactly in the opposite direction, from mere excess of sincerity, most unwillingly I found, in almost everybody's words, an unintentional opening left for double interpretations. Undesigned equivocation prevails everywhere; and it is not the cavilling hair-splitter, but, on the contrary, the single-eyed servant of truth, that is most likely to insist upon the limitation of expressions too wide or too vague, and upon the decisive election between meanings potentially double. Not in order to resist or evade my brother's directions, but for the very opposite purpose—viz. that I might fulfil them to the letter; thus and no otherwise it happened that I showed so much scrupulosity about the exact value and position of his words, as finally to draw upon myself the vexatious reproach of being habitually a "pettifoguliser."'—Vol. i. pp. 60—62.

But we must not linger over this spirited campaign, though the details of its triumphs and reverses are all entertaining and well told. The author needs, indeed, a strong personal concern in all that he has to describe, to keep the analyzing, metaphysical propensity within bounds; then, be the subject important or trivial, he writes vigorously, and to the point; or, rather, we should say, that no subject of personal concern, however slight, is trivial to him, but deserving and exciting his best efforts. A merely general interest has not, as far as we see, a sufficient hold on his sympathies to keep him steadily to work; the mind will fly off in search of some link connecting the matter in hand with his own personal idiosyncrasy. Wherever he has to describe what he has himself acted or suffered, this habit either is not called into exercise, or it seems more in place; the attention is all alive, and a peculiarly retentive memory keeps every scene in which his heart has ever been interested as vividly distinct as though it were a picture presented to the bodily eye. This memory must indeed be a remarkable quality; a power that we hardly know whether to envy, or to respect in contented inferiority; as doubting whether the constant possession of all the mind has ever dwelt upon would be felt a blessing; for elsewhere he tells us he was able to quote, and does quote, long passages from the 'Prelude,' while it was yet in MS., which he had not seen or heard for twenty years.

The war came to an end through the accidental presence of one of their four guardians on the scene of action: he caused the boys to change their hour of attending their tutor; and thus the two years' feud was brought to an abrupt close. Not long after, the elder brother, who had manifested an extraordinary talent for drawing, was dedicated to that pursuit, and made a pupil of De Loutherbourgh, with the enormous fee of a thousand guineas. The close of the poor boy's bright opening into life is sad enough. Before the conclusion of his sixteenth year he died of typhus fever; his little brother never saw him again. Not that this event is recorded with much profession of sorrow. The bondage of spirit had been apparently too galling for the growth of affection, though we have no records of personal tyranny; and the absolute impossibility that these uncongenial scenes could ever recur again was evidently felt as a relief.

How keenly he had felt them—with what a sense of the evils of war and division—is somewhat pathetically expressed; and awakes our sympathies for the philosophical, thoughtful child, compelled to act so long against his nature. He has described, with much humour, a kindly rescue effected on his behalf by some of the factory girls, who had saved him from the vengeance of their brothers:—

'It saddened me, besides, to find myself under the political necessity of numbering amongst the Philistines, and as daughters of Gath, so many kind-hearted girls, whom, by personal proof, I knew to be such. In the profoundest sense I was unhappy; and not from any momentary accident of distress, but from deep glimpses which now, and heretofore, had opened themselves, as occasions arose, into the inevitable conflicts of life. One of the saddest among such conflicts is the necessity, wheresoever it occurs, of adopting—though the heart should disown—the enmities of one's own family, or country, or religious sect. In forms how afflicting must that necessity have sometimes occurred during the Parliamentary war!'—Vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

These same thoughts, with the same illustrations from our civil wars, haunted his dreams in after life, and form one of the spectacles of the 'Opium Eater.' Unquestionably the continual sense of subjection is against the formation of tenderer ties; so we do not wonder at the composure of tone with which this hectoring brother, William, is dismissed from the scene.

'The advantages, indeed, which my brother had over me in years, in physical activities of every kind, in decision of purpose, and in energy of will—all which advantages, besides, borrowed a ratification from an obscure sense, on my part, of duty as incident to what seemed an appointment of Providence—inevitably *had* controlled, and for years to come *would have* controlled, the free spontaneous movements of a contemplative dreamer like myself. Consequently, this separation, which proved an eternal one, and contributed to deepen my constitutional propensity to gloomy meditation, had for me (partly on that account, but much more through the sudden birth of perfect independence which so unexpectedly it opened) the value of a revolutionary experience. A new date, a new starting-point, a redemption (as it might be called) into the golden sleep of halcyon quiet, after everlasting storms, suddenly dawned upon me; and, not as any casual intercalation of holidays that would come to an end—but, for anything that appeared to the contrary, as the perpetual tenor of my future career.'—Vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

Soon after this, in his twelfth year, our author was sent for the first time to a public school, *i.e.* the grammar-school at Bath, where his early skill in Latin verse won him the commendations of the master, and the displeasure of the head boys, to whom this little fellow was somewhat injudiciously set up as a better scholar than themselves. Not that he has much to complain of from their vengeance: all his sympathies are with public schools, and many opportunities are taken to enlarge on their superiority over private ones,—and he had experience of both. Though at first backward in Greek, we learn elsewhere that he presently acquired extraordinary facility and power of conversing in it. It is in the 'Opium Eater' that he mentions his master pointing him out to a friend, with the words, 'That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you and I could an English one.' His retentive memory, ready apprehension, and passionate love of learning, all developed about this time, had caused his mind to expand in what

we must think an unhealthy degree. Circumstances, too, were unfavourable for the best education for a boy of his very remarkable promise. He had no father; his four guardians seem ill to have supplied the place of one; and he evidently thinks his mother erred on the unusual side of austerity. He left the school at Bath on occasion of an affection of the head, which kept him at home for a year; and at the end of that time, without sufficient reason, as it seems, unless it were that mother thought him unduly flattered there,—and to the great disappointment of his late masters,—he was removed to a private school, the head of which he felt to be not so good a scholar as himself.

Thus far to his fifteenth year, when a further change occurred still less favourable to his best interests. He heads this chapter with the words, 'I enter the World.' It seems strange that a woman evidently so jealous of the effects of praise and school-success on her son's mind, and who subsequently was disposed, in conjunction with his guardians, to exercise an almost stern authority over him, should on this occasion give her consent to a change of scene and life, which manifestly must unfit him for the restraints of school, to which they afterwards compelled him. It can only have been the temptation which was now offered to her avowedly aristocratic predilections. A young friend of his own age, Lord Westport, son of Lord Altamont, a friend of his father's, invited him at this time to accompany him to Ireland, there to spend the summer and autumn with him; an invitation which his mother allowed him to accept. And here follows a very brilliant season of enjoyment for a schoolboy of fourteen. He immediately found himself his own master, and thrown into the best society, which he was fully calculated to enjoy, and, considering his youth, to shine in. He joined his friend at Eton, and stayed time enough there to form aristocratic acquaintances amongst the boys, and to receive some civilities from royalty itself; for his friend, as a grandson of Lord Howe, was much noticed by the king, and our author was on one or two occasions, as his chosen companion, invited with him. He records a conversation with George the Third, in which he seems to have behaved with more than boyish sense and tact, and afterwards was invited with his friend to a ball at the Castle. His account of this scene is illustrative of his speculative vein, which was even now working in him, as, indeed, was *every* subsequent view and thought, weighty or trivial. His principles were æsthetic; he saw a philosophy in scenes, splendours, and spectacles, and was not easy till he could *account* for the pleasures his eyes received, and trace them to their causes. The art of dancing is not often, in our modern days, treated with so high and solemn a respect as we here find it. We ourselves think his theory about country-

dances a useful one. People will dance, and we believe that dancing might be made a higher and more estimable pleasure than it is in these polking, whirling days; Sir John Davies' 'Orchestra' elevates the performance into a high rank among supersensual things; it is therefore that in these serious pages we venture on a long and characteristic extract.

'The invitation was, of course, on my friend's account; but her majesty had condescended to direct that I, as his visitor, should be specially included. Lord Westport, young as he was, had become tolerably indifferent about such things; but to me such a scene was a novelty; and, on that account, it was settled we should go as early as was permissible. We *did* go: and I was not sorry to have had the gratification of witnessing [illegible] were but for once or twice) the splendours of a royal party. But, after the [illegible]ge of expectation was taken off, after the vague uncertainties of rustic ig[illegible]orance had given place to absolute realities, and the eye had become a little familiar with the flashing of the jewellery, I began to suffer under the constraints incident to a young person in such a situation—the situation, namely, of sedentary passiveness, where one is acted upon, but does not act. The music, in fact, was all that continued to delight me; and, but for *that*, I believe, I should have had some difficulty in avoiding so monstrous an indecorum as yawning. I revise this faulty expression, however, on the spot: not the music only it was, but the music combined with the dancing, that so deeply impressed me. The ball-room—a temporary erection, with something of the character of a pavilion about it—wore an elegant and festal air; the part allotted to the dancers being fenced off by a gilded lattice-work, and ornamented beautifully from the upper part with drooping festoons of flowers. But all the luxury that spoke to the eye merely, faded at once by the side of impassioned dancing, sustained by impassioned music. Of all the scenes which this world offers, none is to me so profoundly interesting, none (I say it deliberately) so affecting, as the spectacle of men and women floating through the mazes of a dance; under these conditions, however, that the music shall be rich, resonant, and festal, the execution of the dancers perfect, and the dance itself of a character to admit of free, fluent, and *continuous* motion. But this last condition will be sought vainly in the quadrilles, &c., which have for so many years banished the truly beautiful *country-dances* native to England. Those whose taste and sensibility were so defective as to substitute for the *beautiful* in dancing the merely [illegible], [illegible] are, in the end, to transfer the depravations of this art from the opera-house to the floors of private ball-rooms. The tendencies even then were in that direction; but as yet they had not attained their final stage: and the English country-dance was still in estimation at the courts of princes. Now, of all dances, this is the only one, as a class, of which you can truly describe the motion to be *continuous*, that is, not interrupted or fitful, but unfolding its [illegible]es with the equability of light in its diffusion through free space. And wherever the music happens to be not of a light, trivial character, but charged with the spirit of festal pleasure, and the performers in the dance so far skilful as to betray no awkwardness verging on the ludicrous, I believe that many people feel as I feel in such circumstances, viz. derive from the spectacle the very grandest form of passionate sadness which can belong to any spectacle whatsoever. *Sadness* is not the exact word; nor is there *any* word in any language (because none in the finest languages) which exactly expresses the state; since it is not a depressing, but a most elevating state to which I allude.'

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'From all which the reader may comprehend, if he should not happen experimentally to have felt, that a spectacle of young men and women, *flowing* through the mazes of an intricate dance under a full volume of music, taken with all the circumstantial adjuncts of such a scene in rich men's halls; the blaze of lights and jewels, the life, the motion, the sea-like undulation of heads, the interweaving of the figures, the ἀνακύκλωσις or self-revolving, both of the dance and the music, "never ending, still beginning," and the continual regeneration of order from a system of motions which for ever touch the very brink of confusion; that such a spectacle, with such circumstances, may happen to be capable of exciting and sustaining the very grandest emotions of philosophic melancholy to which the human spirit is open. The reason is, in part, that such a scene presents a sort of mask of human life, with its whole equipage of pomps and glories, its luxury of sight and sound, its hours of golden youth, and the interminable revolution of ages hurrying after ages, and one generation treading upon the flying footsteps of another; whilst all the while the overruling music attempers the mind to the spectacle, the subject to the object, the beholder to the vision.'—Vol. i. pp. 205, 206.

A chapter headed, 'The Nation of London,' is a curious specimen of our author's powers of digression. All people of any literary name are expected, if they see London for the first time after they have reached a thinking age, to have something pointed and emphatic to say about it. It must have been on this principle that Mr. De Quincey undertook his task of recording his first impressions; but finding that his impressions of London were really nothing at all—that in fact there was no opportunity of forming any—he uses the occasion for an indulgence in absolute discursiveness, not without passages of deep thought, nor unamusing as a specimen of our author's manner, so soon as we find that nothing is to be learnt on the subject proposed. Forty closely printed pages are spent on this nominal topic; the first, legitimately enough, on describing the roads and the traffic which lead up to this great centre; only these the boys did not see,—as, to avoid dust, they posted in bye-ways. However, they got into the Edgeware-road, and were locked once or twice in a stream of carriages. 'What had they come for?' he asks; 'to see London?' But for this task only three hours and a-half were allowed, as they had appointed to dine at Porters, the seat of Lord Westport's grandfather, that same evening. Here then is a tangent from which to fly off. The proportion of *time* to the things to be seen within that time, is suggestive of disproportions generally. Three times, our author tells us, he had had his taste, *i.e.* his sense of proportions, memorably outraged. It is of course in keeping with a mind like his, that these similar outrages should have as little relation as possible in all common judgments with the disproportion under question. The first instance, then, is when he saw a painting of Cape Horn, 'which seemed almost 'treasonably below its rank and office in this world—as the terminal abutment of our mightiest continent. How ashamed we

'should be if that Cape should ever be seen from the moon.' At this sally he glances off to relate how a party of Englishmen, ascending Mount Etna to see the sun rise, were so disgusted at the failure of splendour in this luminary, that they unanimously hissed him—with apologetic explanations from our author excusing the sun for his shortcomings. The next example is the final ceremonial valediction of Garrick from *his* stage, wherein professing to take leave of the world, he could only say farewell to an audience—the author branching off here into comparisons of the size of Drury Lane and the Circus Maximus. The last disproportion is this necessity of seeing London in three hours. The boys very sensibly decide upon either S. Paul's or Westminster Abbey, to be seen as a representative of London, and to determine the doubtful point, they toss up. *Heads* come up for the Abbey, but as each proves to have a preference for the other, they try again, and then *heads* were the Cathedral. But here that one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin occurs. The *fees* naturally offended these young sightseers: they were disgusted by applications for twopences. The subject is suggestive, and we say farewell to S. Paul's: for fees at churches and public buildings remind the author of other restrictions, more oppressive than fees, in public libraries, and these occupy three pages, enriched by a long note on the subject of copyright. It is time now to leave London, if their dinner appointment is to be kept. They arrive in time, and meet at dinner a Lord Morton, who had once been engaged to a lady who had had an extraordinary presentiment of her premature death; and the story is told at length. This Lord Morton distinguished our author by particular compliments on a certain prize copy of Latin verses, which had taken the third place, and was deserving in his lordship's opinion of the first. This kindness is acknowledged at great length, going into the question of the author's amount of value for intellectual distinction, and his just opinion, that with his degree of talent, he might have made a poet for his own day, but not the more genuine poet of all time; with some very just remarks on poetry in general. They return now to Eton, and attend the Royal ball, of which we have already given the description in part. It ends by a long digressive facetious account of the schoolboy language 'Ziph,' in which he and his companion conversed on this occasion, tracing it up to Nineveh, and involving an anecdote of fagging at Winchester, in which some boys were nightly compelled to traverse the sewers of that ancient city, to the injury of their health. Soon after the young travellers left Eton for Ireland, passing through Wales, the scenery of which is criticised with considerable discernment. There their tutor suddenly left them, under some unexplained pique. This, as a mystery, reminds Mr. De Quincey of other mysteries totally

irrelevant, of which he gives the history with comments and moral. Next the voyage is described, and at length they arrive at Dublin. This resumé, under the head of seeing 'London,' is given as a specimen of the intellectual effort exacted very frequently from Mr. De Quincey's readers. They can never be sure of their ground, nor can hope for a moment's repose on any one subject. The consequences on the attention are often fatal. The faculty of wandering is one very easily imparted by a writer to his readers, only we find ourselves preferring our own wanderings to our author's—and fairly come to a stand, though we are willing to acknowledge that he has a good deal to say that we should be glad to read, if only it could be set forth with something like method, not in a disorder which quite damps and palls the intellectual appetite. Yet this is a vain wish—a prosy discursive habit of mind, has a deeper root of evil than mere want of method. There is too often a love of display in it, a small vanity for parading stores of knowledge and memory, which deprives the mind of vigour and power to pursue a train of connected thought. One thing, such writers and talkers seem to have more at heart than the elucidation of their subject, and that is the exhibition of themselves. Yet these sound harsh judgments, when we find our author conscious of his own habit of mind, as in the following passage:—

'My last two chapters, very slenderly connected with Birmingham, are yet made to rise out of it; the one out of Birmingham's own relation to the topic concerned (viz. *Travelling*), and the other (viz. *my Brother*) out of its relation to all possible times in my earlier life, and therefore, why not to all possible places? *Anywhere* introduced, the chapter was partially out of its place; as well then to introduce it in Birmingham as elsewhere. Somewhat arbitrary episodes, therefore, are these two last chapters; yet still endurable as occurring in a work confessedly rambling, and whose very duty lies in the pleasant paths of vagrancy. Pretending only to amuse my reader, or pretending chiefly to *that*, however much I may have sought, or *shall* seek, to interest him occasionally through his profounder affections, I enjoy a privilege of neglecting harsher logic, and connecting the separate sections of these sketches, not by ropes and cables, but by threads of aërial gossamer.'—Vol. i. p. 350.

It is a mistake at any rate, if nothing worse, to suppose this deliberate habit of digression agreeable. The English mind is impatient at anything so unbusiness-like. We do not wonder, therefore, to find that Mr. De Quincey refers to America as the country to which he looks for sympathy, and which first appreciated, and called for a collection and reprint of his scattered papers. So frightful a prolixity penetrates and pervades the literature of that country, so audacious are the claims of its authors upon the time and attention of their readers, that by comparison Mr. De Quincey might seem reasonable in his demands. Practice may have made American readers so skilful in gathering the precious ore of thought from out of the débris amongst

which it lies scattered, that they may have become unconscious of the labour. Certain it is that our author's preface alludes to much flattering comment and criticism reaching him, through private means, from his transatlantic readers.

It might have been well to introduce earlier some dates into our sketch. They occur but seldom in the book itself; but we gather that our author was born about the year 1786; that his visit to Dublin took place in 1800, two years after the rebellion, of which he gives the history at length—as he heard it constantly described in general society there; that thirty-three years after this time the majority of these papers were written; and added to subsequently, first for the American edition, published probably in 1848, and finally for the present republication; at which time we conclude the author to be approaching his seventieth year. The 'English Opium Eater' appeared in the 'London Magazine' in 1821, before these wandering habits had gained their present mastery.

But to return now from the author, with his mature faults, to the gifted boy of fourteen or fifteen. No longer, however, a boy at that age, but prematurely a man: as he himself explains, on the occasion of the first dawn of love and reverence for the gentler sex first irradiating his mind. The history of this event is curious, as showing the morbid condition of a mind so unfortunately in advance of its age, and probably subject to an acute dread of ridicule. The scene is the deck of an Irish passage-boat, on which he and his young friend were returning from a visit to some noble family at a distance from Dublin. On board was a lady (with her family of daughters), described as an awful personage, a wit, a blue-stocking, a leader of ton in Dublin. Attracted by the intelligence that a young lord was on deck, she left her retirement in the cabin; and ascertaining from the French valet the title and condition of the two young travellers, she applied herself sedulously to flatter the lord, and to humble his companion, whom she chose to regard as a toad-eater. All this sounds improbable enough, but certain it is that the youth so took it, and struggled in vain against the fire of her wit and sarcasm, magnifying the incident into one of the turning points of his life.

'The narrow bounds of our deck made it not easy to get beyond talking-range; and thus it happened, that for two hours I stood the worst of this bright lady's feud. At length the tables turned. Two ladies appeared slowly ascending from the cabin, both in deepest mourning, but else as different in aspect as summer and winter. The elder was the Countess of Errol, then mourning an affliction which had laid her life desolate, and admitted of no human consolation.'

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'The younger lady, on the other hand, who was Lady Errol's sister,—— Heavens! what a spirit of joy and festal pleasure radiated from her eyes, her step, her voice, her manner! She was Irish, and the very impersona-

tion of innocent gaiety, such as we find oftener, perhaps, amongst Irish women than those of any other country. Mourning, I have said, she wore; from sisterly consideration, the deepest mourning; that sole expression there was about her of gloom or solemn feeling—

> "But all things else about her drawn
> From May-time and the cheerful dawn."

Odious blue-stocking of Belfast and Dublin! as some would call you, how I hated you up to that moment! half an hour after, how grateful I felt for the hostility which had procured me such an alliance. One minute sufficed to put the quick-witted young Irishwoman in possession of our little drama, and the several parts we were playing. To look was to understand, to wish was to execute, with this ardent child of nature. Like Spenser's Bradamant, with martial scorn she couched her lance on the side of the party suffering wrong. Her rank, as sister-in-law to the Constable of Scotland, gave her some advantage for winning a favourable audience; and throwing her ægis over me, she extended that benefit to myself. Road was now made perforce for me also; my replies were no longer stifled in noise and laughter. Personalities were banished; literature was extensively discussed; and that is a subject which, offering little room to argument, offers the widest to eloquent display. I had immense reading; vast command of words, which somewhat diminished as ideas and doubts multiplied; and, speaking no longer to a deaf audience, but to a generous and indulgent protectress, I threw out, as from a cornucopia, my illustrative details and recollections; trivial enough, perhaps, as I might now think, but the more intelligible to my present circle. It might seem too much the case of a storm in a slop-basin, if I were to spend any words upon the revolution which ensued. Suffice it, that I remained the lion of that company which had previously been most insultingly facetious at my expense; and the intellectual lady finally declared the air of the deck unpleasant.'—Vol. i. pp. 356—360.

The sensations consequent on this event he calls a 'revolution;' not that he fell in love with the lady herself, but henceforth with the ideal of womanhood.

'It fixed a great era of change in my life; and this new-born idea, being agreeable to the uniform tendencies of my own nature—that is, lofty and aspiring—it governed my life with great power, and with most salutary effects.'—Vol. i. p. 361.

Ladies were destined thus prematurely to influence his character, for on parting with Lord Westport, he now joined his sister at Laxton, the seat of Lord Carbery, on a visit to his mother's friend, Lady Carbery, a beautiful woman whom he had known from his infancy, while she was yet a girl of remarkable talent and of a character which made her, in his eyes, a worthy successor of Jeremy Taylor's patroness of that name. The fates were certainly against our young gentleman keeping his head, and if there are suspicions of vanity attached to later life, how can we wonder when the seeds were so industriously sown in his youth? His hostess' first act on his arrival, was to draw him aside and beg him, in the absence of her husband, to entertain and draw out her only other male guest, Lord Massey, who, with his wife, was on a visit there. The pair are designated Cymon and Iphigenia.

'And yet, for a service of that nature, could she reasonably rely upon me? Odious is the hobble-de-hoy to the mature young man. Generally speaking, that cannot be denied. But in me, though naturally the shyest of human beings, intense commerce with men of every rank, from the highest to the lowest, had availed to dissipate all arrears of *mauvaise honte;* I could talk upon innumerable subjects; and, as the readiest means of entering immediately upon business, I was fresh from Ireland—knew multitudes of those whom Lord Massey either knew or felt an interest in—and, at that happy period of life, found it easy, with three or four glasses of wine, to call back the golden spirits which were now so often deserting me. Renovated, meantime, by a hot bath, I was ready, at the second summons of the dinner-bell, and descended a new creature to the drawing-room. Here I was presented to the noble lord and his wife. Lord Massey was in figure shortish, but broad and stout, and wore an amiable expression of face. That I could execute Lady Carbery's commission, I felt satisfied at once. And, accordingly, when the ladies had retired from the dining-room, I found an easy opening, in various circumstances connected with the Laxton stables, for introducing naturally a picturesque and contrasting sketch of the stud and the stables at Westport.'—Vol. ii. p. 4.

To us, who cannot witness the grace which it is implied made all this easy and natural, it all sounds rather insufferable, though we doubt after all, whether he was quite the puppy his maturer self takes pride in depicting. Lord Massey must, however, have been a good-natured nobleman to endure the condescension of this young genius, so skilled in adapting his conversation to the level of his capacity.

'Horses had formed the natural and introductory topic of conversation between us. What we severally knew of Ireland, though in different quarters—what we both knew of Laxton, the barbaric splendour and the civilized splendour, had naturally an interest for us both in their contrasts (at one time so picturesque, at another so grotesque), which illuminated our separate recollections. But my quick instinct soon made me aware that a jealousy was gathering in Lord Massey's mind around such a topic, as though too ostentatiously levelled to his particular knowledge, or to his *animal* condition of taste. But easily I slipped off into another key. At Laxton, it happened that the library was excellent. Founded by whom, I never heard: but certainly, when used by a systematic reader, it showed itself to have been systematically collected; it stretched pretty equably through two centuries, viz. from about 1600 to 1800, and might perhaps amount to 17,000 volumes. Lord Massey was far from illiterate; and his interest in books was unaffected, if limited, and too often interrupted by defective knowledge.'—Vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

Lord Massey was shy, and, as an Irishman of defective education, was afraid of English society; his young friend's knowledge of the world thus combated these fears:—

'In vain I suggested to him that most of what passed amongst foreigners and amongst Irishmen for English *hauteur* was pure reserve, which, among all people that were bound over by the inevitable restraints of their rank (imposing, it must be remembered, jealous duties as well as privileges), was sure to become the operative feeling. I contended, that in the English situation there was no escaping this English reserve, except by great impudence and defective sensibility; and that, if examined, reserve was

the truest expression of respect towards those who were its objects.'—Vol. ii. p. 20.

But his cares were not confined to Lord Massey, Lady Carbery, gifted and highly educated, made him her tutor and adviser on the most momentous subjects.

'To cultivate religious knowledge in an intellectual way, she very well understood that she must study divinity. And she relied upon me for assisting her. Not that she made the mistake of ascribing to me any knowledge on that subject; but I could learn; and whatsoever I *had* learned, she knew, by experience, that I could make abundantly plain to her understanding. Wherever I did *not* understand, I was far too sincere to dissemble that fact. Where I *did* understand, I could enable *her* to understand.

'On the subject of theology, it was not easy indeed for anybody, man or boy, to be more ignorant than myself. My studies in that field had been none at all. Nor was this any subject for wonder, or (considering my age) for blame. In reality, to make theology into a captivating study for the young, it must be translated into a controversial theology.'

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'But, whilst I was ignorant of theology, as a direct and separate branch of study, the points are so many at which theology inosculates with philosophy, and with endless casual and random suggestions of the self-prompted reason, that inevitably from that same moment in which I began to find a motive for directing my thoughts to this new subject, I wanted not something to say that might have perplexed an antagonist, or (in default of such a vicious associate) that might have amused a friend, more especially a friend so predisposed to a high estimate of myself as Lady Carbery. Sometimes I did more than amuse her: I startled her, and I even startled myself, with distinctions that to this hour strike me as profoundly just, and as undeniably novel.'—Vol. ii. pp. 44—46.

We need not go into these difficulties, though they occupy many pages, leading us to a disquisition whether they were original or not: and though found in the books of philosophers, he satisfies himself justly that they were so in him, as he had had no opportunity of reading the said philosophers. The young instructor soon pronounced that nobody could be a theologian without a knowledge of Greek, which Lady Carbery must learn as a preliminary; and she very soon did attain, under his tutorship, a power of reading the Greek Testament.

No wonder that under such a stimulus he writes:—

'To teach is to learn: according to an old experience, it is the very best mode of learning—the surest and the shortest. And hence, perhaps, it may be, that in the middle ages by the monkish word *scholaris* was meant indifferently he that learned and he that taught. Never in any equal number of months had my understanding so much expanded as during this visit to Laxton. The incessant demand made upon me by Lady Carbery for solutions of the many difficulties besetting the study of divinity and the Greek Testament, or for such approximations to solutions as my resources would furnish, forced me into a preternatural tension of all the faculties applicable to that purpose. Lady Carbery insisted upon calling me her "Admirable Crichton;" and it was in vain that I demurred to this honorary title upon two grounds—first, as being one towards which I had no natural

aptitudes or predisposing advantages; secondly (which made her stare), as carrying with it no real or enviable distinction.'—Vol. ii. p. 58.

Can we wonder after this intoxicating life—after six months constant converse with grown men, during his visit to Ireland, frequently upon topics of the gravest order, and after this more delightful intercourse as the chosen friend and tutor of a distinguished lady, that a return to school-life should appear distasteful to our young hero? He remonstrated, reasoned, argued with his mother and his guardians in vain. It was decided that as his patrimony was small (150*l.* a-year), it would be desirable for him to try for one of the exhibitions of Manchester Grammar-school; and thither he went, with a reluctance, disdain and abhorrence of his position which may be imagined. An unlooked-for alleviation of its miseries, however, occurred at first. A strange course of events brought Lady Carbery herself to Manchester for six months, and an arrangement was made that he should spend every evening at her house. While this lasted, he found life endurable; but on her departure he put into practice his long-formed resolution, and ran away. Not that this independent step was thus vulgarly designated in the 'Opium Eater,' where it is to be found narrated at full length, and with a great deal of impressive language; but so it was. The miseries which followed upon his flight, hunger approaching to starvation, and which laid the seeds of that complaint for which he had recourse to opium as an alleviation; the strange companionship he formed in his sad rambles for weeks and months in London, moneyless, and almost houseless, are there related in a strain partly pathetic and partly arrogant, but which will not be forgotten by those who have ever read them, and which sound stranger still in contrast with the brilliant life which preceded it, and which was, in fact, its cause. Nothing could induce him to reveal his retreat to his guardians, lest he should be forced to return to the hated bondage of school; of which, however, it should be explained that he had nothing whatever to complain, except that it *was* school. At length—it is not explained how—his friends traced him. He went home to his mother, and after a short, and probably very uncomfortable stay, entered at Oxford; with which fact these sketches of personal history close.

The history of such a boyhood is both a literary curiosity and a lesson; as such we have given it at a length which may need some apology. The pleasures, the excitements, the experiences, the acquirements, the trials of a lifetime were all run through at seventeen. Can it be expected that after-life should be otherwise than a falling off in importance and effect from such a beginning? Had his powers been better husbanded, there might

have been material for high excellence, both moral and intellectual; and possibly a distinguished man may have been sacrificed to make a remarkable boy. Our only opportunity of judging of the maturity of this remarkable promise, is in the papers and essays which form this collection, which all betray a defective judgment, and more learning than wisdom, though there are nowhere wanting passages of original thought and keen observation: but all spoilt by a self-consciousness so obtrusive that it leads him perpetually to account in a foot-note for his choice of any word or phrase which seems to him peculiarly felicitous; and sometimes marked by a singular obliquity as to what is a fit subject for the pen, or worthy of a sensible man's consideration. Take, for example, his paper on 'The Last Days of Kant,' an infidel though a philosopher. Mr. De Quincey always professes himself a good Christian and good Churchman; we wish to dispute neither. Why, then, should he think it worth while to lay before English readers the puerile details of this unbeliever's life?—prefacing them with this pompous exordium:—

'I take for granted, that all people of education still acknowledge some interest in the personal history of Immanuel Kant, however little their taste, or their opportunities, may have brought them acquainted with the history of Kant's philosophical opinions. A great man, though in an unpopular path, must always be an object of liberal curiosity; to suppose a reader thoroughly indifferent to Kant, is to suppose him thoroughly unintellectual; and, therefore, though he should happen not to regard Kant with interest, it would still be among the fictions of courtesy to presume that he did.'—Vol. iii. p. 99.

We dare to profess, on the part of most of our readers, very little interest in Kant, but were it otherwise our interest would not extend to the miserable details, which are really all that Mr. De Quincey has gathered from the memorials of his servile German disciples: entertaining us—his English Christian readers—with the mode in which the old man wrapped himself up in his bed-clothes—his objection to garters, and expedients for his dispensing with these articles—his impatience for his coffee, and his views on the subject of strong beer.

Another paper, which appeared years ago in 'Blackwood,' is open to the same charge. He calls it a 'foam bubble of gaiety,' and is evidently proud of it by this republication, and appended defence; which, by the way, characteristically branches off into the history of the great Radcliffe highway murder. The point lies in treating murder as a joke. It is a mock lecture on murder, as one of the fine arts, sympathising of course with the murderer, and betraying a morbid fascination with the subject; with little more humour than is found in the ghastly mirth of some of the comic songs of the last century, which placed all their hopes of raising a laugh in the straightfor-

ward relation of some fatal casualty. In a postscript the author expresses his indignation at readers of a 'saturnine and gloomy class, without any genial sympathy whatever,' who have resented this joke. He justifies himself by a sally of Swift's, who on one occasion proposed turning to account the supernumerary infants of the three kingdoms, by cooking and eating them. Now first, Swift is not a safe man to follow; and again, an idea may be so forcibly displaced from its ordinary aspect, that the horror of it may be lost—never faced at all—in the novelty. But if Swift had expanded his suggestion into full detail of the vast infanticide necessary to carry out his proposal, and made us dwell upon all the inevitable processes, illustrating them by several individual cases—the joke would have failed, nor would there have been any lack of those reproaches, which he pleads were never showered 'on this dignitary of the supreme Irish Church.' Mr. De Quincey in one place calls hilarity *vulgar*, which shows how little real comprehension of it he possesses. He certainly is seldom lively with any grace, for where his gaiety is open to no other charge, it is forced and unnatural. Witness his narrative of the adventures of a 'Spanish military nun,' a true story, the facts of which are absolutely smothered in pleasantry and lively allusion:—

'She was a *handy* girl. She could turn her hand to anything. Was there ever a girl in this world but herself that cheated and snapped her fingers at that awful Inquisition, which brooded over the convents of Spain? that did this without collusion from outside, trusting to nobody but herself, and what beside? to one needle, two skeins of thread, and a bad pair of scissors! For, that the scissors were bad, though Kate does not say so in her memoirs, I know by an *à priori* argument; viz. because *all* scissors were bad in the year 1607. Now, say all decent logicians, from a universal to a particular *valet consequentia*, the right of inference is good. *All* scissors were bad; *ergo*, *some* scissors were bad.'—Vol. iv. p. 9.

Again, where this same heroine is sinking from weakness, and is restored by stimulants, we have the plain fact recorded with all this wit as an introduction:—

'What is wanted just now for Kate, supposing Kate herself to be wanted by this world, is, that this world would be kind enough to send her a little brandy before it is too late. The simple truth was, and a truth which I have known to take place in more ladies than Kate, who died, or did *not* die, accordingly as they had, or had not, an adviser, like myself, capable of giving an opinion equal to Captain Bunsby's on this point, viz. whether the jewelly star of life had descended too far down the arch towards setting, for any chance of reascending by *spontaneous* effort. The fire was still burning in secret, but needed perhaps to be rekindled by patent artificial breath. It lingered and *might* linger, but apparently would never culminate again without some stimulus from earthly vineyards.'—Vol. iv. p. 57.—*Miscellanies, chiefly narrative.*

To which is appended a very long note of facetious attack on temperance societies, Dr. Darwin, and doctors in general, who

have let their patients die for want of brandy, with allusions to the Princess Charlotte, the unhappy end of her physician, and an anecdote told the author by Southey.

But leaving these general subjects, which have nothing personally to do with our author, except as he forcibly connects himself with them, we will return to the recollections, which form the true interest of these volumes. Though the objects of these reminiscences have had more than their share of such notices from the world of writers, and have already supplied innumerable 'recollections,' yet every fresh narrative of personal intercourse with Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge, will be entered upon with curiosity and interest. Mr. De Quincey's youthful enthusiasm for the first and last of this trio is creditable to his early discernment. He regards the publication of Wordsworth's 'Lyrical Ballads,' and Coleridge's 'The Ancient Mariner,' which came out in the same volume, when he was yet but thirteen or fourteen, as a great event in unfolding his own mind. These poems were to him a 'ray of a new morning,' a 'revelation of untrodden worlds.' Subsequently, when an Oxford student, and his own master, he made the most determined resolutions to see Coleridge. He had even the idea of following him to Malta on this Quixotic errand; but fortunately that great thinker's timely return to England enabled him to indulge this longing at a more reasonable cost of time and money. Coleridge, however, could never stand the test of close personal contact with his admirer. Mr. De Quincey's first approach to intercourse was distinguished by the detection of a plagiarism. The detection of plagiarisms is one of our author's hobbies, as, perhaps, it is with all great miscellaneous readers; it is one mode of bringing their labours to bear upon their generation. It fell out thus: Coleridge chanced not to be in when this visit was made; but his host hospitably entertained our young pilgrim; and, in the course of conversation, relieved his mind of certain misgivings on the subject of the 'revolting dogma of Pythagoras about beans,' on which Coleridge had been theorising in a manner to excite suspicion. Was his view original? Mr. De Quincey was obliged to witness against him; he knew chapter and verse in the German author who had first offered the solution. The subject is so attractive, that though on the threshold of the longed-for introduction, he detains his readers many pages with instances of this peculiar trait of the philosopher's mind. The occupation is not a dignified one; and, in most cases, the detector of plagiarisms suffers more than his victim in the estimation of the reader. Not that it should be so; but, after all, no man's fame ever stood on what he borrows from other. He would be the same man (except for the suspicion cast on his honesty) in everybody's estimation, if he had not

taken the idea, or phrase, or even more voluminous theft, with which he is charged; and this conviction is so strong in the general mind, that men are loth to attribute the act to moral turpitude even where completely proved, but to some more innocent perversity of the memory or judgment; and in most cases the charge is hissed off. That it was thus even in Mr. De Quincey's case we gather from a certain soreness of tone. But Coleridge's morals of action stand on lower grounds than any amount of convinced plagiarism can place him. So we learn from every report of him that ever reached us from any one qualified to judge, and who had opportunity of measuring his magnificent talk with what good talking *should* always result in. Lord Egremont's saying is quoted,—'He talks very much like an angel, and does nothing at all.' However, Coleridge was not always content with doing nothing; and Mr. De Quincey reports language towards his wife — an injured and harmless woman—which no gentleman in the truest sense of the word could have used, especially in speaking of her to a common acquaintance,—and Mr. De Quincey does not profess to be more.

'Coleridge, besides, assured me that his marriage was not his own deliberate act, but was in a manner forced upon his sense of honour by the scrupulous Southey, who insisted that he had gone too far in his attentions to Miss Fricker, for any honourable retreat. On the other hand, a neutral spectator of the parties protested to me, that, if ever in his life he had seen a man under deep fascination, and what he would have called desperately in love, Coleridge, in relation to Miss F., was that man.'—Vol. ii. p. 167.

And thus he excused himself for first slighting, and then deserting his wife. Bearing such traits as these in mind, we grow dead to the reports of his mighty eloquence, which was always ready to overflow upon the first comer. Mr. De Quincey having traced him to his actual place of sojourn, accosts him in the street, and within five minutes we read,—

'That point being settled, Coleridge, like some great river, the Orellana, or the St. Lawrence, that, having been checked and fretted by rocks or thwarting islands, suddenly recovers its volume of waters and its mighty music, swept at once, as if returning to his natural business, into a continuous strain of eloquent dissertation, certainly the most novel, the most finely illustrated, and traversing the most spacious fields of thought, by transitions the most just and logical that it was possible to conceive. What I mean by saying that his transitions were "just," is by way of contradistinction to that mode of conversation which courts variety through links of *verbal* connexions. Coleridge, to many people, and often I have heard the complaint, seemed to wander; and he seemed then to wander the most when, in fact, his resistance to the wandering instinct was greatest—viz. when the compass and huge circuit, by which his illustrations moved, travelled farthest into remote regions before they began to revolve. Long before this coming round commenced, most people had lost him, and naturally enough supposed that he had lost himself. They continued to admire the separate beauty of the thoughts, but did not see their relations

to the dominant theme. Had the conversation been thrown upon paper, it might have been easy to trace the continuity of the links.'

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'I can assert, upon my long and intimate knowledge of Coleridge's mind, that logic the most severe was as inalienable from his modes of thinking, as grammar from his language.'—Vol. ii. pp. 158—160.

We need not dwell, however, upon this lengthened sketch. Since it was written fuller memorials have appeared, putting the reader in possession of more facts. The same may be said of Wordsworth, and yet there are descriptions of him in his domestic aspect which are still well worth reading, and the picture of his sister conveys, we believe, a fuller idea of that very interesting woman than can be acquired elsewhere. The paper upon Wordsworth is prefaced by a mention of the author's singular boyish awe and veneration of this great poet: a sensation formed entirely on his own estimate of his poetry, and so overpowering that having, while a very young man, actually travelled to Westmoreland for the purpose of being introduced to him, (not without the encouragement of an expressed wish on Wordsworth's part some time previously,) he actually lost courage on coming in sight of the poet's white cottage, and turned back again. His actual introduction took place some years later, on occasion of his escorting Mrs. Coleridge and her children to Keswick, taking Grasmere by the way. His welcome, then, was a kind and cordial one, and the whole scene was in harmony with his raised expectations. Indeed, in all the reports of Wordsworth, though there may be mortifying hints or more express notices of petty foibles to mar the completeness of the picture, yet he does, as a whole, present a picture of what a poet, and a poet's life, ought to be, such as cannot be matched elsewhere. And to this completeness the ladies of his family mainly contribute; admirable accessories they are, gentle, serene satellites: content to set him forth as the central object; to be known only through him; to make their whole being minister to him. This office we are accustomed to think natural in a wife, but the sister's added devotion is a peculiar feature in this model home. Nor can it be guessed to what extent her influence may have told on the development and harmonising of his highest intellectual gifts.

After a hasty greeting from the poet, who had to pass on to receive his other guests, our author gives his introduction to Mrs. and Miss Wordsworth, which we must abridge. He had entered the cottage parlour:—

'From the exuberant luxuriance of the vegetation around it, and from the dark hue of the wainscoting, this window, though tolerably large, did not furnish a very powerful light to one who entered from the open air. However, I saw sufficiently to be aware of two ladies just entering the room through a doorway opening upon a little staircase. The foremost, a

tallish young woman, with the most winning expression of benignity upon her features, advanced to me, presenting her hand with so frank an air, that all embarrassment must have fled in a moment, before the native goodness of her manner. This was Mrs. Wordsworth, cousin of the poet; and, for the last five years or more, his wife. She was now mother of two children, a son and a daughter; and she furnished a remarkable proof how possible it is for a woman neither handsome nor even comely, according to the rigour of criticism—nay, generally pronounced very plain—to exercise all the practical fascination of beauty, through the mere compensatory charms of sweetness all but angelic, of simplicity the most entire, womanly self-respect and purity of heart speaking through all her looks, acts, and movements. *Words*, I was going to have added; but her words were few. In reality, she talked so little, that Mr. Slave-Trade Clarkson used to allege against her, that she could only say "*God bless you!*" Certainly, her intellect was not of an active order; but, in a quiescent, reposing, meditative way, she appeared always to have a genial enjoyment from her own thoughts.'

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'In complexion she was fair, and there was something peculiarly pleasing even in this accident of the skin, for it was accompanied by an animated expression of health, a blessing which, in fact, she possessed uninterruptedly. Her eyes, the reader may already know, were

> "Like stars of twilight fair;
> Like twilight, too, her dark brown hair;
> But all things else about her drawn
> From May-time and the cheerful dawn."

Yet strange it is to tell that, in these eyes of vesper gentleness, there was a considerable obliquity of vision; and much beyond that slight obliquity which is often supposed to be an attractive foible in the countenance: this *ought* to have been displeasing or repulsive; yet, in fact, it was not. Indeed, all faults, had they been ten times more and greater, would have been neutralised by that supreme expression of her features, to the unity of which every lineament in the fixed parts, and every undulation in the moving parts of her countenance, concurred—viz. a sunny benignity—a radiant graciousness—such as in this world I never saw surpassed.'—Vol. ii. pp. 236—238.

Then follows the sister, in striking and happy contrast. It should be explained that the age of both ladies at this time was about twenty-eight.

'Immediately behind her moved a lady, shorter, slighter, and perhaps, in all other respects, as different from her in personal characteristics, as could have been wished for the most effective contrast. "Her face was of Egyptian brown;" rarely, in a woman of English birth, had I seen a more determinate gipsy tan. Her eyes were not soft, as Mrs. Wordsworth's, nor were they fierce or bold; but they were wild and startling, and hurried in their motion. Her manner was warm and even ardent; her sensibility seemed constitutionally deep; and some subtle fire of impassioned intellect apparently burned within her, which, being alternately pushed forward into a conspicuous expression by the irrepressible instincts of her temperament, and then immediately checked, in obedience to the decorum of her sex and age, and her maidenly condition, gave to her whole demeanour, and to her conversation, an air of embarrassment, and even of self-conflict, that was almost distressing to witness. Even her very utterance and enunciation often suffered in point of clearness and steadiness, from the

agitation of her excessive organic sensibility. At times, the self-counteraction and self-baffling of her feelings caused her even to stammer, and so determinately to stammer, that a stranger who should have seen her and quitted her in that state of feeling, would have certainly set her down for one plagued with that infirmity of speech, as distressingly as Charles Lamb himself. This was Miss Wordsworth, the only sister of the poet—his "Dorothy;" who naturally owed so much to the lifelong intercourse with her great brother in his most solitary and sequestered years; but, on the other hand, to whom he has acknowledged obligations of the profoundest nature; and, in particular, this mighty one, through which we also, the admirers and the worshippers of this great poet, are become equally her debtors—that, whereas the intellect of Wordsworth was, by its original tendency, too stern, too austere, too much enamoured of an ascetic harsh sublimity, she it was—the lady who paced by his side continually through sylvan and mountain tracks, in Highland glens, and in the dim recesses of German charcoal-burners—that first *couched* his eye to the sense of beauty, humanised him by the gentler charities, and engrafted, with her delicate female touch, those graces upon the ruder growths of his nature, which have since clothed the forest of his genius with a foliage corresponding in loveliness and beauty to the strength of its boughs and the massiness of its trunks. The greatest deduction from Miss Wordsworth's attractions, and from the exceeding interest which surrounded her in right of her character, of her history, and of the relation which she fulfilled towards her brother, was the glancing quickness of her motions, and other circumstances in her deportment (such as her stooping attitude when walking), which gave an ungraceful, and even an unsexual character to her appearance when out-of-doors. She did not cultivate the graces which preside over the person and its carriage. But, on the other hand, she was a person of very remarkable endowments intellectually; and, in addition to the other great services which she rendered to her brother, this I may mention, as greater than all the rest, and it was one which equally operated to the benefit of every casual companion in a walk—viz. the exceeding sympathy, always ready and always profound, by which she made all that one could tell her, all that one could describe, all that one could quote from a foreign author, reverberate, as it were, *à plusieurs reprises*, to one's own feelings, by the manifest impression it made upon *hers*. The pulses of light are not more quick or more inevitable in their flow and undulation, than were the answering and echoing movements of her sympathising attention. Her knowledge of literature was irregular, and thoroughly unsystematic. She was content to be ignorant of many things; but what she knew and had really mastered, lay where it could not be disturbed—in the temple of her own most fervid heart.'—Vol. ii. pp. 238—240.

These are handsome, liberal-minded portraits, which sound both true and hearty. Perhaps it is not in the nature of things that the object of his supreme youthful devotion, the poet himself, should come off as well,—that he should not have to pay for having raised a class of feelings which our middle age is apt to scrutinize. The mature mind is prone to resent its youthful idolatries; and there follows a reaction. Nor could any human being have come up to Mr. De Quincey's ideal. As it is, we find him in his personal sketch instantly falling foul of Wordsworth's *legs;*—they were useful legs but certainly not ornamental; he ought to have had an extra pair for dress occasions: the ladies

found fault with them; a sculptor would have disapproved of their contour. Now all this about the legs is probably true, but one does not quite see why it should be made so prominent. But the worst part was his bust; he was narrow about the shoulders, and stooped, which gave an effect of 'meanness,' when placed in juxtaposition with a figure of statuesque build. This, by the way, we should plead is scarcely a fair test. One tall man in a company has always the unhappy power of making everybody around him look ill-shaped and dwarfish; he alters the standard of our eye, and forces odious comparisons. It was hardly fair, we think, in the following passage, to quote the frank sister's saying, and to make her participate in the offensive charge of 'meanness':—

'Once on a summer evening, walking in the Vale of Langdale with Wordsworth, his sister, and Mr. J——, a native Westmoreland clergyman, I remember that Miss Wordsworth was positively mortified by the peculiar illustration which settled upon this defective conformation. Mr. J——, a fine towering figure, six feet high, massy and columnar in his proportions, happened to be walking, a little in advance, with Wordsworth; Miss Wordsworth and myself being in the rear; and from the nature of the conversation which then prevailed in our front rank, something or other about money, devises, buying and selling, we of the rear-guard thought it requisite to preserve this arrangement for a space of three miles or more; during which time, at intervals, Miss Wordsworth would exclaim, in a tone of vexation, "Is it possible?—can that be William? How very mean he looks!" And she did not conceal a mortification that seemed really painful, until I, for my part, could not forbear laughing outright at the serious interest which she carried into this trifle. She was, however, right, as regarded the mere visual judgment. Wordsworth's figure, with all its defects, was brought into powerful relief by one which had been cast in a more square and massy mould; and in such a case it impressed a spectator with a sense of absolute meanness, more especially when viewed from behind, and not counteracted by his countenance; and yet Wordsworth was of a good height (five feet ten), and not a slender man; on the contrary, by the side of Southey, his limbs looked thick, almost in a disproportionate degree. But the total effect of Wordsworth's person was always worst in a state of motion. Meantime, his face—that was one which would have made amends for greater defects of figure. Many such, and finer, I have seen amongst the portraits of Titian, and, in a later period, amongst those of Vandyke, from the great era of Charles I., as also from the court of Elizabeth and of Charles II., but none which has more impressed me in my own time.'—Vol. ii. pp. 243, 244.

It is fortunate for Wordsworth's physiognomy that Mr. De Quincey, a book fancier, should have possessed a unique copy of Milton, with a rare portrait; the pleasure of discovering a striking likeness between these two poets, has preserved the face from such dishonours as the figure has sustained. Something of the same splenetic tone, which characterises remarks eulogistic in the main, is to be observed in other notices of this great poet. He suspects him of not having been an amiable boy. He will

not allow that he can ever have been a lover, in any passionate sense of the word: 'to lie at a woman's feet, to make her his idol, to worship her many caprices, and to adore the most unreasonable of her frowns'—these things were impossible to Wordsworth, and being so, never, in any emphatic sense, he somewhat arbitrarily asserts, could he have been a lover. Also, he most unnecessarily records that the poet was once 'inebriated at Cambridge;' though the word, from subsequent explanation, proves too strong a one for the occasion; and he charges him besides with having been a dandy, though 'that must have been a long time ago.' The extraordinary prosperity of Wordsworth's career seems also to have been some trial to our author. He does not say that the poet did anything unworthy to gain this prosperity; nothing of the kind; but fortune favoured him—he never was in straits or difficulties, and, exactly as he needed some addition to his means, it fell unsought for to his hands. So that we are assured:—

'So true it is, that still, as Wordsworth needed a place or a fortune, the holder of that place or fortune was immediately served with a summons to surrender it: so certainly was this impressed upon my belief, as one of the blind necessities, making up the prosperity and fixed destiny of Wordsworth, that, for myself, had I happened to know of any peculiar adaptation in an estate or office of mine to an existing need of Wordsworth's, forthwith, and with the speed of a man running for his life, I would have laid it down at his feet. "Take it," I should have said; "take it, or in three weeks I shall be a dead man."'—Vol. ii. pp. 303, 304.

This prosperity, however, came by degrees; it was, we must suppose, in its humble beginnings when this acquaintance was first formed; nor did these modifications intrude themselves into the enthusiasm of Wordsworth's admirer, even upon a more composed observation, till time had given him opportunities for criticism, and familiarity had produced some of its inevitable fruits. It is not to be expected that great men should sustain, in familiar intercourse, the hopes and expectations their works raise; and it is not amiss that this truth should be known, for all truth is useful; but still there is something in the tone of these memorials that jars on us. It is pleasant then to return to a picture of unalloyed first impressions; to find how perfectly the poet's home must have harmonised with expectations formed upon the lofty philosophic simplicity of his professed views of life:—

'About four o'clock it might be when we arrived. At that hour, in November, the daylight soon declined; and, in an hour and a half, we were all collected about the tea-table. This, with the Wordsworths, under the simple rustic system of habits which they cherished then, and for twenty years after, was the most delightful meal in the day; just as dinner is in great cities, and for the same reason—because it was prolonged into a meal of leisure and conversation. That night I found myself, about eleven at

night, in a pretty bed-room, about fourteen feet by twelve. Much I feared that this might turn out the best room in the house; and it illustrates the hospitality of my new friends, to mention that it was. Early in the morning I was awakened by a little voice, issuing from a little cottage bed in an opposite corner, soliloquising in a low tone. I soon recognised the words, "suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried;" and the voice I easily conjectured to be that of the eldest amongst Wordsworth's children, a son, and at that time about three years old. He was a remarkably fine boy in strength and size, promising (which has in fact been realized) a more powerful person, physically, than that of his father. Miss Wordsworth I found making breakfast in the little sitting-room. No urn was there; no glittering breakfast service; a kettle boiled upon the fire, and everything was in harmony with these unpretending arrangements. I rarely had seen so humble a *ménage:* and contrasting the dignity of the man with this honourable poverty, and this courageous avowal of it, his utter absence of all effort to disguise the simple truth of the case, I felt my admiration increased. This, thought I to myself, is indeed, in his own words,

"Plain living, and high thinking."

This is, indeed, to reserve the humility and the parsimonies of life for its bodily enjoyments, and to apply its lavishness and its luxury to its enjoyments of the intellect.'—Vol. ii. pp. 316, 317.

But we fear to have exceeded our limits, and must draw to a close. If some spots of envy at others' greatness may seem here and there to disfigure these sketches of more fortunate and distinguished contemporaries, not a small extenuation lies in the fact of that prematurity of intellect which our author's personal recollections make so conspicuous. Convictions of power and superiority are imbibed by a child thus early gifted, at an age when impressions are deepest, and cannot fail to influence the future character; when lofty expectations of achieving a name and doing great things come as realities rather than hopes. Bitter must be the awakening to the fact, that this early promise is not being fulfilled, that others are passing him in the race, that time is slipping by, and, instead of conscious progress, the mind is visited by 'phantoms of lost power, sudden intimations, and shadowy restorations of forgotten feelings,'—to quote our author's words,—all telling of a past glorious time and hopes never to be realized. It is as the history of a mind that this work is valuable, nor do all its faults and failings detract from its value, in this point of view, nor deprive it of a most instructive moral.

ART. V.—*First Report of the Cathedral Commissioners: Replies from the Heads of Houses and Professors at Oxford and Cambridge.* 1854.

ATTENTION is now fairly roused to the subject of the education of the clergy of our Church. Since the commencement of this year, both Universities have been called upon to express their judgment upon plans for improving the theological training of their graduates. The production of these plans is an acknowledgment that the authorities are not satisfied with the existing state of Oxford and Cambridge in this particular; their rejection indicates only that the Convocation at each University were dissatisfied with the particular plans proposed. Since these measures were rejected, the Bishop of Oxford has opened the College at Cuddesden under circumstances which seem to augur a large measure of success. The Cathedral Commissioners have published a Report, from which it appears that they have turned their attention to the advantages of multiplying and reinforcing Colleges such as at present exist at Wells and Chichester. The arguments against such a scheme are boldly and clearly laid down in this same Report, in the remarks of the Heads of Houses and Divinity Professors of both Universities; and the country at large, or rather that part of it which is not led away by the names, but looks to the arguments arranged on either side, is in a better position to discuss and decide upon the question—whether the Universities are adapted to complete the training of all their graduates, or whether this must be wholly or in part handed over to other and differently constituted bodies?

Our readers are aware of the deep sympathy which, from time to time, we have expressed in the success of the Diocesan Theological Colleges. At the risk, however, of repeating some little of that which has already appeared in our pages, we buckle ourselves again to the discussion.

We have said that the Heads of Houses and Divinity Professors of both Universities have generally declared against the institution of Colleges attached to any of our cathedrals. Happily this is not without exception. Three names of note, at least, are appended to some thoughtful remarks on the necessity of such institutions. These names are Dr. Pusey, Dr. Richards, and

Dr. Mill. The letter of the venerated Professor of Hebrew is clear and convincing; and as we have derived no small strengthening of our opinions from its perusal, we shall not hesitate to make free use of it in our subjoined remarks.

Now, let us begin with a survey of the chief objections raised by the University authorities against these Colleges. They may be divided into two classes: (1) such as affect the character of the instruction conveyed; (2) such as bear upon the discipline of the students. Some of the former we will detail at length, that our readers may know the precise difficulties which raise the opposition of the Theological Professors.

1. Dr. Heurtley writes that the standard of instruction in these bodies would be inferior to that in the Universities; the larger bodies naturally drawing to themselves the more able instructors.

2. He adds, 'They would have a tendency to foster parties 'in the Church, according to the influence which might happen 'to predominate in them.'

3. And thus the effect would be, 'a lowered tone of theology, and a narrowed spirit.'

Similar objections are found elsewhere. Dr. Jacobson modifies the last. He fears,—

4. If these Colleges are encouraged, we shall have not 'clergy 'of the Church of England for all our dioceses, but clergy of 'school A in diocese A, and of school B in diocese B.'

5. Dr. Ogilvie begs that the course of study of all candidates for Holy Orders may be uniform.

6. Dr. Jenkyns, the late Master of Balliol, and Dr. Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, see an objection in the concentration of work in the hands of one or two officers of a Cathedral College. They hold that Professors of distinct branches of theology will be by far the most proficient in their several branches.

7. The late Dr. Harington thought that the privacy of the instruction conveyed in these institutions might serve as a veil for unsound teaching.

8. Another Head of a House intimates that one security for 'the *wholesomeness* and *uniformity* of its religious teaching,' which the University of Oxford possesses, lies in the fact that 'most of 'its Professors are appointed by the *Crown* and by *large* bodies 'of electors.'

We have thus grouped together all the objections which relate to the character of the instruction likely to be conveyed in these Colleges, and which compare it unfavourably with that which the Universities afford. We must, however, make some remarks that will assist us in our subsequent discussion.

In the introduction to Mr. Ruskin's 'Seven Lamps of Archi-

tecture,' a saying of Turner's is quoted, 'Know what you have to do, and do it;' and the clever, though somewhat eccentric writer, states that failure is more frequently to be attributed to a confused understanding of the thing to be done, than to insufficiency of means or impatience of labour. It would seem somewhat presumptuous in us to tax the *élite* of the Universities with confusion of mind as to the work they are anxious to monopolise; but how else can we escape the difficulty? They have failed in their attempts at clerical education, that is notorious; the country perceives it, their own officers acknowledge it: yet their means are amply sufficient for the work—at least they say so; and we would not charge them with unwillingness to toil in the cause they have undertaken. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion, that the Universities have never as yet had clearly before them a sketch of the work they have aimed to execute; or if they have gone so far, they have not duly considered the material they have to work upon, nor how far it can be moulded or shaped by the contrivances they are prepared to apply.

We will consider Dr. Ogilvie's statement first. He says, the course of study should be uniform; that is, all the graduates of the University should pass through the same course, should attend the same lectures of the same Professors, and pass the same examinations; and then he seems to hope that we should have uniformity of teaching in the twelve thousand pulpits of the country. It would be very desirable to have such a result; but we do not see how the 'imposing of a uniform system' on candidates for Holy Orders will produce it. For let us take a glance round the lecture-room of the Professor—There is the 'double first,' and there is the unhappy man who was 'plucked' last term; a 'senior wrangler,' and the lowest of the 'extracts;' the accomplished classic and the humblest tyro to whom the University can grant a degree. These pupils the Professor sees before him, and he must adapt his lectures to them. Is he lecturing on Church history, how can he proceed? If he details the dry facts as they occurred, in the bare syllabus which alone can catch the attention of the inferior members of his class, how utterly wasted will his efforts be on the disgusted and *ennuyé* scholar! If he assumes a knowledge of the facts, and in masterly style traces the connexion of event with event, and draws from the stores of the past the lessons of present and eternal value, how completely will the hours of the ignorant hearer be wasted!—the hours which are to him as precious as they are to his more gifted neighbour. And will it not be the same in lectures on the study of Holy Scripture? How is it possible that Dr. Hawkins can adapt his expositions to the mass

of students? He will either fly over the heads of two-thirds of his class, or disgust and waste the time of the remainder. In the Michaelmas term of 1854, he gave a course of lectures on the Mystical Sense of Scripture; this course occupied the term. Would it not be the height of cruelty for the Bishops or the University to require the attendance at such lectures of the student who doubts whether he can pass an average ordination examination?

And then, 'uniformity of teaching' seems to imply that the students are as similar in their moral strength and spiritual energy, as in attainments and mental capacity. Dr. Ogilvie allows this; but he takes no account of it. He is not indeed so cruel as his colleague, the Regius Professor, Dr. Jacobson, who would shut out from Holy Orders entirely all those who, feeling themselves unequal to the temptations of the University, desire, under the discipline of a Diocesan College, to form anew habits of steadiness and self-restraint in preparation for their holy work. 'Those who are looking forward to guide and re-'claim others, can hardly (he says) be thought fit for their office, 'if they have not tact to drop a bad acquaintance, or strength of 'mind to alter an unworthy practice.' Yet even S. Paul retired for three years into the wilderness to prepare himself for his work, before he ventured to return to that great city, in which his name was coupled with earlier associations; and in that city he never laboured.

Surely then we may hold it as a fact, that the timid and the strong, the novice and the confirmed Christain, need different treatments; that if two students are equally anxious to devote themselves to their Master's work—the one whose desire has grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength, the other in whom it has been comparatively recently planted; the two students may and should be treated differently. But 'we' (with one voice say the Theological Professors) 'would mix them 'together in our class-room, make them all go through the same 'uniform course: and see how well they will all turn out!' We shall avoid 'peculiarities of doctrine, and of ritual observance;' we shall have 'uniformity of opinion and of feeling;' neither 'low' nor 'high church' will be heard of again, the low will be pulled up and the high will be cut down, all to the one standard of the Regius Professor of Divinity; and, of course, each and every Professor and his successors to the end of time, *must be* exactly like the present, *because* the Professors are mainly (at Oxford, happily not at Cambridge,) appointed by the Crown!

We must not pause, for there is much more to attract our notice. But will Dr. Ogilvie permit us to ask him, what he thinks men are made of? Are their minds and feelings of the

consistency of potters' clay when it is put on the wheel, as he may have seen it at Burslem or Worcester? We have heard much of materialism of late; is it lurking in high places of the University of Oxford? The Professor speaks of uniformity of teaching—he aims at uniformity of sentiment. Now what does uniformity imply? It implies absence of all life; for where there is life there is motion and growth. It implies that it is matter on which you act, and matter by which you act. The only process which we can think of as analogous to that which was in Dr. Ogilvie's thoughts, is one that we recently saw in the manufacturing districts. Quantities of cloth, somewhat stained and discoloured, were passed through bleaching vats, and came out cleaned and whitened. This represents the first set of lectures of the Professors, whereby all preconceived opinions of all their auditors are washed out, 'discharged,' and their minds presented, as Locke's sheets of paper, 'to receive all future impressions.' Then the calico is passed over one roller, and receives a 'brown,' under another, and receives some 'green,' and so on and on, yard after yard, and piece after piece, until it comes out, all beautiful, all harmonious, all uniform; but then it is lifeless, as lifeless as the Professor's students would be, if his process could be brought to produce upon them the effect which he desires.

The Church does not want machine-products, nor yet machines. She wants men, living, active, loving men. With these Dr. Ogilvie is not prepared to supply her. The mere listening to sound and sober views of theology, will no more make good clergymen, than the mere listening to good sermons will make good Christians.

But if the Professor would regard his students, not as inanimate clay, but as living branches of the great Vine, he must allow that the course of training may differ to which each branch is subjected. We much doubt whether he has duly considered what the object of this training should be. To us he seems to have lost sight of the end in the means. The trainer of the vine branches will strive that each branch should bear all the fruit of which it is capable. He will modify his treatment according to circumstances. Not so the Professors and Heads of Houses at Oxford and Cambridge. They are anxious to keep up the hold which the Universities have on the country. For this they are anxious to fill their lecture-rooms. They know they ought to have good attendances, and are surprised that they have not. They complain that the Bishops do not enforce the regulations which the University has made. Would it not be better if they looked to themselves and to their work? In o quarter can there be any desire to wrest from them the

training of the Clergy; but in no quarter, we trust, will there lurk the feeling that this training must be exacted under pains and penalties. Let the Bishops of our Church make their examinations more comprehensive, and more severe. Let them require from their candidates proofs that they have studied such and such writers, and such and such subjects; but let them not think that the cause of religion will be advanced by compelling all their candidates to go through a special course, or by throwing on the Universities the responsibility of approving or rejecting such candidates. Let the Professors adapt their lectures to the men who will attend them, and then let them take their chance. With a great portion of mankind compulsion works badly, with none more than undergraduates. If they are compelled to attend lectures, they assume that they attend as a matter of discipline, not to receive benefit; the very best lectures then lose their point. We remember well the crowded auditory at Professor Blunt's earlier lectures at Cambridge. Day after day had his sturdy and manly form, so characteristic of the man, to push for itself a way through the crowds that thronged the doorway. Every eye was glistening, every ear attentive; we felt that we were surrounded by a willing audience; we recognised faces there, that we had seen at the delivering of the same course two years, four years previously. Again and again did hearts glow and feelings warm, and a voice was heard in that room the reverberations of which have been felt from Cornwall to Northumberland. But a change was made; a regulation was passed by which attendance on additional lectures was rendered compulsory; and now the Professor stood at the door of a larger room receiving the cards of the immigrants. The whole spirit was gone. Graduates of older standing were kept away; they felt themselves out of place. The class was changed; tutors conversed with pupils who were attending, and found that there was no longer a sound given out by the strings which had vibrated so full a few years before. The men were compelled to attend, but they could not be compelled to listen. The feelings of the willing auditory were chilled by the coldness of the unwilling. It was a fatal mistake. Low Churchmen criticised; High Churchmen were annoyed. The influence of Professor Blunt was diminished by one half. He lost nearly all his hold upon the graduates of the University, who now seldom hear him, save when he speaks from the pulpit of S. Mary's.

We may have exaggerated these consequences of changing a voluntary into a compulsory system, but we have spoken from what came under our own observation at the time; and yet these very lectures on the duties of a parish Priest were the most

popular and most practical that the University afforded to the student of theology. What, may we infer, has been the effect of attendance at others which, if not less useful, were undoubtedly less attractive and less spirit-stirring? How many men in either University look back with any degree of satisfaction to the lectures in Divinity which they were compelled to attend, when their minds were wholly bent in another direction, to the Senate House and the Schools?

We declare then distinctly, that we do not see that much benefit has arisen, or is likely to arise, by compelling attendance from all students indiscriminately at the same lectures. We say as distinctly that much benefit may be looked for, if the candidates for Holy Orders, after they have graduated, be permitted to make their choice of two or more modes and places of study. And we shall proceed now to examine whether there is much ground for apprehending the evil, which Drs. Heurtley, Jacobson, and others speak of,—the evil of multiplying or fostering parties in the Church by the diversity of tone which may be expected to be found in the several Diocesan Colleges.

Now, so far as our own experience goes, we would much rather have to contend with a well-instructed and well-educated opponent, than an ignorant one. We believe that the most violent and most virulent partisans are to be found amongst those who have received the worst education in their earlier youth. We do not say that some few very well read and well-informed theologians, may not be found amongst the most eager of the party with whom our Review is held in abhorrence; but these men's reading and information, great as it is, seems very partial: it seems only to have been collected for the sake of defending and upholding certain preconceived views. We may hold that Mr. Ryle, for instance, has forgotten his Bible in his study of the Puritan Divines: Mr. Goode, his Greek Testament, amongst the Calvinist writers of our Church. But so much the more necessary, the attempt at a special preparation. And we may take it for granted, that if any college is notoriously 'High Church,' students who are disposed that way will chiefly frequent it. So for Colleges of another stamp. The pupils will not receive their colour from the building they flock to, but rather choose to flock where they shall find others of the same 'feather.' And now the question arises, whether they will receive injury from thus congregating? We believe not. We believe that men of twenty-two or twenty-three are, generally speaking, shrewd enough to know where there is any attempt to strain a proof: they possess so much of the contradiction of human nature, that they are as likely as not to break away altogether, if the intellectual rein is pulled too tight upon them. Of this, any one conversant

with students of the Universities must be aware, and the tutor who is worthy of his post, must adapt himself accordingly. It will be a happy thing for him that his own mind is kept thus constantly in check. And, moreover, if the study of the Holy Volume occupy in all colleges the prominent place which it does in those already founded, the peculiarities of system of the officers will be continually compared with Scripture, and continually rubbed down.

We do not, therefore, sympathise with the lamented Principal of Brazenose in the fear, that by multiplying these Colleges the 'lines of demarcation between the various sections of the Church 'will become wider, deeper, and less capable of obliteration, than 'they are at present.' We have met with a few of the students of S. Aidan's, which it is known is under the especial patronage of the Metropolitan, but they were by no means of that class of ardent Puritans which the 'Record' may be supposed to desire; and why should worse results be anticipated from a College at Islington or at Salford? The training school at Cheltenham, we are told, turns out nearly as good Churchmen as S. Mark's or Battersea, though it was founded in direct opposition to them. Why, then, should we dread opposition to Wells, or Chichester, or Cuddesden? Much explanation of Scripture which is now current, however palatable it may be to admiring readers in Liverpool or London, will scarcely pass muster before a small band of Oxford or Cambridge graduates. They will ask, 'Is 'the system true which needs arguments like this to bolster 'it up?' And the only fear would be lest the stream, which has conveyed over to the Church of Rome so many clergy of our Church, who were originally either Dissenters, or of the Evangelical school of theology, should continue to be fed mainly by the less thoughtful students of these 'Protestant Colleges.' This, we repeat, is our only fear, and we venture to lay it before Lord Shaftesbury and his followers for their grave consideration.

Indeed, if the New Testament Scriptures take the highest place, and the works of our standard divines be well and carefully studied, we confess that we do not see much fear of very extravagant opinions being inculcated, or very outrageous practices being enforced. We find, from an advertisement in the Clergy List of 1854, that these Masters of Theology are not neglected at S. Aidan's. We are told that Hooker's fifth book is read at the Church Missionary College, Islington. Now, is it conceivable that any who have studied our two great luminaries, Hooker and Pearson, and learned how they differ on great and almost fundamental points, will thereafter be as obstinate and self-willed as many of our University ignoramuses are

at present? Is it conceivable that they will not learn some modesty, where otherwise they would be positive and presumptuous? Of course, we should prefer a sound Churchman to a Puritan; but we should infinitely prefer a Puritan of education and ability to one who was ignorant and impotent. We do not, therefore, object to—rather we would hail with satisfaction—a College such as is threatened by the friends of the 'Record.' We are confident that the Churchmanship of the country will not suffer from the institution.

But it is time now that we should express our opinion on what the Universities may do, and what they should not attempt to do; and on the principle that by-standers can often see better than the combatants how the battle is waging, we shall even venture to suggest to the authorities of the Universities how they may improve the course which they have laid down.

We would consider then, first, the classes into which, intellectually speaking, the graduates of the Universities may be divided. It will be impossible to draw the limits very closely, but it seems to us that the following sketch is tolerably correct.

First, then, will come the men of extraordinary talent,—the Herschels, or Kayes, or Gladstones of their year,—men who seem to catch up the contents of a book by intuition, and to whom it would be torture worse than the thumbscrew to be compelled to pass the ordeal of four or six courses of ordinary lectures. But these are not more than two or three in each year, and may be left to themselves; they are scarcely reducible to law.

We shall then come to a large body, including almost all those who subsequently fill the most important offices in their Colleges; men who are not ashamed to confess, that they gained such distinctions as they possess by hard study and diligent labour, and who must go through study as hard, and labour as diligent, to become familiar with the lines of Butler's argument, —to appropriate the lessons of wisdom contained in Hooker's writings,—to store in their memory the results of the learning and thought of Pearson. It may be somewhat dull to such men to read these works, without the opportunity of conversation upon them,—without knowing beforehand where they may find a landing-place to rest for a moment; but still the discipline is good, and they are equal to their work: they go on cheerily, and thank God they have been required by the Bishop to make this first inroad into the realms of theology, and been allowed to carry away some of the spoil. But still a few lectures to guide them, and help them, and throw light from modern investigation on these noble fabrics of the past, would have been thankfully welcome, and perhaps have served to clear away some mists

which otherwise hang over them for years. Lectures on doctrinal subjects too, keeping up with the controversies of the day,—on the state of the dispute with Popery, schism, unbelief,—on history, assuming that names, and events, and dates are tolerably known,—would be equally acceptable; and, by one and all, the hints on the parochial work, which the experienced and active pastor alone gains power to give, would be welcomed. Perhaps this division would include about one-third of the whole number which the Universities annually send up for Holy Orders,—say eighty each at Oxford and Cambridge.

The remaining one hundred and seventy will include men of very different powers and advantages. Some will have commenced their preparation for Holy Orders late in life; and although now released from the trammels of the University course, and soon evincing their superiority to many who have eclipsed them in the schools, yet they still need some special training, some additional discipline of the mind and heart. Others there are who having (thanks to their early education) mastered with ease the Latin and Greek of the University schools, are yet utterly deficient in that knowledge of their neighbour and themselves, which must be laid as a foundation before they can hope to do much good as ministers of God. Some will need assistance in the perusal of the writings we have named: not content with mere general directions for their study, will probably, if left to themselves, 'get the books up' by analysis. Some are utterly ignorant of the facts of history, and must learn facts and principles together. All are alike in the dark as to the working of a parish, of schools, visiting societies, and so forth. Few have ever been accustomed to commit their thoughts to writing, and yet must now prepare to compose three or four sermons a month. Most are anxious to know something more of the controversies of the day than they can pick up from newspapers, or reviews, or books. Now, this is the class of men which Heads of Houses and Professors lose sight of. It is not easy to foresee their difficulties,—impossible, without constant intercourse with them, to know their wants. Yet this is by far the largest portion of those who go into Orders; it will be found in the end to include some of the best and most energetic of the clergy of the country. If they have little taste for prolonged study, and much unwillingness to split hairs in logic, they have often an Englishman's determination to do his duty; and at the board of guardians, or the committee of a society, or at the clerical meeting, will carry a weight which their more learned though less active neighbours cannot command. Yet these, we repeat, are neglected at the Universities, they are left to find their way to their degrees much as they can. The course to which they are subjected is (at Cam-

bridge at least) the worst that could be devised; but still they push on through it with dogged determination, and at length turn the tables on their preceptors in the House of Commons, or on the bench.

Now, these are men whom it is purely and simply absurd to compel to attend more than one course of Professors' lectures. One course may be adapted to them; but more than one is scarcely feasible. If, indeed, the Universities require three or four; if they compel an attendance on a long series on Irenæus or Origen, or on the Mystical Sense of Holy Scripture; and if the Bishops support the Universities, the men will go—they will go as they would mount the heights of Alma, or ride off with the light division on the fatal October 25; they will go, because they are expected to do so, because it is their duty. But is it desirable to compel them? If more accurate knowledge may be gained on the more important subjects by another way; if by splitting up the class of 210 into ten classes of twenty-one, or twenty-one classes of ten, conversation can be permitted, questions can be put, doubts cleared up, accuracy gained—surely it is the height of folly to make all these men exhibit themselves before the Professor. Put S. John's Gospel, or S. Paul's Epistles, in the place of Irenæus; and the study of Prophecy in the place of the Mystical Sense of Scripture, and the difficulty is not removed. They must be orations or sermons, not lectures, when delivered before large masses of men; twenty is the largest number that could be admitted to a catechetical lecture, and in such lecture alone (as Dr. Pusey says) is it possible to become acquainted with the individual character, or to track the individual mind. We are only surprised that no one except Dr. Pusey considered that such knowledge of individual character was desirable, or such individual training feasible. We shall take it therefore as an established fact, that if the education for Holy Orders is to include at all the training of the individual mind, or the culture of the individual heart — if we are to consider that men are not all made after the same uniform model, nor can all be treated in the same uniform fashion—we must give up all notion of dealing with them in the gross; these large classes must be broken up into smaller ones, these regiments must be trained by companies. Dr. Pusey considers that if the preparation of the graduate for the ministry of the Church should last over two years, which he deems (and our experience justifies the opinion) to be scarcely more than sufficient, it would require in each University not six, but thirty-six Professors. Assuming that 234 is the number which annually leaves Oxford for the ministry of the Church, (which is rather below the average,) he calculates there would be 468 students attending lectures at the same time. Supposing

that each attended two lectures each day during term time, there must be 936 attendances; divide these into classes of twenty-five, and there must be more than thirty-six lectures delivered daily. There should be therefore as many Professors. If it be deemed that one year's training is enough for the future pastor, who is to apply to each individual case the spiritual medicine which the disease of his soul requires; if twelve months are to suffice for acquiring good and competent knowledge of the Sacred Writings, of the great truths of the Gospel, and of the doctrines founded upon those truths, of ecclesiastical history, ancient and modern, of the more difficult and more delicate points connected with the preaching of the truth, and of the cure of souls; if for all this twelve months', or rather twenty-three weeks' training, be deemed by our Bishops and our Universities sufficient, even then eighteen Professors will be required: a number three times as great as Oxford possesses or Cambridge aspires to. The alternative is, that the classes in Divinity must consist of seventy-five instead of twenty-five; or if each Professor has two classes during the same term, he must have 150 pupils under his eye at once. We ask, how can it be possible for him to pay attention to each of these 150 souls?

It is to us, therefore, a matter of surprise to find that the Heads of Houses and Professors are unwilling to see their labour diminished, their powers of usefulness increased. We can scarcely understand the nervous apprehensions which the bare contemplation of a few Clerical Colleges scattered throughout the country has caused in the Oxford and Cambridge mind. One Doctor after another states, that these colleges are not wanted, that the instruction there will be poor, that the residence will be costly, that there will be wasted time and scattered energies, that the discipline will be defective, bad habits formed, dangerous tastes strengthened; and yet if the slightest countenance be given to them by the Bishop or by the Cathedral Commission, the Universities will be deserted, and the cathedral cities filled. If fear be—as the Son of Sirach says it is—a betrayal of the succours which reason offers, the apprehensions of the academic authorities indicate that they deem not their position strong, nor their arguments powerful. But surely the above calculation will help to reassure them. It proves that with their present staff, provided each Professor will lecture once a-day, and each student will attend two lectures for one year, Cambridge can undertake the preparation of 75 men, Oxford of 150; the two Universities together, of 225. Should a two-years' course be deemed necessary, this number must be reduced to 112. If we reckon the number of graduates for Oxford and Cambridge, ordained in each year, at 500, there will be, in the former case, 275, in the latter, 388, students in Theology, whom the Universities cannot assist.

Surely then the institution of five, six, or even ten Colleges elsewhere need not be so dreaded by the Professors, as if their class-rooms would then be entirely drained. Whatever advantages the Universities really possess will remain with them; the talented occupants of the chairs of Theology will have their work more defined, and their labours better appreciated by the classes, whom they might then expect to command.

We have endeavoured to classify the graduates of the Universities. We have drawn lines, which we think will be generally found to be sufficiently distinct, between those who need no assistance in the study of the great and standard Divines of the Church, and those who (whether they feel the need or no) would be much benefited by such assistance. The latter we have said is the larger class, the former the more talented. It is still a question, how this larger class should be treated; the experience of the Church of England in this matter lies as yet in very small compass. By the kind permission of the Principal of the College at Wells, we are enabled to describe what has been found practical there. Not being tied by the rules of the University vacations, (which, by the way, must be of very recent formation, for, in the time of Ambrose Bonwicke, the College lectures went on as much in vacation time as in term time,) the students at Wells as at Chichester are in residence about thirty-two weeks in the year. The lectures occupy two hours a-day, besides which, the time of the officers is much taken up with private intercourse with their pupils. Of the twelve lectures delivered in the week, we understand that four are occupied with the Gospels, four with the Epistles, three either with one of the early Fathers, including the subject for the examination at Cambridge, or else on Church History, and one throughout the year on the duties and responsibilities of the ministerial office. In this scheme it will be noticed that the works of our standard writers occupy no place, but, of course, they are not omitted. Bishops Butler and Pearson, Hooker's fifth book, and Professor Harold Browne's volume on the Articles, are read and analyzed by the students, under the direction of the officers. Instruction is given in Hebrew to those who desire it; voluntary classes are formed for the further reading of any of the Church writers. Sermons are written once a fortnight, and as the year's education draws to a close, the student is taken amongst some of the poor of the city to learn something of the work which he has to perform. A similar course is, as far as practicable, followed at Chichester, and we suppose at Cuddesden; and we believe the three officers

t Wells would give ready testimony to the Professors of the niversities, if the latter would deign to consult them, that ith forty students, their time is fully occupied.

When we compare this course with that which a student will

find ready for him at Oxford or Cambridge, we need not be surprised that he will prefer Wells; for Dr. Heurtley may speak of a 'lowered tone of Theology' as likely to result from these Colleges, and talk complacently of the superior instruction given at the Universities, but what has Oxford to show compared with this? Is there any *course* of Theology at all there? There are lectures delivered by able men, but is there any system in these lectures? any unity? any attempt at order or completeness? any one Professor specially responsible for the spiritual or moral guidance of a pupil? No, not at all. If a student desires to appear at the University examination in Theology, he must be passed on from one Professor to another, and from him to a third; passed on before he can either know or be known. He is handed on, perhaps, at the time when the stiffness of academic form is beginning to wear away; the cold breeze passes over him again, and he begins a new term, hard and unbending as before.

And at the risk of being deemed somewhat captious, we will add that, in our opinion, the large income and comfortable positions of the Professors will almost universally prove a bar against confidential and friendly intercourse with their pupils. How can he, who, after spending five or six hundred pounds over his education, is now hoping by some piece of fortune to obtain a curacy which will bring him in seventy or eighty pounds a year, expect much sympathy from a dignitary of the Church, and a Professor of the University, who has had little struggle with the world since he obtained his bachelor's degree, but has moved on by the most easy gradations of fellowship, tutorship, college living, into a stall at Christ Church, and a chair in the Schools? The great virtue ordinarily called out in the Fellow of a college, is, as too many know, patience; if they will only rest patiently, they will, in the end, sink into a well-cushioned chair, or a well-provisioned rectory. But the poor curate, whose official stipend for the first ten or twenty years of his active life will be probably less than the salary of a nobleman's butler, whatever need he has of patience, must exercise other virtues too. He has to fight against the world, he has to combat vice in its strong holds, he has to struggle with the sin which his difficulties exhibit to him, as retaining still a fearful hold upon his heart. By self-denial and exertion and example will he have to fight his way; with many a strong and earnest, and it may be bitter cry, will his prayer have to ascend on high; but where among the Professors at Oxford, where at Cambridge, will he meet with sympathy in this? Where at colleges elsewhere, if the heads of these institutions have had few trials and struggles of their own, if their income is so great as to lift them far above the level of

their pupils, if the number of these pupils becomes so large as to prevent the intercourse we have described?

We state it then as our deliberate conviction, that the Universities can never become nurseries for the clergy, so long as the teacher and the taught are prevented from holding friendly intercourse. It is not instruction that the newly-fledged B.A. *feels* he wants. He knows that by tolerably steady reading, he may be prepared to pass the stiffest of Ordination examinations. He feels that he wants a friend, and those who know Mr. Pinder, know that he will meet with a friend at Wells. But, as one amongst two hundred, who each term pass through the lecture-room of each of the Oxford Professors, what hope has he of making a friend among them?

And now that we have learnt what is the intellectual, and what the moral training of which the majority of students in their preparation for Holy Orders stand in need, may we be permitted to inquire, whether it is worth while meeting the objection, that the most able men, intellectually speaking, will be found in the Universities? Our own opinion is, that men of very great genius will be quite out of place in the nurseries of the clergy. The work at Wells and Chichester is, as we have seen, one of considerable labour, some would say, of considerable drudgery. It can only be lightened by the hope that the officers are spending themselves in God's service. Indeed, there can be little doubt that in the Universities themselves intellectual ability is much overrated. Like every other endowment, it may or it may not be devoted to the service of Him who gave it. We should say it would be a very useful, because a very humbling ordeal, if the Heads of Houses and great men of Oxford and Cambridge were required to serve an apprenticeship, of a couple of years or more, in a parish at London or Manchester; they would return to their colleges humbler and wiser men; and so we repeat, that men of great genius might be out of place in the nurseries of the clergy. The last few years have taught us how difficult it is even to pious men who are endowed with an active imagination, to restrain within due bounds its excursions, when it is engaged upon holy things. But surely the success of one of the Colleges, which has existed for fifteen years, should have indicated to Dr. Jacobson and his brother Professors, that Oxford and Cambridge do not as yet monopolize all the practical talent of the country. And, to one 'advantage' claimed by Dr. Hawkins we decidedly object. He writes, that 'one or two teachers engaged upon all 'parts of Theology, will not be so good as several Professors 'occupied with the several branches of the study.' This may be true, if our aim be to train a high class of theologians; but when the necessities of the clergy, as ministers of God's word,

are considered, we doubt whether this dissociation of work is desirable; and, for the Professors themselves, we doubt whether they can deliver course after course on the same subject, term after term, and year after year, without their zeal flagging, or their attention waning; and still greater is the danger of their losing sight of the bearing which their special subject has on the whole training of their pupils.

And, to our minds, there is another difficulty connected with this distribution of the work of teaching. We refer to the want of distinctive character which the teaching will assume. For we confess plainly that we cannot see how any good school can be without a distinctive character; and we are confident that that cannot be a school at all where different opinions upon all subjects are laid before the students, and they are left to pick their way through the confusion around them. If the Heads and Professors deem that such is the ideal of University teaching, and that the regulations, which require the students to attend two or four courses delivered by different Professors, will tend to keep their minds in equilibrium, all that we can say is, that they must be vastly ignorant of the moral and intellectual condition of the majority of their graduates. It seems to us as absurd as to attempt to make men physicians, by calling upon them to study Hydropathy, Homœopathy, Alloiopathy at once. We have no reason to doubt that the five Divinity Professors at Oxford and the three at Cambridge are tolerably well agreed as to their general principles, but even the characteristics of the individual Professors throw a different phase upon these principles, and to a young student even this is embarrassing unless some one takes the decided lead. But, we repeat, it is not by training the head that influence is gained; the heart has far more sway over the head than the head has over the heart; and that training is in the highest degree deficient in which the heart is neglected. Even when there is some admixture of error in what is laid before the student, there is a wonderful power of correction in the warm feelings and enkindled zeal. If we may so say, the power of Dr. Pusey has been extended over thousands who do not feel agreement with many points of his system; the influence of Mr. Maurice was much dreaded twelve months ago—so much had he gained the love and admiration of his pupils. But now, though his opinions, we are told, have not gained much hold on the students of King's College, the effect of his zeal remains. With Mr. Buddicom at S. Bees', and Dr. Baylee at S. Aidan's, it is the same—it has been the man, not his sentiments, which has worked for good; and so of Dr. Arnold. And if our readers will take the trouble to review those periods of their life in which their opinions, their habits, their character, were forming, they will find that the main influence exerted upon them was either

that of a society, such as their school or college, or else that of some *one* man. At successive periods different men may have worked upon them; but never different men at the same time. And this is a point which Oxford Boards and Cambridge Syndicates ignore. Apprehending that some one Professor might become popular, and his fellow-workers jealous, they compel the student to attend different courses delivered by different Professors; thus adding to confusion in the *mind* of the pupil, the dissipation of the influences which should bear on his *heart*.

But if it be said that this process will help the student to think, we again demur to the remark. We cannot think of subjects of which we are learning the very rudiments. We cannot arrange and compare, if we want materials wherewith to store our minds and our memories. Every one who has taken pains in a lecture-room—every one who has attempted to make the children in his school to think—must know that information must precede comparison. All education commences with faith—with a confiding in the authorities of the teacher. The period when we test the value of that authority must follow; but, if the authority is divided and dissonant, trust there is none, and so there is an end to teaching. We come again, therefore, to our point, that one great bane of Professorial teaching is its want of unity; one advantage of smaller schools of Theology is that very fact which the Professors refer to as a fatal characteristic, viz. one man is responsible for the whole.[1]

There is, however, one course open to the officers of the Universities, if they would retain the education of the clergy in

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[1] It is a great mistake to suppose that a student is a fool who is ignorant, and, therefore, unable to think on particular subjects: people are never fools in the matters with which they are familiar; and all teachers must recognise this fact, or their powers of teaching will be much injured. If our clergy were by a year's or a year-and-a-half's training made more familiar with the truths of Revelation, they would find it more easy to exercise their own minds upon them afterwards, and would be less liable to follow the guidance of a party-leader. It is by constantly laying before our people at Church the great truths of Christianity, that we hope to make them think over and meditate upon them. They compare what we say on one Sunday with what we say on another, and gradually form a more and more sound idea of them.

We are trespassing somewhat beyond our limits when we complain, that at Cambridge all but candidates for honours are forbidden to think. This has been the effect of some unhappy changes introduced into the examination for the Poll some twelve or fourteen years ago. They are compelled to know a little of some ten or twelve subjects; so little that it neither interests nor instructs, neither informs nor educates. So long as 200 men annually come up to Cambridge at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and take their degrees at twenty-two, spending their last year in learning by rote the reason why a lever balances and a pump works; so long as there is no encouragement to obtain a greater knowledge in any one of the multifarious subjects which the Encyclopædists of Cambridge require, so long will that University stand in the way of efficient training for any profession. The student has to learn a number of isolated facts, is never able to compare, and therefore, is never encouraged to think: his education must begin again.

the hands of the ancient bodies. They must attempt it in their collegiate, not in their academic character. It must be made the work of one of the Fellows of each college, to superintend the reading and training of the candidate. Dr. Cartmell, the Master of Christ's College, looks to this; he writes—"I think that it is within the means of *the several Colleges of the University*, assisted by the lectures of the Theological Professors, to supply to candidates for Holy Orders such preparation and instruction as they may require." We do not believe that this would equal the training at Wells; we do believe that it is the only way that the University can do anything really valuable. To the University Professors would be left probably the more difficult and interesting branches of study—lectures illustrating the history of the Church, or the early Fathers, or some leading controversies, or the duties, &c. of the parish priest. To the College Tutor would be intrusted the training of character, the charge of the private studies, the care that the students read and profited by the works of our great Divines, that they became conversant with the Articles of the Church, and acquainted with the original of our New Testament, that they were practised in composition and sermon-writing, and perhaps in schools and visiting. Without such collegiate training, we look for no advantage from attendance on additional Professorial lectures.

And should the Colleges of the Universities determine to take a share in this great work of training ministers for the Church, we feel confident that incalculable benefit will be reflected back on those who engage heart and soul in it. Cambridge has certainly advanced much in the last twenty years; the anecdotes collected by the late Mr. Gunning exhibit the vast progress which the University has made in general tone since the commencement of this century. Still every one who has passed from the clerical society of Cambridge to similar society in London, or any large town, or any country place, must have felt that there is a character about the latter in which the former is deficient. And the cause of the difference is not hard to find out. Partly, perhaps, from the frequent recurrence of a certain class of faults—say indolence and irregularity—the consequences of which the College Tutor is not able to trace into future life, he is led insensibly to acquiesce in that, which comes before the parish clergyman as one out of many evils, against which he must struggle manfully, or he is not fit for his post. Partly, again, from the want of experience and knowledge of mankind in the College officer, his mind never has the opportunity of working on those interesting practical questions which daily force themselves on the attention of the thoughtful 'Curate.' He has no difficulties as to servants, tradesmen, friends, neighbours; no

awkward parishioners to deal with; no vestries to meet—everything comes to hand, if he will only give the order.

But if the College were to undertake this work; if under some responsible officer of their society one or two additional Fellows would take part in it; if in addition to the properties of matter, and the facts of geometry, and the niceties of analysis, the truths of Revealed Religion received some share of the attention of men versed in the history and philosophy of the Inductive Sciences; if, again, our classical lecturers were called upon more frequently to bring to bear upon the Old and New Testament, or the History of the Church, and on what we may call the Philosophy of the New Covenant, the knowledge of ancient language and feeling which they have gained, we cannot doubt but that ere long the practical life of Christianity in all its bearings would be felt at the Universities, in a degree of which at present they are scarcely sensible. We feel assured that the complaints will be no more heard which from time to time are whispered in London and elsewhere, that the Universities are unfavourable places for the development of talent; that a fellowship is deemed only a reward for past exertions, but no longer as furnishing the opportunity and incentive to subsequent and more lasting efforts.

But still, however great the advantages may be to the Colleges to have the study of Theology, or rather, as we should put it, the preparation for the ministry of the Church of God, formally recognised as part of their work, we much doubt whether it would be equally to be desired, on behalf of the members of the University, that they should be compelled to reside, and go through a course of instruction after they have taken their first degree. Laying aside other difficulties, such as the facts that because of difference of age the graduates are not all equally near to the time of their ordination, and that with many it will be an object at once to obtain some remunerative employment, we much doubt whether it is expedient that they should be detained in college another year. We have spoken of the influence which a man or a system may have on a character in the process of formation, and that at one and the same time it is expedient that *one* influence mainly should be brought to bear. But by no means do we imply by this, that at successive periods of life different influences may not work most advantageously. And so, whatever others may say, it is our opinion, that to one who has spent three years and a half at Oxford or Cambridge, the change from the mixed society of the University, its boisterous sports, its unbending rules and regulations, its Proctors, its gate-bills, its wine-parties, to the more quiet but more varied society of a Cathedral city, and the firm but gentler discipline of a Diocesan College, will be singularly advantageous.

There are periods of life when we are especially called upon to forget those things which are behind, and look forward to those which are before. But the associations of the University are with the past: even he who has stayed up till forty, fifty, sixty years have passed over his head, thinks of his undergraduate days as *the* days of his University life. The open hearts and warm friendships of those days are most vividly remembered. So we say of the newly-hooded bachelor—the associations of the University are with the past; those of the Diocesan College will be with the future. His schooling ends with the one, his life will begin with the other.

But is there not another class of clergymen which has increased much of late years, to whom the Professors, the Colleges, and associations of the Universities would prove of vast advantage? Is there not a large and increasing body who grudge the four years which must pass over their heads if they graduate at the Universities, and who are therefore compelled to seek for admission at S. Bees' or S. Aidan's? It will not be deemed that we throw slight upon these institutions when we ask, is it likely that the associations with which they are connected will have the same hallowing and mellowing influence on the minds of their students as the buildings, the system, the life of the older Universities would have? For them, therefore, we think it would be as great a boon to be transferred to Oxford or Cambridge, as it would be desirable for graduates of the University to be transferred elsewhere. And the presence of men who had learnt the advantage of business-habits, who had struggled hard through difficulties of circumstances, or of feelings, or of faith, would exercise no prejudicial influence on the feeling and tone of the ancient Universities.[1]

But there is one question more ere we conclude. What is to become of theology in England if they to whom, by their office, we look to be leaders and generals, are employed in the work of training and drilling the soldiers of the line? Nay, we may ask, what has become of theology? The events and progress of the last few years, the opening of the Continent, the spur given to thought which closer contact with the mind of France and Germany has given, place us in a position different from that which was occupied by the English theologians of last century, or of the early part of this. In the meantime, we have most valuable additions to our libraries on points at issue between

[1] The Syndicate, which sat for four years at Cambridge to advise on the change of the statutes of the University, recommended that the degree of Licentiate in Theology should be given to any who entering after a certain age attended lectures for two years, and passed sundry examinations in Theology. The Senate unhappily rejected the proposal.

'High Church and Low Church,' such as the volumes of Bethell, Laurence, and others; a few valuable contributions towards the interpretation of Scripture, as the work of Davison; many laboured attempts to solve the mystery of the Apocalypse; but we have no work by a writer of the English Church which we can recommend to a student as the groundwork of his theological reading. If he takes up Tomline, he meets with assertions which he will find flatly denied in the first Westminster Review he may chance to open. What is he to do? The arguments used are new and striking, are stated with an appearance of candour and of confidence. They claim to be old, and never to have been refuted. What is he to believe? Why is this? and how is this? Is it not partly because our leaders despise their adversaries, (always a dangerous thing to do:) partly because they are ignorant how much these sceptical books are read: but mainly because their time and energy is wholly spent in a work which we believe would be done better by others of less ability? If Bishops Turton and Kaye had been called upon to deliver lectures, as Bishop Ollivant and Dr. Jeremie have been, lectures *ad populum*, not *ad clerum*, we should never have had those monuments of calm, clear, convincing reasoning, founded on the products of long study, which, though written for a temporary purpose, have gained a permanent reputation.

We have yet to see whether the lectures delivered under the more recent regulations, will produce such improvement in the character of the Clergy of the country, as will compensate for the serious injury caused by them to the learning of the Church of England. At present we see no signs of it. But the reputation of the Universities in the meantime *has* fallen. It will not be soon forgotten that Oxford put forth as a work of Origen, a volume which a layman and a courtier demonstrated to have been written by Hippolytus. Of the eight Professors who, at the commencement of this year, held the purely Divinity chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, two only are known out of the Universities by their writings; and these writings, valuable as they are, occupy no more than two or three octavo volumes. In the meantime, there is a party, we will not say of learning, but of activity and energy, which has many adherents amongst the medical men and lawyers of the country, who laugh at University orthodoxy and University ignorance; who under this are quietly gaining possession of the ear of one and another of the middle classes, habituating them to the thought that S. John did not write S. John's Gospel, nor S. Paul S. Paul's letters; who perplex and silence far more than they convert. But no notice of these efforts have we found amongst the writings of our Divinity Professors. They have been content to leave such subjects

to Dr. Davidson, who is a Dissenter, or Chevalier Bunsen, who is a German!

We have been pleading the cause of Cathedral Colleges, to complete the training for Holy Orders, which the Universities leave incomplete. We have contended that academic lectures give the candidate little education, and senate-house examinations are no sufficient test of his fitness. The majority of our Bishops, unhappily, think differently, and demand the 'voluntary.' We trust that our endeavour to investigate this question will meet with attention amongst those on whom will ultimately depend the success of any effort at improving the tone and preparation of the Clergy; but, in doing this, we feel that we have been pleading the cause of theology and religion itself. On behalf of the candidate we have asked for a better training than the Universities can give. For the officers of our older Colleges we have begged for employment which will elevate and sanctify them; on behalf of another class of men, who are daily rising into greater importance, we have petitioned for a better and more wholesome education than they can have at present; on behalf of the Professors, we have entreated for work congenial to their calling; on behalf of the truth of God, we have prayed that its lustre may not be dimmed by our neglect, nor its lamps quiver and expire for want of the hand to trim. And so we leave the case, entreating our readers not to think that in this matter there can be any real opposition between cathedral-city, and old University, beyond that ever useful rivalry, the provoking to love and to good works. We leave it, humbly praying God that He will bless these and all other means of promoting His kingdom, and spreading His truth, until the time come when labour shall end in rest, and imperfection be lost in glory.

P.S.—Since our remarks have gone to press, the University of Cambridge has adopted the recommendations of a Syndicate appointed to suggest improvements in the theological studies of the University. Henceforth there will be two examinations in each year—at Easter and Michaelmas—the subjects being the following, 'The Historical Books of the Old Testament, the 'Greek Testament, the Articles of Religion and Liturgy of the 'Church of England, the Ecclesiastical History of the First 'Three Centuries, and the History of the Reformation in Eng-'land.' At first sight this list appears tolerably extensive: the subjects may branch out in different directions, and introduce much reading. It will be observed, however, that no knowledge is required of the Septuagint, or Hebrew, and none of *the Psalms or Prophets, even in English.*

Moreover, the Syndicate recommended, and the University

decreed, that once in each year there should be an examination for 'honours in Theology;' and 'the candidates for honours shall 'be further examined in the Greek Testament, in assigned por-'tions of the early Fathers, and of the Septuagint version of the 'Old Testament, and assigned works or parts of works of stan-'dard Theological writers.'

To this we know many of our friends object; for our own part we welcomed the announcement, in the hope that it might be the means of introducing many students to some great works, which would lie beyond the range of a Bishop's examination; we shrugged our shoulders at noticing what a favourable opportunity was lost for promoting the study of Hebrew—but, in its stead, we expected reference to the Apostolical Fathers; some treatises say of S. Basil or S. Augustine, amongst the ancients; or, of Bull and Waterland amongst the moderns. Of course, the knowledge of the whole of the Old Testament in the English version, of Butler, Pearson, and Hooker.

The list was published about Dec. 21. It contains—

'Septuagint: Book of Genesis.'

'The assigned portions of the early Fathers' *is* (we beg pardon for our English)—

'*The First Epistle of Clemens Romanus.*

'The assigned works, or parts of works of standard Theological writers,' *are*—

'Butler's Analogy. Part I.
Pearson on Creed. Art. II.
Paley's Horæ Paulinæ. *Introductory Chapter, and Chapter on the Epistle to the Romans.*'

We would now ask Dr. Heurtley, who are they that are lowering the tone of Theology? who that are endeavouring to raise it?

NOTICES.

THE form in which the well-known Irish ecclesiastical historian, Mr. Robert King, Diocesan Curate, Armagh, has published his 'Memoir introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh,' (Armagh: John Thompson, 1854,) is curiously illustrative of the amount of encouragement which, with all the national pretensions, is given in Ireland to undertakings of real research. Despairing of being able to produce the work in an independent form, Mr. King had recourse to the columns of a friendly local newspaper, which not only published it by divisions, but worked off a small folio sheet week by week, without which assistance the treatise could not have appeared. We must add, that the tone of the dedication points to further efficacious aid afforded by the present munificent occupant of the primatial see. The results which Mr. King considers he has arrived at are, 'that while no other form of *ordination* except the episcopal 'was known or heard of in Ireland in the early ages, (from the first 'preaching, in fact, of Christianity in the island to the period of the British 'Reformation,) yet no *diocesan* episcopacy was settled in this country, or 'employed for the *government* of the Irish Church, until introduced by the 'Church of Rome in the twelfth century;' and that accordingly, on the one hand, there were administrators of Church government in the persons of the abbots of certain monasteries, deriving their importance as, and entitled, successors of early saints, founders of those Churches; and, on the other, there were bishops, ordainers of the clergy, who might or who might not be these abbots, but who as bishops had no territorial jurisdiction, or settled limits of episcopal action. Every tyro in Church history is aware that Venerable Bede mentions this anomaly as characteristic of the Culdee monastery of Iona, founded by S. Columba, and that Presbyterian controversialists have not scrupled to distort it in favour of their system. Mr. King contends that the anomaly in question was not confined to Iona only, but was the practice of all the Irish Churches till the time of Maolmogue O'Morgan, better known as St. Malveley. Accordingly, he states that the prelates of Armagh up to this date were not properly archbishops at all, but abbots, who as '*loarbs*,' or successors of S. Patrick, held the first place in the Irish Church, but who were very far from universally being invested with the episcopal order. S. Bernard, it is well known, complains bitterly of the usurpation of the see of Armagh by monied and unordained persons. It would follow from Mr. King's theory, that the latter portion of the complaint, with which all must sympathise, was not so much a corruption introduced into the see of Armagh, as a state of normal imperfection pervading the entire community. It must be noted that celibacy does not seem to contribute an essential qualification for an early Irish abbot. We commend this very curious portion of ecclesiastical history to the attentive examination of studious theologians. Mr. Petrie has shown how rich a field of ecclesiological research exists in the præ-Roman ecclesiastical buildings of Ireland. A parallel line of study offers itself in the documentary annals of early Irish Church polity.

'Heartsease; or, the Brother's Wife.' (J. W. Parker.) A new work from the pen of the authoress of the 'Heir of Redclyffe' is certain of a reception almost too cordial for its best interests. Its predecessor secures it a warm welcome, at the expense of a high reputation to keep up, and raised expectations to satisfy. How far the admirers of the pure chastened tone of romance in the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' with its chivalrous hero and superlative heroine—evidently darling conceptions of the writer—will find their anticipations met by the more ordinary group of characters, whose fortunes are the subject of the present story, may be doubted. But 'Heartsease' deserves to be judged on its own merits. It is a tale full of interest, with scenes as vivid, though not so highly wrought, as the last. The story is new in its plan, and well sustained; the characters for the most part natural, and acting well upon one another; the dialogue, as always with this writer, animated and clever. The interest perhaps too much centres in the heroine; but she is a very real and sweet person, and her attractions so genuine, that we see nothing improbable in the extent of good which her modest gifts and graces achieve, while whatever is painful in her position may be regarded as necessary to the moral of a marriage like hers, with which the story opens. Theodora, the sister-in-law, in whose delineation great pains and almost too much space are bestowed, we cannot think so successful. In the necessity of inventing trials for the heroine, she is made too faulty either for nature or any share in the reader's sympathy, who cannot see sufficient reason for her vagaries in her jealousy of the affection of a very common-place brother. She is, however, a favourite with the writer, and the occasion of many striking scenes. The sketch of Theresa Marstone is so good, that we were disappointed not to see more of her. There is in our authoress a rectitude and clear-sightedness in matters of right and wrong, which qualify her to unmask pretension, and to expose the fallacies by which some high religious professors seem to hold themselves exempt from the common rules of honesty and conscience. One word of criticism we are tempted to offer, which applies indiscriminately to all stories by this writer: we mean the undue prominence of physical suffering. Casualties, accidents, sudden deaths, lingering sicknesses, all forms of pain and bodily weakness, are used too much as engines to excite sympathy, and for the sake of incident. Probably the invention will fasten on these obvious stimulants to interest and excitement; but it is not the less a fault to be guarded against. Not that the present tale is at all an extreme case, only a general delicacy of constitution pervades the *dramatis personæ*, and Violet suffers from an habitual languor, bordering upon hysteria. We doubt, by the way, if it is fair to husbands to represent wives as a sort of fragile ware, which will break and slip through their fingers unless constantly nursed and guarded. A man may be a good husband, we plead, and yet so indifferent a nurse, that he must trust his wife to the management of her own health: but we speak under correction. Perhaps the direct religious tendency of this story is not so prominent as in the 'Heir of Redclyffe;' but there is enough to show how habitually the writer is directed by the highest rules of action, and to lead the reader's thoughts on to the true source and example of all excellence.

We noticed last quarter a 'Letter to Mr. Dale' by Mr. Millner, incumbent of one of the district churches of S. Pancras, intimating an opinion that it revealed a state of things the existence of which it would be well in those most concerned to disprove. These are the abuses—and a kindred one exists in Cripplegate—which will ruin Chapters, that of S. Paul's in particular. Not only does the charge remain unanswered, but it has recently been restated, and the unfortunate condition of this immense parish more pointedly brought out, in 'An Appeal to the Bishop of London, by a District Churchwarden.' (Darling.) S. Pancras is in ecclesiastical matters governed by a strange body of trustees, the messenger and clerk of whom, it seems, is better paid than nine Clergymen out of ten in the parish. The Churchwarden states, which seems extraordinary, that Mr. Millner's printed letter was answered by Mr. Dale, 'in the pulpit of S. Pancras church.'—P. 7.

'The Bishop of Winchester on Convocation,' is the reprint of an article which appeared in the *Ecclesiastic and Theologian* for October. (Masters.) It is written in very vigorous, and, as it is called, strong language; not stronger, we are sorry to say, than the occasion—a distressing one—warrants.

Mr. W. Rogers, in his 'Educational Prospects of S. Thomas, Charterhouse,' (Longman,) prints a pamphlet in the shape of a Letter to Lord John Russell, showing how his large and important schools have brought him into pecuniary distress and trouble. The experience of every 'new district,' especially in London, confirms Mr. Rogers' statement. As a mere matter of taste, we are not very partial to specimens of ministerial autobiography, and successes, and sacrifices; but Mr. Rogers tells his in a lively way.

Mr. Biden, the author of a work called 'Truths Maintained,' and 'The Church and her Destinies,' (Aylott and Jones,) seems very anxious that we should give an opinion on his productions. He has, he tells us, acquired 'one great fundamental truth, viz. that the past of Christianity, from soon 'after its first promulgation, has been at variance with the Gospel—the 'whole machinery of an ecclesiastical Church is inappropriate, and the whole 'body of doctrines taught false.' As to 'Truths Maintained,' the author assures us that it has done its work; 'by its aid the devil is bound for a thousand years,' p. 54, an intimation which is hardly reconcilable with Mr. James Biden's subsequent complaint, which some people will be old-fashioned enough to consider a little blasphemous, (Appendix, p. 79,) 'that 'the author has been specially called to God's service, and has now been 'steadily employed six years—the six working-days—apparently with 'little result upon the opinions held in Christendom.'

'The Castle Builders' is a reprint by Miss Young, the authoress of the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' of a tale which has appeared in Mr. Mozley's excellent magazine, 'The Monthly Packet.' We are not sure that a smaller canvass does not suit this writer better than a large one. Her skill is rather in the delicate elaboration of character than in plot. For single pathetic scenes, such as the drowning of the noble boy Frank, she stands very high; it will quite bear comparison with the wonderful sea-side inci-

dent in the 'Antiquary.' We should be glad that the characters were not so exclusively high-born and high-bred: and speaking generally, at least from our own experience of school-boys and school-girls, the intellectual powers, as well as the acquirements, of her young people are in advance of their years.

It is satisfactory to find so many of our Bishops issuing with authority, Prayers for private use, with especial reference to the War. Foremost both as regards completeness, and what used to be called unction, stands a collection, quite a manual, under the Bishop of Oxford's *imprimatur*, 'Prayers to be used during our present Troubles.' (J. H. Parker.) The Collect 'for our allies' might with advantage have specially distinguished the Turks, and then of course it would have referred to their conversion.

Professor Ansted has printed, and Mr. Van Voorst has published, under the title of 'Scenery, Science, and Artist,' some notes of various mining districts in the south of France, Spain, Algeria, Sardinia, and North America. The writer has qualifications beyond the technical requisites of his profession; he is a very good describer of natural scenery, and in the Sardinian notes he travels over a country as little known to the run of travellers as the African Desert.

The provincial dialects of England are much misunderstood if they are only considered an illiterate and barbarous *patois*. In fact, they contain and preserve the elements and rudiments of our compound tongue. In Miss Baker's admirable 'Northamptonshire Glossary,' (J. Russell Smith,) we have rather a repertory of archaisms than vulgarisms. But it is much more than a vocabulary; it preserves not only dialectical peculiarities, but old and disappearing customs, and there is hardly a page in it which does not illustrate some detail of 'Folk Lore,' or which does not throw light on some obscurity in our old writers, or recal old habits and practices. We extract a curious article:—

'FIG SUNDAY.—Palm Sunday. It is the universal custom, with both 'rich and poor in Northamptonshire, to eat figs on this day. On the Satur-'day preceding, the market at Northampton is abundantly supplied with 'figs, and there are more purchased at this time than throughout the rest of 'the year; even the charity children are in some places regaled with them. 'The observance of this custom is very local . . . may it not have some 'reference to our Lord's declining to eat figs the day after His triumphant 'entry into Jerusalem?'—Vol. i. p. 232. The fault of this work is that it gives much more than it promises; like Pegge's well-known book it treats of colloquialisms, and the ordinary proverbial expressions, which are in no sense local. For instance, 'pot-luck' is not a localism, and occasionally we should demur to the interpretation. The cant phrase to 'cut your stick,' Miss Baker connects with the Exchequer tallies; surely it is nothing more than a metaphorical expression of going on a journey, and preparing a staff for it. Miss Baker is the sister of the late historian of the county, and distinguished herself long before 'ecclesiology' became popular, by a very practical restoration of the sculptures of S. Peter's, Northampton, executed by her own hands.

Sympathising to the full with the practical pamphlet by 'A Layman,'

on 'The Late Payment of Weekly Wages,' (Rivingtons,) we can only say that our inquiries tend to the unsatisfactory conviction, that if wages are paid on Friday, the Saturday is lost; if on Monday, the week is broken. The present writer's opposite experience is drawn chiefly from the more respectable class of artisans employed in a printing-office.

Certainly Mr. Murray's little red *feuilletons* of Railway Reading are adapted to all tastes; the two last instalments are about as opposite as can be conceived:—'The Rejected Addresses,' illustrated by a perfect apparatus of illustrative notes, gay, lively, and sparkling: and Mr. Henry Taylor's well-known 'Six Essays,' grave, thoughtful, and austere. In the last collection we have read with increased delight that most able paper on 'Choice in Marriage:' it is the very best extant 'advice to those about to marry.'

'The Bishop of Oxford's Charge,' (J. W. Parker,) is probably in the hands of most of our readers. Eulogy on our part would be unbecoming, but we desire to enrich our pages with an extract which immediate circumstances invest with great importance:—

'The teaching of the Church of England, then, as to this great mystery, 'in strict agreement with the Holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity, is, 'I apprehend, simply this. First, that there is a peculiar and supernatural 'presence of Christ with His people in that Holy Sacrament. That in it 'He does in and by the due reception of the consecrated elements convey 'to the faithful believer a real partaking of His body and of His blood, 'whereby the souls of His faithful people are nourished and refreshed. 'But, secondly, that He has not revealed to us the mode or conditions of 'that presence; which, being Divine and supernatural, is not to be thought 'of, or made the subject of argument, as if it either were governed by the 'laws, or involved the consequences of a material presence. To the many 'questions, therefore, which may be raised touching the conditions, or 'mode of this presence, our Church gives no answer; but protests against 'their discussion as being curious and dangerous; as being likely to lead, 'and as having led those who entertained them, into many errors; and as, 'therefore, to be discouraged as attempts to be wise above what is written. 'As to one of these, indeed, because it specially threatened the faith of her 'own children, she has pronounced a distinct and emphatic censure; con-'demning the Papal solution of the mystery in terms which apply to it 'alike in its grosser form of an undisguised belief in the transformation of 'the bread and wine into flesh and blood, and in that subtle refinement of 'the fancy, whereby—whilst the theory of a material change is still pre-'served—its grossness is veiled, for more educated intellects, by the de-'claration, that the substances of the bread and wine, in their highest 'essential being, are removed, and for them miraculously substituted the 'essential substance of our Lord's body, whilst the accidents of that 'altered substance, such as taste, colour, shape, and the like, remain, 'through God's power, unchanged, so as to delude the senses. This 'doctrine of Transubstantiation,—the fruitful source, or apt ally, in the 'Papal communion of so many and such dangerous superstitions,—our 'Church condemns in no faltering accents, as being unknown to primitive 'times, incapable of proof by the Holy Writ, but repugnant to the plain

'words of Scripture, as overthrowing the nature of a sacrament, and 'having given occasion to many superstitions. But this direct condemna- 'tion of the teachers of error is not her common course. Rather, for the 'most part, has she guarded the faith by a simple denial of the erroneous 'doctrine, or even by asserting, with authority, the distinct truth, which 'those who have maintained the error she condemns, have endeavoured to 'disfigure, or deny. Thus in declaring, that "to such as rightly, worthily, 'and with faith, partake of that sacrament, the bread which we break, is 'a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing, is 'a partaking of the blood of Christ." And again, "that the body and 'blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in 'the Lord's Supper;" and again, that "the wicked do not therein partake 'of Christ;" and once more, "that the body of Christ is given, taken, and 'eaten in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner;" she 'asserts those truths which are darkened by the confusing and erroneous 'doctrine of Consubstantiation, and denied by the cold naturalism of the 'Zuinglian theory, which resolves the reality of Christ's presence into the 'quickened apprehension of the devout worshipper; but whilst she has 'thus authoritatively reasserted the truths which were in peril, she has 'not stepped aside to censure by name either the one error or the other.

'This, then, being so, we may, I think, without difficulty, gather what 'should be our teaching as to this great mystery.

'We should first, and above all, in opposition to the unbelief which is so 'natural to the heart of man, insist upon the reality and truth of that super- 'natural presence which our Lord is graciously pleased to vouchsafe in that 'Sacrament to the worthy receiver. Next, we should discourage, to the 'utmost of our power, all speculations as to the mode of that presence, the 'reality of which we inculcate. Further, whilst we should distinctly con- 'demn every specific form of erroneous teaching, concerning the mode of 'that presence, which our Church has actually censured, we should watch 'against that dogmatical spirit which would lead us to anathematize all 'with whose statements ours do not exactly harmonize; remembering the 'moderation and wisdom which has led our Church to seek to maintain 'undefiled the purity of the Faith, by an unreserved and uncompromising 'reassertion of the truth which heresy assails, rather than by a direct con- 'demnation of the holders of error; and being on our guard lest we be 'rashly led, on the mere strength of our individual judgment, to multiply 'censures which she has advisedly withheld. Lastly, we should labour to 'lead our people from curious questions as to that which is eminently a 'mystery, to be received simply by faith, and not argued out by the sub- 'tlety of reasoning, to an humble and unquestioning belief in the working 'of the Power of God, and to earnest longings for the great spiritual bless- 'ings, which, if they come aright, will be vouchsafed to them in thus par- 'taking of Christ. And if at any time we are forced to enter further upon 'this mystery, we should keep as closely as possible to the letter of Scrip- 'ture, and to the inculcation of the doctrine as a revealed fact in its bearing 'upon practice; remembering, what is admitted even by Bellarmine, "that 'though it is a matter of faith to believe that Sacraments are instruments 'whereby God worketh grace in the souls of men, yet that the manner how

on 'The Late Payment of Weekly Wages,' (Rivingtons,) we can only say that our inquiries tend to the unsatisfactory conviction, that if wages are paid on Friday, the Saturday is lost; if on Monday, the week is broken. The present writer's opposite experience is drawn chiefly from the more respectable class of artisans employed in a printing-office.

Certainly Mr. Murray's little red *feuilletons* of Railway Reading are adapted to all tastes; the two last instalments are about as opposite as can be conceived:—'The Rejected Addresses,' illustrated by a perfect apparatus of illustrative notes, gay, lively, and sparkling: and Mr. Henry Taylor's well-known 'Six Essays,' grave, thoughtful, and austere. In the last collection we have read with increased delight that most able paper on 'Choice in Marriage:' it is the very best extant 'advice to those about to marry.'

'The Bishop of Oxford's Charge,' (J. W. Parker,) is probably in the hands of most of our readers. Eulogy on our part would be unbecoming, but we desire to enrich our pages with an extract which immediate circumstances invest with great importance:—

'The teaching of the Church of England, then, as to this great mystery, 'in strict agreement with the Holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity, is, 'I apprehend, simply this. First, that there is a peculiar and supernatural 'presence of Christ with His people in that Holy Sacrament. That in it 'He does in and by the due reception of the consecrated elements convey 'to the faithful believer a real partaking of His body and of His blood, 'whereby the souls of His faithful people are nourished and refreshed. 'But, secondly, that He has not revealed to us the mode or conditions of 'that presence; which, being Divine and supernatural, is not to be thought 'of, or made the subject of argument, as if it either were governed by the 'laws, or involved the consequences of a material presence. To the many 'questions, therefore, which may be raised touching the conditions, or 'mode of this presence, our Church gives no answer; but protests against 'their discussion as being curious and dangerous; as being likely to lead, 'and as having led those who entertained them, into many errors; and as, 'therefore, to be discouraged as attempts to be wise above what is written. 'As to one of these, indeed, because it specially threatened the faith of her 'own children, she has pronounced a distinct and emphatic censure; con-'demning the Papal solution of the mystery in terms which apply to it 'alike in its grosser form of an undisguised belief in the transformation of 'the bread and wine into flesh and blood, and in that subtle refinement of 'the fancy, whereby—whilst the theory of a material change is still pre-'served—its grossness is veiled, for more educated intellects, by the de-'claration, that the substances of the bread and wine, in their highest 'essential being, are removed, and for them miraculously substituted the 'essential substance of our Lord's body, whilst the accidents of that 'altered substance, such as taste, colour, shape, and the like, remain, 'through God's power, unchanged, so as to delude the senses. This 'doctrine of Transubstantiation,—the fruitful source, or apt ally, in the 'Papal communion of so many and such dangerous superstitions,—our 'Church condemns in no faltering accents, as being unknown to primitive 'times, incapable of proof by the Holy Writ, but repugnant to the plain

of the Revelations.' (Hodges & Smith.) The author was not called upon to miscall one of the Books of the Bible.

Archdeacon Denison, in the preface to a characteristic and warm-hearted sermon, lately preached at Wells, on the 5th November, (Masters,) has set down the exact state of the case between Mr. Ditcher and himself. We extract it in the Archdeacon's own words :—

'The Commission has been issued, bearing date "Lambeth, November '30." It is to sit at Clevedon, January 3, 1855.

'That there may be no room for dispute as to the fact of the present 'assault being directed against THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, I 'subjoin the charge against me, in its eight Counts. I am charged with 'maintaining false Doctrine under *all* the eight counts.

'CHARGE.

'1. That the Body and Blood of CHRIST, being Really Present, after an 'immaterial and spiritual manner, in the consecrated bread and wine, are 'therein and thereby given to all, and are received by all who come to the 'LORD'S Table.

'2. That to all who come to the LORD'S Table, to those who eat and 'drink worthily, and to those who eat and drink unworthily, the Body and 'Blood of CHRIST are given, and that by all who come to the LORD'S Table, 'by those who eat and drink worthily, and by those who eat and drink 'unworthily, the Body and Blood of CHRIST are received.

'3. That the universal reception of the inward part or Thing signified, 'of the Sacrament, in and by the outward sign, is a part of the doctrine of 'the Real Presence itself.

'4. That worship is due to the Real though invisible and supernatural 'Presence of the Body and Blood of CHRIST in the Holy Eucharist "under 'the form of bread and wine."'

'5. That the act of Consecration makes the Real Presence.

'6. That the act of Consecration makes the Sacrament, through the 'operation of THE HOLY GHOST, to be CHRIST'S Body and Blood.

'7. That in the LORD'S Supper the outward parts or signs, and the 'inward parts or Things signified, are so joined together by the act of Con-'secration, that to receive the one is to receive the other.

'8. That all who receive the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper receive the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

'All which said Positions or Doctrines I, the said Reverend Joseph 'Ditcher, do further expressly charge and complain to be directly contrary 'or repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and especially 'to the Articles of Religion as by Law established, or some or one of them.

'N.B.—With reference to the language of Counts 1 and 3, I have to 'observe, that being advised, after Sermon I. was published, that the use of 'the word "*in*," in this context might appear to some to savour of a belief in '*some material* Presence, I carefully avoided the use of the word "in" in the 'same context in Sermons II. and III., and in my VIII. Propositions. It 'is used, indeed, in the Preface to Sermon II., but here only because I was 'quoting statements previously made, and answering objections taken to 'such statements.

'I was ready to have given the above explanation, if, in answer to my

'letter of April 20, 1854, to the late Bishop of Bath and Wells, (See Correspondence, pp. 10, 11,) I had been allowed an opportunity of offering 'explanation respecting *the manner of my teaching*.

'This, then, is THE DOCTRINE,—Scriptural, Primitive, Catholic, Anglican, '—held, unconsciously, perhaps, and without examination of terms, but 'firmly, deeply, universally, so to speak, by the poor and simple-minded 'of GOD's Church in this land,—this is THE DOCTRINE for teaching which 'it is now sought to *deprive* me, after a ministry of more than twenty years '—upon which, from its commencement to this day, it is not possible to 'fasten any charge of unfaithfulness to the Church of England, under 13th 'Eliz., as a depraver of the XXXIX Articles, or some one or more of them.

'If the present case shall find its way into Court, it appears scarcely 'possible—having regard to the accumulation of evidence—that any judg-'ment can be given against me; or, if so given, can be confirmed upon appeal. 'But it is well to be prepared for the worst; and I think it due to the 'Church at large to state here the course which, in that event, I am pre-'pared to take.

'Having been deprived of my *temporalities*, as a teacher of false doctrine, 'by sentence of Court of Appeal, I shall appeal, touching THE DOCTRINE 'so condemned, *first*, to the Bishops of the Church at home, assembled in 'Convocation. If, unhappily, my appeal be by them either refused, or be 'entertained with an adverse issue, I shall *further* appeal to all the Bishops 'of the Anglican Communion. (Vide Preface to Sermon I. p. 6.)

'I reprint here the Propositions published by me March 22, 1854, being 'a condensed and formal statement, under eight heads, of what I had 'affirmed and proved in Sermons I. and II.

'I have set out below, in VIII. Propositions, THE DOCTRINE OF THE 'HOLY EUCHARIST maintained in my two published Sermons, intituled '"THE REAL PRESENCE."

'I maintain this DOCTRINE. I have not anywhere, at any time, main-'tained any other DOCTRINE.

'I. That the Bread and Wine become, by the act of Consecration, "the 'outward part or sign of the LORD's Supper:" and, considered as objects 'of sense, are unchanged by the act of Consecration; "remaining still in 'their very natural substances."

'II. That "the inward part or THING signified," is "the BODY and BLOOD 'of CHRIST."

'III. That "the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST," being Present naturally 'in Heaven, are, supernaturally and invisibly, but Really, Present in the 'LORD's Supper, through the elements, by virtue of the act of Consecration.

'IV. That by "the Real Presence of the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST in 'the LORD's Supper," is not to be understood the presence of an Influence 'emanating from a THING absent, but the supernatural and invisible 'Presence of a THING Present; of HIS very BODY and very BLOOD, Present '"under the form of Bread and Wine."

'V. That the "outward part or sign," and "the inward part or THING 'signified," being brought together in and by the act of Consecration, *make* 'THE SACRAMENT.

'VI. That THE SACRAMENT—*i.e.* "the outward part or sign"—and "the

'inward part, or THING signified"—is given to, and is received by, all who 'communicate.

'VII. That "in such only as worthily receive the same [THE SACRA-'MENTS of the BODY and the BLOOD of CHRIST] they have a wholesome 'effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to 'themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith."

'VIII. That worship is due to "the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST," 'supernaturally and invisibly, but Really, Present in the LORD'S Supper, '"under the form of Bread and Wine," by reason of that GODHEAD with 'which THEY are Personally united. But that the elements, through which '"the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST" are given and received, may not be 'worshipped.'

In connexion with this subject, we are informed that an important pamphlet, 'On Article XXIX.' by Mr.Grueber, (Masters,) deserves a very attentive and careful perusal. By some accident, it has not reached us; but it is said to be very carefully written.

Mr. Gresley's 'Sermon on the Unity of the Church,' (Masters,) proves that he is now as ever ready on any emergency to issue one of his manly, sensible, and well-timed appeals to our patience and consistency.

And this sermon in its occasional propriety reminds us to acknowledge Mr. R. I. Wilberforce's work 'On the Royal Supremacy,' (Longman,) and to observe, which is all that at present we are called upon to say, that it reproduces, with little or no novelty of argument, a position, the settlement of which we had always considered to lie at the very threshold of communion with the Church of England. Mr. Wilberforce's assumption is, that all theology and ecclesiastical *status* must admit of a sharp, formal, logical, and almost mathematical symmetry and completeness. Unless it exhausts every difficulty, it confesses not only a weakness but a vice. The Church of England has its logical difficulties: the Church of Rome professes a completeness. The consequence is, that the formal claimant, because it demands, must receive our allegiance.

We welcome Mr. Newland's little volume of Sermons, which he calls 'Postils.' (Masters.) The thought is a happy one to work out patristic teaching into sensible idiomatic English. The preacher's object has been rather to convey the spirit and method than the words and style of the ancient and authoritative Doctors. In a very unassuming preface, Mr. Newland desires not to take credit for learning which he does not possess. But if he has read little he has read well. And we only repeat the experience of others when we say, that better sermon-thoughts are to be gathered from these ancient sources than from any conceivable or unconceivable perusal of Scott and Henry.

Mr F. Meyrick has printed at the Vice-Chancellor's request, 'Two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford on 29th May, and 5th November.' (J. H. Parker.) They exhibit that same loving spirit, to the furtherance of which Mr. Meyrick's many and useful labours have been directed. The preacher does justice to those who, among ourselves, teach differently from himself; we should be glad to have fuller evidence that this meekness and charity were in any degree reciprocated.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1855.

ART. I. — *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, depuis son Origine jusqu'à nos Jours. Par* J. DE HAMMER. *Traduit de l'Allemand sur les Notes et sous la Direction de l'Auteur. Par* J. J. HELLERT. 18 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1835—1843.

THE Ottomans were the last of those conquering races who, during the middle ages, broke into Europe, and fixed the present arrangement of its map; and the Ottoman State may be said to be, with one partial exception, the last great territorial conquest made in Europe. Never assimilating to those whom they had conquered, and but imperfectly able to incorporate their subjects with themselves, divided by what seems an eternal bar from the fellowship of other European nations, the Ottomans, in the period of their prosperity and strength, afflicted Europe with incessant and singularly terrible warfare; and long after they had learned not to be ambitious, insulted it with their domestic ferocity and untamed barbarian pride. The curse which they had brought with them clings to their presence still, in the hour of their deep decay. By the very decline of their power, jealousies have been awakened which could not be appeased, and questions raised which could not be solved, without plunging Europe into a war, of which no one can forecast the issues. At a moment like the present,[1] when, while verging to their fall, they have once more become the occasion of calamity to Christendom, it may not be without interest to recal briefly the steps by which they arose from the most insignificant beginnings to their eventful eminence.

The history of the early Ottomans has been very imperfectly told, and much still remains dark and uncertain in the features which distinguish in its origin that strange and mighty race from its kindred tribes. It is a history, in the main, of wasteful and unscrupulous conquest, like that of other successful barbarians of Europe and Asia. But we seem to discern, even

[1] The following pages were in type in December 1854.

from the beginning, some points of special interest. We seem to perceive in it the remarkable history of a single family, gradually gathering round itself the materials of a vast ambition, and shaping a people and a nation to support it, out of heterogeneous elements, by the informing power and spirit of one household and line. It is an advance of which the earlier steps were as slow and gradual as its subsequent strides suddenly became gigantic. It is a story of great patience and resolution; of an ambition, which, unlike that of most barbarians, was not in a hurry, but could keep its object in view and devise the means for its achievement without restlessness and without weariness. It was content to work by degrees, and, without losing sight of the highest prizes, was satisfied with smaller ones, while they were proportionate to its strength. And among the institutions of which the foundations were early laid, as the permanent supports of the greatness which it meditated, one was at once the most original, the most terrible, and, for the time, the most effective that is to be found recorded among the inventions of deep craft and heartless love of power, of which history is full. The Ottomans found the art of borrowing their strength systematically, and from the very first, from the races they were subduing; of forcing into their own service, and moulding to their own purpose, the promise and energy which was their natural antagonist. Their history is one at first of few disasters, so cautious and so steadily provident, even while they were most enterprising, were these builders of a new empire. A reverse did come at length, unexpected and crushing. It retarded for some score of years their ambition; but it neither broke up their institutions, nor dismayed their spirit, nor turned aside their purposes, nor in the end crippled their power. It is a painful, but it is an instructive lesson, to compare their stout and persevering course, so wisely compliant to circumstances, but so inflexible in its ultimate direction, their imperious and exacting urgency in the opportunities of success, their self-restraint when it was the time to wait or pause, with the short-sightedness, the despair, the worn-out and spiritless imbecility, the random efforts, of those whom they were menacing. Thus, at length, Christianity was beaten down, the remains of ancient civilization swept away, and the seed and promise of that to come destroyed, not by a passing burst of barbarian ravage, but by a polity new and uncongenial to Europe, which had early attained its maturity and secured its permanence; religious in its groundwork of ideas and laws, with a religion bitterly hostile to all that is sacred in Europe; purely and fixedly military, in its organization and aims, as well as its spirit and habits. No glimmering of political life or thought, no dim image of civil

rights or duties, ever gave hope, while the Ottomans were rising to greatness, that they would gradually open, from the tastes and tempers of their ancestral deserts, to the gentler manners, the wider thoughts, the nobler pursuits, the wiser and more equal laws, by which alone nations can be preserved from corruption and decay. There was no germ of improvement in their institutions; yet they succeeded in raising on those institutions a great monarchy, which with all its inherent seeds of ruin, has already stood the wear of four centuries.

In the following pages we shall confine ourselves to that period of their history during which they were preparing for their future greatness,—the period from their first appearance on the outskirts of the Greek empire, till they felt themselves ready to take the great step, for which they had so steadily been preparing, and claim the imperial city, round whose walls they had been closing for more than a century. Our chief guide, as he probably must be of most who study Ottoman history for some time to come, will be Von Hammer. His diffuse and ponderous, yet noble work, is the production of a scholar, a diplomatist, and a traveller, who for thirty years prepared himself for his task by an unwearied study, both of the people whose history he meant to write, and of the original monuments of that history. None but he has yet examined, systematically and critically, the Ottoman records. He ransacked the libraries of Europe from Naples to Oxford; he was able to command the use of the archives of those powers which had most connexion with the Porte, at Vienna and Venice; his agents searched for manuscripts in Cairo and Bagdad, Aleppo and Damascus. Of his absolute success, few probably in the West can be competent to judge; and few are likely to qualify themselves for testing his accuracy, by invading once more that strange mass of semi-barbarous literature, Turkish, Persian, Arabic, only existing in manuscript, and dispersed in distant libraries, from which he drew his materials. We must take on trust his reports of Turkish authorities. In the early part of the history, though they are not absolutely wanting, they furnish, even according to his estimate of them, but scanty and uncertain light: but it is all we have, to check the evidence, perhaps even less to be relied on, of the Greeks. But it is necessary, in accepting the testimony of Ottoman historians,[1] to remember the criticism of Seadeddin, one of the

[1] The earliest sources of Ottoman history to which Von Hammer could get access in the originals, and which he used, are as follows:—

1. The History of *Aaschik-Paschazade*. The writer was a witness of Amurath II.'s Hungarian war in 1438 (*Von Hammer*, i. 345, and *infra*, p. 294), and wrote under Bajazet II., the son of Mahomet the Conqueror, (1481—1512.) He 'drew materials from the Book of Sheikh Yachshi, the Imam of Sultan Orchan, (1325—1359,) (one of the seven who attended Othman's death-bed, *Von Hammer*, i. 86,) who relates

most famous of their number, on his predecessor, Idris, whose 'Eight Paradises' he eulogizes and copies, but of whom he remarks, 'that he is too concise in enumerating the virtues of 'the Ottomans, and does not set forth, with the copiousness and 'particularity which they deserve, the praises of the Sultans.' Yet the historian, whose almost only fault is said to be the niggardness of his eulogy, opens his work with claiming it as his merit, that all that is not to the credit of his race, he is most careful to pass over in silence, and that he will only admit posterity to the knowledge of the noble deeds of the house of Othman. It is a partial compensation that his standard of the blameworthy and the honourable is an eastern one; and he records without a remark, and of course without a shadow of censure, the murder of an aged uncle, who was pleading against an aggressive war with the Christians, by the first founder of the race.

We have prefixed to this article the French translation of Von Hammer, to have the opportunity of giving the caution, that it is not to be trusted. It is to be regretted that this handsome and complete book, which contains at full length all Von Hammer's illustrative extracts and documents, and a useful atlas of maps and plans, should have been prepared, as far as the translator's work is concerned, with such inexcusable ignorance

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the earliest events of Ottoman history from the mouth of his father.' It was a forgotten book to the Ottomans in the 17th century. Von Hammer searched for it in vain at Constantinople; but found it, and made extracts from it, in the Vatican.

2. An old chronicle, by Ali Osman, reaching down to 1470. It had been brought to Europe by Veranzius, and used by Leunclavius.

3. 'View of the World,' by *Neschri*, a contemporary of Aashik-Paschazade under Bajazet II. 'Written in rough Turkish, simply and without art.' Also used by Leunclavius.

4. The 'Eight Paradises' of *Idris* of Bitlis, who died 1523, and who, at the instance of Bajazet II., wrote in Persian the first Ottoman history with attention to elegance of style. Seaddedin regrets in him his extreme luxuriance of diction. What that must have been, may be imagined, from the *soberer* critic's language, who describes the work as 'veiled in musk;' as 'a resplendent beauty among all the brides of the library,' whose 'musk-perfumed hair, that is, the interlacing lines of its letters, is like the locks of the Houris,' and 'whose face is painted with vermilion, that is, it is plentifully interspersed with the texts of the Koran written in red ink.' Von Hammer procured it with difficulty.

5. History of *Lutfi-Pascha*, down to 1553. He had been Grand Vizier.

6. History of *Djemali*, down to 1550. Brought to Vienna in 1551, and translated by Leunclavius. 'The first trustworthy foundation of Ottoman history in Europe.'

7. 'The Crown of Histories' of *Seaddedin*, the first official historiographer of the Ottoman sultans, under Amurath III. (1574-95.) Seaddedin was tutor to the princes, judge of the army, and at last Mufti. Translated, but carelessly, by Bratutti.

8. History of *Aali*, to 1597, 'uncritical, but painstaking and impartial, and not written in an official spirit.'

Thus the earliest Turkish historian cited by Von Hammer *wrote* after the Conquest. With these materials in his hands, instead of in those of Cantemir, we feel our footing more secure; but, after all, Gibbon's remark about Cantemir involuntarily recurs, that 'he gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guides.'

or negligence. The continual and stupid mistakes which recur in this neat and flowery French version of Von Hammer's ungainly but vigorous German, negative, to our mind, the assertion in the title-page, that it was translated 'under the direction of the author.' We cannot doubt that Von Hammer understood French. We are certain that the French which is put in his mouth by his translator, working, as he says, 'under his direction,' makes him perpetually say the exact opposite of what he says himself, in German.[1]

The traveller in Asia Minor comes from time to time upon encampments of Turkomans, such as have for the last 1,000 years roamed with their horses and their flocks over the provinces of the East. These wandering shepherds still adhere to the life which their fathers led, in the steppes and highlands of Central Asia. They pitch their black tents in the plains and near the cities during the winter; as the summer draws on, they retire to the coolness and fresh springs of the mountain pastures. They can live contented with this vagrant liberty; but they are ever ready to mount and ride, at a moment's warning, to any call to pillage and war. Such a tribe, dangerous or harmless, or merely troublesome, according to the character of its chiefs, was roaming, towards the middle of the 13th century, in the north-western corner of Asia Minor, by the banks of the Sangarius and among the oak forests of the Bithynian Olympus; one, and an inconsiderable one, among the many tribes of the same race, who had fixed their tents, and some of them their thrones, in that fair but wasted land. This encampment of shepherds and freebooters was the germ of the Ottoman Empire.

It was but the fragment of a small Turkoman horde, which towards the beginning of the century,—among the many migrations and changes caused among the wandering races of Asia by the devastations of Genghis Khan,—had left its seats in Khorasan, which lay in the track of the Mongol invasions, to seek safer and remoter pasture grounds by the sources of the Euphrates. They seem to have wandered down the course of the river, to the neighbourhood of Aleppo, till, on the death of Genghis Khan, they again turned their faces eastward, towards their old abodes; but as the tribe was crossing the Euphrates, the horse of their leader, Suleiman Schah, stumbled from the steep bank, and his rider was drowned in the stream, at a spot which still keeps the name of the 'Turk's Grave.' This broke up the camp. Suleiman left four sons. Two of them continued their course eastward, and with the majority of the tribe, their posterity have been lost among the nomad hordes into which

[1] In our references to Von Hammer, we cite, unless the contrary is expressed, from the second *German* edition. (Pesth, 1834.)

they melted. The other two, Ertoghrul and his brother Dundar, with but 400 families, turned once more to the west, to become the founders of the mighty and terrible house of Othman.

At that time, the nominal masters of Asia Minor were the Turkoman Sultans of the family of Seljouk, who ruled at Iconium. Their protection was sought by their humbler kinsmen under Ertoghrul. The story goes, that in the journeyings of Ertoghrul and his tribe, they came upon a battle-field, where a fight was going on between two unequally matched armies. Ertoghrul could not resist the temptation to join in the fray; and, as he was a lover of justice and equity, resolved, while yet at a distance, and not knowing who were the combatants, to assist the weaker side. He found, after his horsemen had decided the battle, that he had helped the Sultan of Iconium, the great Alaeddin, against an overpowering force of Mongols. But with his ready hand, and love of fair play, Ertoghrul's ambition and desire was only for the retirement and peace of an unmolested pastoral life. He asked for no reward from the Sultan, but to be allowed to feed his flocks in some safe and secluded district; and Alaeddin assigned him the Black Mountain near Angora. Such was the account which the servants of the house of Othman delivered to its chroniclers, as what they had heard from the elders of the tribe, respecting the first occasion of the close alliance between their chiefs and the Seljoukian Sultans. But the retired pasture grounds of the Black Mountain were in time exchanged for a more public scene of life, which tempted and favoured more aspiring desires, and more stirring adventure.

In the decline of the Eastern Empire, its Asiatic border had gradually shrunk back before the Persians, the Arabs, and the Seljouks, from the Euphrates, to the south-eastern horizon of Constantinople, the Bithynian hills. The river Sangarius, with its chain of forts, and the passes of Olympus behind it, which covered the frontier, and fenced in the green and wooded plain which was spread round the walls of Nicomedia and Nicæa, had more than once been forced by the invaders, and Bithynia with its royal cities lost and regained, in the vicissitudes of border war. Bithynia was now a province of the Byzantine empire, the last that remained to it on the other side of the Bosphorus; and the outlying fringe of plain that extends beyond its mountain border, from the *eastern* slopes of Olympus to the banks of the Sangarius and the Thymbres, was a debateable ground, occupied and fought over both by Greeks and Seljouks. Here Alaeddin settled Ertoghrul and his horde, s an advanced camp, to guard the outskirts of his dominions, nd annoy those of his Christian neighbours. He could not

have chosen a more efficient garrison. In the wasted and depopulated plain, and the extensive river banks, and in the cool summits and uplands of the neighbouring hills, the flocks of the tribe found ample and congenial range for their winter and summer wanderings; and its rapid and active horsemen were not more ready to defend their new pasture grounds, than they were to challenge the risks and excitement of border frays and plunder. They were skilfully and resolutely led: and a great trial of strength and cunning with the Greek borderers and their hired Tartar allies, established Ertoghrul's name, and his claim to the confidence of Alaeddin. In the front of the battle rode a crowd of light-armed skirmishers, whose name, the *Akindji*, became in later times but too familiar to the Christians of Hungary and Germany, as the name of the irregular bands, who preceded the march of the Ottoman hosts, and whose furious onset was the signal of battle. Behind their cover came the main array, the 444 companions of Ertoghrul, (Turkish tradition, which delights in combinations of the number *four*, has preserved the exact number,) which helped Alaeddin when he was overpowered by the Mongols. For three days and three nights the battle lasted; it began in the defiles of Olympus, crossed the mountain, and descended into the plain of Brusa; but in the end Ertoghrul broke and trampled down his enemies, and chased them through the plain, to the edge of the sea. Alaeddin had waited anxiously for the news; and in memory of the victory, and of the fiery horsemen of the vanguard, he called the name of the district which he had given to Ertoghrul, *Sultan Œni*, the *Sultan's Fore-front*. *Sultan Œni*—which still keeps the name, as a Sandjak or fief of the Ottoman empire—was the first land which the founders of that empire could call their own—the first foothold, from which they advanced, step by step, to the conquest of half the Roman dominion. In the narrow canton of *Sultan Œni* are found the first local names of Ottoman history, made to the nation venerable by their association with the abodes, the fortunes, the graves of its patriarchs, heroes, martyrs. Here are found the scenes of their birth, their combats, their loves, their councils. Here is still seen the village where the Cilician wife of Othman, long wooed and hardly won, spent her maiden years, with her aged father, the venerable Scheikh Edebali. And here by the roadside, the ancient domed tomb among the cypresses on the hill, of the Turkoman leader, whose children have arrogated to themselves a place above all other earthly thrones, is visited by Mahometan pilgrims with pride and devotion, near the hamlet where he ruled.[1]

[1] The village of *Shughut*, or *Sogud*, near the Sangarius. Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 15; Von Hammer, i. 64.

There was nothing in the achievements of Ertoghrul and his camp to portend the greatness which his children were to reach. A remarkable contrast to the rise of most Asiatic empires, which, like those of Genghis and Timour, often grew to their colossal and terrific power in the life of one generation, the Ottomans advanced steadily, but at first almost imperceptibly. The Ottoman legends relate the dream of Ertoghrul, who had sought hospitality in the house of a holy dervish; and after he had stood all night long, reading the Koran, fell asleep, and in the dreams of morning, the time when dreams are divine, received the promise, that as he had honoured the Eternal Word that night by his devout watching, his children should be had to honour throughout all generations. But all that had been granted to Ertoghrul, at the end of a life of nearly a century, was but a wasted and narrow border tract, with its ruined villages and lonely hills; and Othman, his greater and more restless son, though he turned the thoughts of his tribe towards wider conquests, and though from him a nation and its name, new in history, had its beginning, yet had barely, at the end of his threescore years and ten, made himself master of half a small and feebly defended province.

The accounts of Othman's life pass insensibly from legends to history.[1] They begin with the patriarchal simplicity and romantic adventures of a chieftain of the desert: they end with the first rude outlines of the founder of a dynasty, and the territorial prince. But even the legendary part of his history—the stories of his marriage, his friendships, and the marriage of his son—exhibit, as it were in rudiment and figure, some of the most characteristic features of what was afterwards the policy of his race. Othman wooed and won a foreign wife to be the mother of his children. Besides his Tartar brethren and comrades, the 'Alps,' whose names are joined with his in the story of his wars, he sought beyond the camp the friendship of two sorts of men. The counsellors whom he venerated, whose sanction he sought for in all his plans, whose abodes he visited with reverent humility, and for whom lands and houses were largely and solemnly set apart in all his conquests, were the Scheikhs and dervishes, the learned and holy men of Islam. For his most daring and zealous captain, he had won over from his race and his faith, a Christian apostate. And as he had himself married out of his own race, so the legends tell us, how he

[1] The names of *Othman, Bajazet, Amurath, Mahomet,* are so naturalized in our language, that incorrect, and needlessly incorrect as they are, it is hardly worth while, at least in a paper like the present, and speaking of certain well-known historical persons, to replace them with *Osman, Bayazid, Murad, Mo-hammed,* or *Mahmoud.* It is too late to change, in general use, the familiar *ttomans* for the more accurate *Osmans* or *Osmanli*; just as it would be to intro-ice the native forms of the names of Lyons, Leghorn, Naples, Florence.

laid in wait for and carried off into captivity a Christian damsel, to be the wife of his young son. We see already a foreshadowing of the domestic and administrative usages of the Ottoman house —its mixture of foreign blood, its slave marriages, its array of viziers and generals, torn away or allured from the choicest youth of surrounding Christendom; and a fierce military spirit, and institutions adapted only for war, intimately allying themselves with a religious element, and owning their only control in its ministers.

Othman had long to wait, and much to endure, before he could win the wife whom he had chosen, Malchatoun, the daughter of Edebali, a holy man, who had wandered from his birth-place in Cilicia among many cities of Islam, and had at last chosen for the resting-place of his old age, a village in Bithynia. Othman's love was passionate and strong. He visited with assiduous and humble reverence the threshold of the venerable Scheikh. But difficulties and dangers met and sorely tried him. Edebali refused to give his only daughter. Othman had a rival in the Greek chief of Dorylæum, who assembled his friends, and laid wait for Othman's life. Othman, indeed, slew his treacherous enemy, and gained, in the affray, his trustiest friend, Michael 'of the pointed beard,' one of the companions of the Greek captain; who, after having been vanquished and disarmed by Othman, was so struck with admiration of his conqueror, that he devoted himself to his service, and at last forsook for his sake creed and country, and became the ever ready assailant of his own people; the first of that long line of Christian renegades, who have been in every age the fiercest and the most terrible servants of the Ottoman power. But Malchatoun had yet to be won; and it required a dream sent from heaven, to overcome the scruples or fears of Edebali. Othman, in spite of the old man's discouraging words, waited, resigned and patient, under his roof, still reverently listening to his wisdom, still hoping in his own perseverance and fortune. One night he had a dream, such as is accustomed to be related of the founders of Oriental empires. He saw the full moon rise from the bosom of Edebali, and descend into his own; and from thence he saw a stately tree arise, which grew taller and more spreading, till it overshadowed the world. Beneath it arose four of the great mountains of the earth, Caucasus and Atlas, Taurus and Hæmus. From its roots issued four mighty rivers, the Danube, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile. Beautiful gardens and stately palaces were spread under its branches, with minarets, from whence the call to prayer blended with songs of nightingales, and the prattle of many coloured parrots. At length a strong wind bent the branches, the leaves lengthened out into the form of pointed sabres, which

turned to the chief cities of the world, and at last to Constantinople. Constantinople, between two continents and two seas, seemed like a diamond set between two sapphires and two emeralds—the jewel of a royal ring. Othman was about to put it on his finger when he awoke. A century and a half were to elapse before the promise of the dream was fulfilled. But it won Othman his wife, the predestined mother of a line of mighty kings, the last and the longest of the royal races of Islam.

For his son also, Orchan, he sought a wife of fairer beauty and higher blood, than could be found in the black tents of his wandering brethren. The early legends tell of alliances as well as feuds between the camp of the Turkomans and the Greeks of the towns. Ertoghrul and Othman had formed an alliance with the captain of the castle of Belecoma—an alliance marked by a curious mixture of confidence and mistrust. When the Turkomans drove their flocks to the hills in summer, they left the more cumbrous portion of their possessions in charge of the captain of Belecoma; but the compact was that the Turkoman treasures were to be brought into the Greek town, by none but the women and children of the tribe. For many years the agreement was faithfully kept. The Turkomans missed nothing at the hands of the Greek captain; and Othman, when he came down to the plains in winter, brought presents of cheese and honey, of horse trappings and carpets of goats' hair—the labours of the summer months on Olympus,—for his Christian ally. But, at last, say the Turkish chroniclers, the Greek grew jealous of Othman's power, and leagued against him. Othman was invited to the marriage feast of the captain of Belecoma, where the Greeks were prepared to seize him. Michael 'of the pointed beard,' whom the Greeks had in vain endeavoured to gain over to the conspiracy, warned Othman of his danger. Then he resolved on swift and signal revenge. He said he would be present at the nuptials. But as summer was at hand, and he was going up into the hills, he requested the bridegroom, the captain of Belecoma, to take charge as usual of the treasures of the tribe for the summer months, and to admit the women who bore them into the town. The gates were opened without suspicion; but this time, under the long veils and mantles came forty stout warriors, Othman and thirty-nine companions. The captain with his retinue was absent, preparing for his wedding on the following day, with the beautiful daughter of the chief of a neighbouring Greek town. Othman seized Belecoma, and then went off to waylay its master and the bridal procession, as they passed through a gorge in the hills on their road homeward. The surprise was successful. The bridegroom was slain; and his Greek bride, the 'Lotus-flower' of

Brusa, was swept off by the Turkoman robbers to their lair, to become the spouse of their leader's son, Orkhan.

But as the power of Othman grew, notices precise and circumstantial, with dates and names, appear by the side of these tales of desert life and border adventure. The year is recorded, and the place, in which Othman was raised from the head of a wandering camp, into a recognised Emir, or vassal of the Seljouk empire; and again, the date, when, after the Seljouk empire had fallen to pieces, Othman could call himself an independent prince, and began his struggle for conquest and preeminence with the other Turkish chiefs, most of them more powerful than himself, who had shared among themselves the heritage of Alp-Arslan in Asia Minor.[1] In 1289 Othman had seized a Greek town at the edge of that plain of Dorylæum, where he had long kept guard for the Seljouk frontier. The sultan of the expiring dynasty of Iconium rewarded the exploit of the rising border chief with the dignity of an Emir or Prince; and the 'Black Castle' (*Karadja Hissar*) on the Thymbres, deserves remembrance in history, as the place where the ancestors of Mahomet the Conqueror, and Soliman the Magnificent, ceased to be private men, and exchanged their rude preeminence for an acknowledged place among the lords of their people. The flag, the kettledrum, and the horsetail, the insignia of his new rank, were solemnly delivered to Othman, by the messenger of his feudal superior, the Iconian Sultan. Othman received them amid the clanging salute of barbaric music, with his arms reverently crossed on his bosom. And long afterwards, in remembrance of the investiture of the Emir of Karadja Hissar, his proud successors stood in the same attitude, when the trumpets and cymbals of the host sounded forth at the hour of prayer, till Mahomet the Conqueror thought it time to abolish the memento of his forefather's dependence, and rise to greatness, with the observation, 'that forms of reverence which have lasted 200 years, have lasted too long.'

At Karadja Hissar, the seat of his new government, Othman established a weekly market, according to a custom still characteristic of the Turkomans,[2] with its overseers, and a tribunal,

[1] The *Ten States*, mostly named after their first chiefs, were, on the Ægean, *Karasi*, in Mysia, *Saruchan*, in the Valley of the Hermus, *Aidin*, at Smyrna on the Mæander, *Mentesche*, in Caria, *Tekkeh*, in Lycia: the Midland States, *Kermian* and *Hamid*, in Phrygia and Pisidia: on the North Coast, *Kastemuni*, at Sinope and in Paphlagonia: in the South-east, the most powerful of all, inheriting the Seljouk capital, Iconium, and holding the approaches from Persia and Syria, the *Karamans*: lastly, the *Ottomans*, in Bithynia.

[2] Burnes' Travels, ii. p. 225.; iii. p. 7. Probably a fairly correct idea may be formed of the life of Othman's tribe, balancing between a camp and a fixed village—of their religious temper, their forays, their relations with their neighbours, from Burnes' account of the Turkomans of Shurukhs, on the border between

which became famous through the neighbourhood for its justice and impartiality. He turned the church into a mosque; and to the mosque he appointed the ministers of public prayer and preaching, and the judicial expounder of the religious and civil law. But he did not do this before he had first consulted the Elders of his camp and the holy Sheikh Edebali, by whose words he was guided, and till, by their advice, he had sought and obtained the sanction of his liege lord. But the Seljouk power was fast hastening to its ruin. For ten years only after the Sultan of Iconium had invested Othman with the rank of a vassal Emir, was the name of the last Alaeddin named, as his sovereign and liege lord, in the public prayer of Othman's town.[1] In the last year but one of the thirteenth century, Alaeddin's name was changed in the prayer which was said in the Mosque of Karadja Hissar, for that of Othman. And from this era, the opening of the fourteenth century, so famous in the religion and the poetry of the West, no other name but that of their own princes has been heard in the Friday worship within the Ottoman dominions. The Mahometan historians remark that the opening of each of the centuries of their era, which at that epoch nearly corresponded with the division of those of our own,[2] had been marked, up to the time of Othman, by the appearance of some renowned and mighty prince. The Prophet himself—the founder of the Ommiades—the great Caliph Al-Mamun—the first of the Fatimites in Egypt—the last of the great Abbasides—and lastly, the devastator of the world, Genghis Khan, 'stand like colossal figures, in the portal, each of his century.' At the threshold of the eighth, stands a name, after the Prophet, the mightiest of all, that of the founder of the Ottomans.

Yet a traveller could easily traverse in a day the dominions over which Othman first exercised independent sway. He was now, however, a sovereign prince, and he distributed the towns and hamlets of his principality among his companions and coun-

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the Turkoman Khan of Orgunje, the strongest of these robber-chiefs, and the polished, but unwarlike empire of Persia. The tribe claimed kindred with the Osmanli of Constantinople. Around an old fort, were grouped the permanent huts of the Jews and traders, and the movable houses of the Turkomans. Their customs in courtship and marriage, in which the lover carries off his bride on horseback, accord with what the legend relates of Othman, but would startle his descendants. Burnes, vol. iii. ch. xii.—xv.

[1] A Mahometan ruler is known as an independent sovereign by two tokens:—1, when he coins money in his own name; 2, when the solemn Friday prayer is said in his name.

[2] It need perhaps hardly be observed, that the Mahometan years consist of *lunar* months; so that the years of *their* centuries gain on the years of *ours*. The beginning of the 8th century from the Hegira thus nearly coincided with the beginning of the 14th century of our era. The remark is more characteristic than ccurate.

sellors.. And he himself, from the summits of Olympus, cast his eyes westward to the rich plains and fenced cities of Bithynia. The storm was not long in coming. A solemn council was held to deliberate whether Othman and his companions should try to add to their conquests. Dundar, his uncle, a patriarch of ninety years, who had come with Ertoghrul from the banks of the Euphrates, counselled peace. Othman's answer was an arrow in the heart of his father's brother; and thus, his resolution, sealed with the blood of a kinsman, was taken and confirmed to go forth and conquer.

The invaders found little to resist them, except the stone walls of the great cities. There was a time when the Greek Emperors had found no difficulty in beating back the inroads of freebooters, of the same race and hardihood as Othman's horsemen, who since the days of Alp Arslan had harassed the Bithynian frontier. Besides the regular armies, who waged war with varying success, the passes of Olympus and the villages of Bithynia had been given in charge to a stout and warlike race of borderers, who enjoyed great privileges, were proprietors of the land which they guarded, and were exempt from the oppressive taxes of the empire, on condition of being responsible for the safety of its limits. These free mountaineers 'formed a bold and active militia, which 'garrisoned a line of forts that commanded all the roads, 'bridges, and mountain passes;' and for a long time the bowmen of Nicæa were the most renowned soldiers of the Greek armies.[1] But about the time that Othman was born, the last and worst of the Greek dynasties mounted the throne. Michael, the usurper of an empire, which the Latins and the barbarians had left shattered and prostrate, yet stronger than any of its neighbours, had neither the virtue nor the genius to restore it; and a Greek courtier of the time declares, 'that he system-'atically weakened the Greek population from his fear of 'rebellion.' Among his measures was the destruction of the spirited and wealthy race who had so long and so effectually garrisoned the Bithynian frontier. By war and by confiscation, 'the resources of this flourishing province,' says Mr. Finlay, 'were ruined, and its population was so diminished, that when 'the Ottoman Turks attacked the Empire, the renowned 'archers of Bithynia, and the mountain militia had ceased to 'exist.'[2] Some of these, like Michael 'of the pointed beard,' the captain of one of the strongholds on Olympus, had carried

[1] Finlay, ii. pp. 411, 418.
[2] See Gibbon, viii. 56; Finlay, ii. 445; Von Hammer, i. 79.

their valour and their local knowledge over to the camp of the invaders. The Turks of Othman, like the bands of their countrymen on every coast of the Empire, rode and ravaged at will. Near Nicomedia, the mercenaries, who formed the Emperor's body-guard, met Othman in the open field; but they left the victory and the ripening harvest to the spoilers. Othman now knew his strength; and the plains of Bithynia had no longer any rest from the hoofs of his cavalry, nor its towns and fortified posts any security from the daring of his warriors. They were masters of the open country between Olympus and the sea; they rode unchallenged by the banks of the Bosphorus and on the shores of the Euxine; and they riveted their hold on a land which they were too few to occupy, by getting into their hands, one by one, a network of strongholds or considerable villages, which were distributed by a kind of feudal tenure among the companions of Othman. But there still remained the large cities, whose massive walls and guarded gates, the Turkish horsemen had not skill to approach, nor artillery to batter; and probably their numbers were too small to risk the losses of a storm.[1] But if Othman had no engineers or battering rams, he had that resolute patience which has so often marked his race. He had waited patiently when he wooed his wife; he had time before him, and could wait patiently for conquest. In front of Nicæa he occupied two small forts, from whence he resolved to keep guard on the harassed city, till weariness or chance gave the besiegers their prey. At Brusa he did the same. The posts in the neighbourhood were successively mastered by force or treachery; the Turks closed in on all sides till they had entrenched themselves within view of the outlets of the city; and for ten years they watched patiently, and apparently without giving or receiving disturbance, at the very gates of Brusa. At last the constraint became intolerable; when all hopes of relief were vain, the inhabitants, through the mediation of the renegade Michael, bought off their lives and a safe departure, at the price of their city, and the sum of 30,000 ducats; a sum which became in after times,—it is said from the precedent of the ransom of this

[1] "These Toorkmuns had made their descent near Meshid four days previously, about ten in the morning, and rode up to the very walls of the city, driving men and animals before them. Not a soul appeared to resist their progress. . . While we admire the courage of these men, what shall we think of the Persians, who are encamped within two days journey of Meshid, under the heir-apparent of the throne, and numbering an army of 20,000 men? . . . One wonders that human beings would consent to live in such a spot. The circle of villages round Meshid gets more circumscribed yearly, and in the one which we first entered, every field had its tower, built by the cultivator, as a defence to which he might fly on seeing the approach of a Toorkmun.'—Burnes, iii. 54—64.

But the Turks of Othman ravaged with a purpose.

first captured city, — the regular amount of the annual tribute, exacted from neighbouring Christian states as the price of peace, by the Ottoman Sultans. The Greek captain of Brusa, like Michael 'of the pointed beard,' threw in his lot with the conquerors and adopted their faith, and under the name of Evrenos, became in after times one of the most renowned of the chiefs who led the Ottoman hosts into Europe.

Thus a capital was won for Othman, more worthy of the founder of a dynasty, than the petty villages in which he had hitherto held his residence; and the beautiful city at the foot of Olympus became from henceforth, to the house of Othman, their chosen abode in life and resting-place in death, till in time it was exchanged for a still more magnificent and imperial site for their palaces and their tombs. It was won before Othman's death, but his eyes were not to see it. Othman was on his death bed, when the news was brought that what he had so long waited for was attained, and that Brusa had yielded itself to his son Orchan. It was his consolation in the gloom of closing life, when old ties were broken, and his course was ending. Four months before, the father of his wife, the friend and counsellor of his own manhood, the holy Scheikh Edebali, had been buried after a life of 120 years; a month after, his daughter, the chosen wife of Othman, had been buried by his side; and Othman was now following them. In the hamlet where he lay, his chief companions, the first men who had helped him in counsel and deed, men of the sword and men of prayer, were gathered round his bed—they were six, and Orchan the seventh. He charged them to carry his bones to Brusa; he would take possession of it at least in death. There his tomb, beneath the 'silver vault' of the old Cathedral of the castle, was shown till the beginning of this century, when a fire devastated Brusa; but the resting-place of his body is also claimed by one of those humble Bithynian villages[1] which profess to preserve so many of the monuments of the Ottoman fathers. 'Rule mercifully and justly, and uphold the law of Islam,' were his last words to his successor Orchan. So died 'Black Osman, the Longhanded.' He had lived simply, like the early warriors of his religion. He left neither silver nor gold; a salt-cellar, a spoon, an embroidered robe, and a new turban, were all the household treasures of him, whose descendants were the most gorgeous of barbarian kings: but he left some choice steeds; and the beautiful flocks of the Sultan which still pasture in the meadows of Brusa, are of the pure breed of those of Othman. The banner by which he was invested with

[1] Leake, p. 15.

his first dignity, and his scymitar, with waving blade and double point, are said to be still treasured as sacred relics in the armoury at Constantinople.

Orchan was comforted, as Othman had been, for the loss of a father, by the possession of a new conquest, and the birth of an eldest son. The same system of indefatigable attacks, waged with a steady and patient purpose, against the Greeks, was carried on by him, and the companions of his father's wars. Masters of the plain between Brusa and Nicæa, they had begun to encroach on the last remaining district of Bithynia, the country which forms one bank of the Bosphorus and faces Constantinople. Walls which they could neither batter nor scale did not discourage them. They prowled about the enclosures of Semendra, till one day a gate was opened to carry forth the governor's son to burial; the Ottoman riders swooped on the funeral procession, and the mourners and their town became their prey. The ramparts of Aidos withstood the power of Konuralp and Abdurrahman; but the heart of the governor's daughter was not proof against the manly beauty of Abdurrahman, whom she had seen from the walls; wrapping a letter to him about a stone, she threw it among the beleaguering armies, and concerted a plan by which in the night they gained admittance into the town. Such are the stories told of the gradual advance of the Ottomans. They are stories, not of fiery valour, but of wily and persevering watchfulness for opportunities. The great city of Nicomedia was taken, or perhaps retaken; and a new Ottoman province, called after the white-bearded warrior who had subdued it, Kodscha-Ili, the 'Old Man's Land,' was formed out of the further peninsula of Bithynia, and added to Orchan's paternal inheritance of Sultan-Œni.

The supineness of the Greek Emperor now became alarmed. Perhaps he had looked on the exploits of the Ottomans, as the Scottish king at Stirling or Edinburgh might look on the forays of the Moss-troopers, or on a Highland raid. He resolved, at length, to show himself in person to the troublesome and insolent freebooters. When for once they had departed from their custom of slaughtering the conquered garrisons, and offered him the governor of Aidos if he would ransom his officer, he had returned the answer worthy of bolder times, but only in place then, 'The Cæsar neither sells men, nor buys them.' He passed the Bosphorus with an army. The last and stoutest bulwark of the Empire in Asia, Nicæa, whose defence had rivalled in obstinacy the doggedness of its blockaders, now stood in pressing need of relief. The Greek imperial soldiers had beaten back the Seljouk Turks in many a field, and Orchan and his horsemen, formidable to the degenerate militia of the

Bithynian towns, were not yet prepared to encounter him. But, according to the accounts of the Greek eye-witnesses, the Emperor seems to have had no other idea, than a short and pompous military parade on the coast of the Propontis, without object or plan. When he had consumed two days in marching a few miles along the shore, while Orchan cautiously observed him from the heights, his counsellors proposed to him to offer battle, and if the Ottoman would not come down and accept it, to return as a conqueror to Constantinople. This was done next day. The confused and obviously mendacious account of Cantacuzene claims, in the first instance, a complete and sanguinary victory over a detachment of Turks, only 300, sent down to skirmish in the plain. But, after giving in full the speeches made by himself and by the Emperor, to animate the assailants, or to praise the victors, the same writer relates, that when the Greeks had victoriously driven their enemies to the hills, the Ottomans broke down upon the Greek host, 'disordered,' says Cantacuzene, 'with the excitement of a fresh attack, which the chiefs were unable to restrain;' and the result of the encounter was a hurried and disastrous retreat of the Emperor and his army. In the affray, he was himself wounded, and exposed to danger. Till the transports, which the Emperor urgently sent for, should arrive, the soldiery were dismissed, in separate detachments, to find refuge in the nearest forts. At Philocrene, while the throng of fugitives was pressing for admission, the key of the gate was mislaid, and the Ottoman horsemen were at once upon the rear of the crowd hewing down the hindmost. The next day, the fight, or the retreat, was renewed, and the great Hetæriarch, the Captain of the Greek body-guard, was slain. The Greek camp was taken, and with it the Emperor's tent and 200 of his horses with purple saddles. The imbecile vanity of the Byzantines has led them to give importance to this single and miserable attempt to arrest the Ottomans in Bithynia. But the inconsiderable numbers, given by Cantacuzene, both of the fighters and of the victims on both sides, show its real insignificance; and the Turkish historians, though it was the first encounter of their countrymen with the Greek Emperor in person, and a successful one, do not think the fight of Pelekanen worthy so much as of mention.

But it gave Nicæa into their hands. Wearied out with a long and unaided resistance, and thinned by famine and a plague, the inhabitants capitulated. They bargained for a free retreat with their property; but few of them took advantage of the condition. The majority chose rather to remain under the yoke of the unbeliever, than to cross over to Europe and

experience once more the justice and care of the Christian dynasty, which had first ruined them, and then left them a prey to the barbarians. Orchan did not molest them. He withheld his soldiers from the spoil of the city: but the widows and orphan daughters of those who had died from the sword or sickness during the siege, he distributed as wives to his followers. The Tartar blood of the whole tribe, as well as that of the chief and his companions, was early and largely mixed with that of their more highly civilized subjects.

Orchan at once turned Nicæa into a Moslem city, as his father had done with the Black Castle, on the Thymbres. In Nicæa was still seen, and still used for Christian worship, the memorable church, in which the 318 bishops had met to settle the faith of Christendom for the ages to come. The Church of the Council was turned by Orchan into a mosque; for the mosaic images on its walls was substituted the symbol of Islam; and amid the rubbish which now marks its site, Orchan's name appears sculptured over the doorway, 'like a phantom light among ruins.' Here, attached to this mosque, was the first Ottoman college founded, with its first publicly endowed teacher, the learned David of Cæsarea. 'In the place,' says Von Hammer, 'where the two bishops, Eusebius of Nico-'media and his namesake of Cæsarea, had been compelled, on 'pain of deposition and exile, to renounce their heresy and sub-'scribe the Nicene formula, Christian children, destined to 'recruit the ranks of the Janissaries, were now forced to for-'swear their faith; and here did Mollah David of Cæsarea 'comment and split hairs on the incomprehensible subtleties of 'the renowned mystical work, "The Seal Ring of Philosophies."' Here also Orchan established the first *Imaret*, or kitchen for the poor, a kind of foundation which became a favourite one among his successors and their servants; a devout disciple of the old Scheikh Edebali was set over it; and here Orchan himself, with Moslem piety, served the poor in person, distributed to them their dole of pottage with his own hands, and with his own hands lit the lamps at evening.

But Nicæa retained its importance under the Ottomans only for a short time. The seat of government of the district of Kodscha-Ili was soon transferred from it to Nicomedia; and Nicomedia itself was shortly eclipsed by the fair city of Brusa, which became first the capital of a third canton, in addition to those of Sultan-Œni and Kodscha-Ili, and then of the rapidly increasing kingdom itself. A manufacture of pottery was all that sustained the fame of Nicæa; that too has disappeared; and now Nicæa has to be sought for, within the vast circuit of its own solid and uninjured walls, which seem the enclosure of

a wild and forsaken chase, where Moslem pilgrims search for the tombs of some of the heroes of their early history, or the visitor from the West, with still greater difficulty, endeavours to trace the faint memorials, or to call up to his mind the image, of the famous Christian city.[1]

Orchan was now undisputed lord of Bithynia. But though his immediate neighbourhood to Constantinople made his position a troublesome one to the Greek Emperor, he was still in appearance the least considerable, and the least to be feared, of the Turkish potentates of Asia Minor. The Emirs of the coast, from the Troad to the passes of Issus, were more powerful, and, seemingly, more enterprising. Their friendship was disputed, and their hostility deprecated or used against one another, by the military traders from the rival Italian Republics, who fought for a footing on the Ægean coasts, as French and English fought in later days in India; but even at the end of his long reign, the Venetians had not yet learnt to know, or did not yet deign to acknowledge, the name or authority of the Turkoman chief of Brusa.[2] It is remarkable, that after the conquest of Nicæa and Nicomedia, and the final subjugation of Bithynia, a pause, almost uninterrupted, and apparently deliberately self-imposed, of nearly a quarter of a century, took place in the Ottoman conquests. The single interruption, (which occurred at the beginning of this period,) was the seizure by Orchan of the neighbouring Turkish principality of Karasi, the ancient Mysia. It had been a more powerful state than his own. Two rival brothers called him in, to settle their quarrels: but where the Ottomans once gained admittance, they remained; and Karasi was the first to give way before their fortune, of those nine Turkish states which, together with them, had started to independence from the ruins of the house of Seljouk, to be one by one crushed, and again re-united, under the mightier empire of the house of Othman. But after the conquest of Mysia, a deep silence reigns over the annals of Ottoman conquest for twenty years. Orchan sat still at Brusa, and scarcely appears on the scene, except as, at length, reconciled to the Greek Emperor, then, as his ally,—his son-in-law,—and his haughty and questionable protector. The Greek Empire was falling to pieces before his eyes, torn by the quarrels of kindred and rival emperors, and the ravages of the eastern and western barbarians, whom they called in to take part in their civil wars. It was wasted and ruined by Servians and Bulgarians from the Danube; by the insolent and encroaching merchants of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice; by the merciless and irresistible footmen of the Catalan Grand

[1] Leake, 'Asia Minor,' pp. 10, 11. [2] Von Hammer, i. 130. (1353.)

Company; spring after spring, its shores saw the returning Turkish galleys, and its plains the returning Turkish horsemen. But though among them, at times, went Orchan's Ottomans, they were mixed and confounded with the greater crowds from the maritime states. Orchan looked on at the scene of decay and ruin, so near him and so inviting to his ambition; he was admitted to see with his own eyes the riches and the weakness, the confusion and the cowardice, of the Byzantine Court; he beheld his restless and adventurous rivals, the Emirs of Aidin and Saroukhan eagerly pushing for the destined prey. Yet for twenty years he held his hand, and his border remained the same. No fresh cities were taken or watched over. The old generation of Ottoman heroes, the conquerors of Brusa and Nicæa, passed away, and no new names are recorded in their place. When the Ottomans from time to time passed into Europe, with their brethren from the coast, it was merely for a summer's foray. The chief who had guided their early conquests was no longer riding at their head, and even professed to be the friend, as he had married with great pomp the daughter, of the Christian emperor. Orchan seemed to have become the most peaceful, or else the most inactive, of all the Turkish Emirs; and among the various Turkish assailants of the Greek Empire, no one at the time would have singled out him and his house, as its most terrible foe, and its destined destroyer;—no one, at least, who had not observed and understood the policy of their sagacious and persevering valour. The difference between them and the other Turks, who, contemporaneously with them, and at the moment even more fiercely than they, were breaking in upon eastern Europe, was the presence in the Ottoman house of a settled purpose. All the steps they made, though not hurried, were connected; and they never made one from which they drew back. The enterprises of the other chiefs, more alarming at the moment, were but the random and isolated adventures of robbers lusting after destruction and booty; important only as they prepared the way, by weakening the Greek Empire, for the loftier plans of their brethren.

For twenty years Orchan abstained from conquest, but he was not idle. While the Christian Empire beyond the Straits was perishing, he was busy, building up a power which was to be ready to take its place, and fit to grasp its heritage. The pastoral horde was becoming a state; the leader of the vagrant camp was taking delight in adorning the temporary capital of his house with the mosques and colleges, the hospitals and caravansaries, the fountains and tombs, which the piety and magnificence of Moslem princes are wont to rear in their royal cities. Brusa was well worth his care. From the last slopes

of Olympus it looks over a green plain of woods and meadows; the famous and beautiful mountain, with its forests and its cliffs, overhangs it behind; and its abundant and ever-flowing waters,—the warm medicinal springs which well out beneath the baths of the city, and the cold sparkling sources streaming down from above, among its rocks and plane-trees,—have made Brusa famous among Eastern cities. Not less famous is it for the choice excellence of its trees and fruits, its grapes and apricots, its chestnuts, each of forty drachms weight, and its forty kinds of pears. The sheep in its pastures produced the finest wool, its mulberry-trees the finest silk; and drew to it craftsmen, who made the work of their looms, their scarfs and embroidered stuffs, their lawn and their samit, renowned almost to our own day. Before the Ottomans appeared, Christian monasteries had gleamed among the woods of Olympus, or nestled in its folds; the hermit's cell had been hung on its precipices, or perched upon its crests, or hid within its caverns. Their place was taken by the Dervishes and the Santons, on whom Orchan bestowed his largesses with liberal hand;[1] and Olympus became a holy mountain, sanctified by their retreats while living, and by their sepulchres in death. Among them, also, were the earlier poets and theologians of the Ottomans, who loved the stillness and the shade of the murmuring pines. There they could lie, and look down on the glittering city and sunny plain below. The city of Orchan's choice had all that could make it dear to Moslems and orientals; it was a worthy home for the last conquerors of Islam to depart from, and return to, in their wars, and to rest in, during the days of

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[1] Solitaries and devotees, some of them idiots, others fierce fanatics, others mystics, others extravagant ascetics, played a considerable part in early Ottoman history and its legends. *Abd-al-Kumral* prophesied the greatness, and led the soldiers of Othman. *Doghli-Baba*, the '*Father of pots*,' who took his name from the pots in which he kept the sour milk on which he lived;—*Geikli-Baba*, the '*Father of stags*,' who, at Orchan's invitation, came riding on a goat from the woods, with a scymitar of prodigious weight, to head the besiegers of Brusa, and bearing on his shoulder a sacred plane-tree, which long flourished in the sultan's palace there;—*Abd-al-Murad*, who wrought prodigies of valour with a wooden sabre of enormous length;—*Abd-al-Musa*, who took up burning coals wrapped in cotton; were among the saintly friends of Orchan, for whom he built cells on Olympus. His son Amurath built a cell for a venerated dervish, *Postinpusch*, a religious idiot, who clothed himself in skins. In equally high reverence was held the bleating dervish of Amasia, *Kojun-Baba*, the '*Father of sheep*,' who never spoke, but at the five hours of prayer bleated like a sheep, and at whose tomb Bajazet II. built 'the fairest and richest convent of the Ottoman empire.' These were all *abdals*, or solitaries. The numbers and orders of *dervishes* multiplied with rapidity under the Ottoman rule, in spite of the discouragement given in the Koran to the monastic life; and at first, exercised even more influence than in later times was possessed by the great spiritual associations of the *Ulema*, the men learned in the law of the Koran.—Von Hammer, i. 111, 151, 192, 137—141. See a curious woodcut of a '*Father of Stags*,' in *Nicolai's* Travels, (Antw. 1577,) p. 207.

peace. Here the first six Sultans kept their court, and here they lie buried in stately tombs, near the mosques which they founded. Round them are the sepulchres of their children and brothers; and these are encompassed on all sides by the resting-places and memorials of the great men of the rising state, its first viziers and lieutenants; and further, 'about the mausolcums of 'the early Sultans and Saints of the empire, are grouped some 'five hundred tombs of famous men,—pashas, scheikhs, pro-'fessors, orators, physicians, poets, musicians.' Thus gifted and adorned by nature, and consecrated by so many recollections and such venerable monuments, Brusa rivals Adrianople in dignity, and Bagdad in holiness, and still, when the Sultan's style and title is proclaimed, it is named as the third city of his empire.[1]

But while the buildings of a new capital of Islam were rising under Orchan's hand, institutions were growing up, during this interval of peace, of far greater significance and importance than the domes and walls of mosques and palaces. It was during Orchan's reign that the rudiments of what was lasting and characteristic, in the internal policy and organization of the Ottomans, were laid down by men who saw far and reached high. Orchan's brother, Alaeddin, had refused at their father's death to receive from Orchan's hand the moiety of their father's flocks and herds, which was his inheritance. 'As you will not 'take your portion of sheep and cattle,' said Orchan, 'you shall 'come and help me to feed my people.' Alaeddin then became his brother's chief minister, and is called the first Vizier, *i. e.* 'Bearer of Burdens', of the Ottoman house. To him is ascribed the beginning of the first peculiar orders and regulations which were added, in the Ottoman Statute-book, to the fundamental legislation of all Mahometan states,—the Koran, the traditionary Sunna, and the decisions of the Four Imams. The three principal objects of his attention, we are told, were, the coinage,—which was now for the first time struck in the name of Orchan, instead of that of the Iconian Sultans,—the distinctive costume, especially the head-dress, of the people,—and the organization of the army. Alaeddin's purpose, in regulating the dress, was, that while the Turkoman freebooters were growing up, under the influence of successful conquest, into the feelings of a distinct and ambitious nation, their pride in the name of Osmanlis might be kept up by a visible badge, which should mark them off, in their own eyes and that of others, from the mingled races round them. In contrast to the embroidered caps of the Greeks, and the red felt skull-cap with a turban of bright colours worn by the other Turks, the Ottoman warrior was

[1] See the Style, in Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, p. 531.

commanded to wear a plain cap of white felt, of an egg-shaped form, round which only on days of ceremony a white linen cloth was folded.

But the work which has made Alaeddin's name memorable in the annals of his race, was the laying the foundations, and establishing the model, which, in expanded proportions, continued without change for three centuries, of the Ottoman army. Alaeddin and Orchan were clearsighted enough to discern that their indefatigable, but untrained horsemen, though they had overrun Bithynia, and worried its cities into surrender, were not strong enough to win and hold for good the realms of the Eastern Cæsars. Even before the degenerate guards of the Greek Emperor at Pelekanon, as long as they kept their array unbroken, Orchan's Turkomans had held back, in vigilant but cautious suspense. And there had lately been seen, on either side of the Hellespont,—specimens of those victorious Spanish battalions, who were changing the face of war in Europe,—a body of disciplined and well-appointed infantry, for whose steady and combined valour no warriors of the East, Servian or Bulgarian, Turk or Greek, had ever been found a match, and who from their stronghold at Gallipoli had imposed terms on Constantinople, and filled the countries round with the terror of their prowess and their ferocity—the Grand Company of the Catalans. No foreign enemy had vanquished these terrible Spanish footmen; it had needed their own swords, turned against one another, to tear in pieces and disperse the Grand Company. Such soldiers—bound together by a like training and devotion to one another, and to the game of war, but by a stronger obedience and more enduring enthusiasm,—the Ottoman chiefs foresaw that they would need, for the enterprise which the other Turkish emirs probably meditated in common with them, but for which they alone patiently and carefully prepared. To the bands of wild riders, who fought as the Turkoman warriors of Bochara and Orgunje fight still, in the deserts of the Oxus, or when they harry the villages of Khorassan, Alaeddin added the rudiments, small indeed, but distinctly marked, of a regular and permanent army. A thousand footmen were enrolled, and retained for continual and united service, by privileges, by discipline, by a frame-work of ranks and divisions, and by an ample pay. This nucleus of the Ottoman infantry shortly gave place, under Orchan himself, to an institution of far more remarkable character. But the organization of the cavalry, and the names of its divisions, recalled, even in the great musters of Soleiman and Selim, the primitive appointments of Alaeddin. There were the *Akindji*, the forerunners of the army, an unpaid and uncontrolled gathering of skirmishers and plunderers; all who could

procure a horse to mount and a sabre to wield, when the call came to pillage and adventure—men who fought after the old desultory fashion of the freebooters of Othman's camp; who, as the Ottoman power grew, swelled into terrible and destructive swarms, and, led by their hereditary captain, one of the descendants of Michael the Greek renegade, used to waste the borders of Hungary and Germany, and even at last dared to penetrate past Vienna, to the sources of the Danube. Then, forming the main strength of the host itself, came the horsemen, who had received grants in the conquered districts on condition of military service; the *feudatory Spahi*, among whom, as the Ottoman conquests extended, the revenues of the lands were parcelled out, in holdings of various size and dignity, from the *Sandjak Bey*, whose banner, the single horse-tail, gathered round it and led the cavalry of a province, to the tenants of the *Timars* and the *Ziamets*, the smaller and larger fiefs, who with their squadron or their handful of retainers, or perhaps their single horse and scymitar, swelled the levies of the Pacha who ruled over what, perhaps, had been once a kingdom. And, lastly, as a guard to the person and standard of the Prince, Alaeddin appointed a body of *paid* cavalry, divided, according to the favourite Turkish number, into four squadrons; a division which, with its names of the *Silihdars* and the paid *Spahis*, and the 'Foreigners' and 'Stipendiaries' of the right and left wings, remained unchanged in the regular Ottoman cavalry, whose increased pay and privileges and numbers made them, in after times, formidable yet unequal rivals, in turbulence and audacity, to the redoubtable footguards of the empire,—the Janissaries.

This great military corporation, the most remarkable that the world has ever seen grow up within the laws and policy of a state, traced its origin, according to the chief Ottoman annalists, to the counsellors of Orchan. Alaeddin's first experiment of a body of foot-soldiers, raised probably from the Turks of Bithynia and the neighbouring countries, was a failure. Pay and privileges could not reconcile them to the yoke of discipline; and the materials were not to be looked for, among these untameable freebooters, of a soldiery which should be trained to rival the steady valour of the Catalans. But the grim and patient sagacity of Ottoman enthusiasm and Ottoman policy was not long at fault. Allied by marriage to the old Scheikh Edebali, Black Halil Tchendereli had been one of the trusted seven who stood round the deathbed of Othman, and gathered up his last words; and when Alaeddin and Orchan's son Soleiman were dead, Black Halil became Orchan's Grand Vizier, and left his high dignity to his children of the third generation, for nearly a hundred years, till the great grandson was cut off in the very year in which he had

seen his master take possession of the palace and cathedral of the Cæsars. Black Halil was now 'Judge of the Host;' and he showed to Orchan and his counsellors, that though grown-up Turkomans could not be brought under discipline, children could be schooled to anything. The children of the conquered, he said, like all that belongs to them, are given to the conquerors, by the Prophet's law; and that law, besides, declares, that every child, of whomsoever born, brings with him into the world the disposition to embrace Islam. A school of Christian children, cut off from home and country, and trained with rigid discipline to the faith of the Prophet and the practice of arms, will grow up into an obedient and yet zealous and devoted soldiery. They will not much remember, in the pride of soldiership and the excitement of conquest, their old faith and friends; but their Christian and subject kinsmen will often look with wistful and envious eyes, to the honours and privileges of the children who were ravished from them. *They* will not wish to go back to Christendom and bondage; but many Christians will be tempted to come and share their religion and fortunes. Islam will be served and strengthened by the best blood of Christendom, and the numbers of its martyrs swelled by those who must have otherwise perished in their ignorance.

Other barbarous tribes, weak in numbers, but ambitious in purpose, have, before the Ottomans, recruited themselves from their subjects or their slaves.[1] But none ever employed this resource with such ruthless and deliberate system. The tendency to this policy, is discernible under Othman, in his foreign marriages, and in the story of the Greek renegade, Michael; but its establishment in a systematic shape was the deep and far-seeing invention of Black Halil. His counsel led to the formation of the Janissaries from Christian captive boys, and, later on,[2] to the establishment of a *fixed* tribute of young children, from the Christian population, to feed their schools,—a tribute which in the flourishing times of the Ottomans was continually exacted, though, probably, with Turkish irregularity and caprice, chiefly from the frontier provinces, and which lasted till the seventeenth century.[3] But his suggestion also expressed what has been in every age one of the chief secrets of Ottoman success. The

[1] Of the Lombards, a tribe not unworthy to be compared with the Ottomans, Tacitus had said, 'Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. Plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed prœliis et periclitando tuti sunt;' and Gibbon adds, that 'the smallness of their numbers was recruited by the adoption of their bravest slaves.' Chap. xlii. [2] Apparently under Amurath I.

[3] The last levy of children from the Danube, Bosnia, Albania, and Greece, is said to have been under Amurath IV. in 1638: Von Hammer, iii. 177; Cf. Finlay, ii. 597; and a fuller and interesting account in Ranke's 'Ottoman Empire,' (translated by Kelly: London, 1843;) from Busbequius the Austrian envoy, and the Venetian *Relazioni*, from 1553—1637.

Ottomans have conquered and ruled by conduct and enterprise, by blood and sinew, which were Christian once. 'From the seminaries of the Janissaries, and the Sultan's pages,' says Von Hammer, 'issued the greatest men of the Ottoman empire. As 'long as the yearly levy of Christian children continued, and 'the expeditions of the Ottomans yielded their yearly booty of 'slaves, their most famous statesmen and generals were, for the 'most part, born Greeks, Albanians, and Bosniacs, and seldom 'native Turks. Thus the strength of Turkish despotism repaired 'itself in the heart-blood of Christendom; and by means of this 'cunning engine of statescraft, Greece was compelled to tear 'herself to pieces by the hands of her own children.'[1] The remark was made before him by a Venetian diplomatist at the court of Selim II.—'It is in the highest degree remarkable,' he exclaims, 'that the wealth, the administration, the force,—in 'short, the whole body politic of the Ottoman empire, reposes 'upon, and is intrusted to men, born in the Christian faith, 'converted into slaves, and reared up as Mahometans.'[2]

A long time must have elapsed before Black Halil's plan could have borne its fruit, and Christian children have been moulded into Moslem warriors. There is an interval of half a century before we hear of the Janissaries appearing in the Ottoman wars. Their first recorded field was the fight of Iconium, (1386,)—the first foes against whom their valour was pointed, were the kindred and rival Turks of Karaman. But from this time, in every great battle, and in every political crisis, their name is prominent. They were essentially and in their idea a body of picked and trained slaves—the household and family of their master; and it is in strange contrast with the fierce doings of this terrible soldiery, that in their titles of military rank, their internal subdivisions, their characteristic usages, we find only the homely names and menial associations of domestic life. They were numbered according to their *odas* or 'chambers:' in each of their ninety-'nine chambers,'[3] they were officered by a 'head soup-maker,' a 'head cook,' a 'head water-carrier,' and a 'manciple,' or 'caterer;' and after that Mahomet the Conqueror had incorporated with the original sixty-six 'chambers' the thirty-three companies of the servants of his kennels, (*Segbans*,) the four high officers who came next in rank to the Aga, and to his lieutenant, the Kiaia, or 'minister of the slaves,' kept their servile names, which denoted that they were respectively charged with the care of the hounds, the mastiffs, the bloodhounds, and the cranes of the Sultan's

[1] Vol. i. p. 193. [2] Barbaro, (1573,) in Ranke, p. 8.

[3] This is exclusive of the 100 companies of the armed pioneers and footmen, *'ade* and *Yaya*, who were originally a feudatory corps of infantry, but were afterwards incorporated with the Janissaries.—Von Hammer, i. 98, 727.

hunting establishment. Their military badge was the wooden spoon, worn in their cap, with which they ate their soup. What the Caroccio was to the militia of the Italian cities, what their eagles were to the legions of Rome and France, the great iron soup-kettle of the mess was to the Janissaries; they gathered round it for deliberation, as well as to share together the daily allowance from their master's bounty; and a vizier's head was about to fall, or even a Sultan's, and uproar and bloodshed soon to fill the streets of Constantinople and the courts of the palace, when the slaves sat in grim and gloomy silence round the hallowed symbol of their union, and refused to touch their master's meat.

But these armed slaves were also the most remarkable and most lasting of military brotherhoods. The world has seen some singular instances of men bound to one another, for the sole purposes of war, by principles or obligations deeper and stronger than those, which hold together for a time the fleeting assemblage of a common army—the soldier citizens of Sparta, the Roman legions of the Empire, the monks of the Temple and the Hospital, the troopers of Cromwell's 'new model.' But all the conditions and all the feelings which concentrated and which inspired the valour of Spartan citizens and Roman legionaries, of the brethren of the military orders, and the troopers of Naseby and Dunbar, were combined in the institute of the Janissaries. The ties of home and family which had been burst for ever when the boy began his training, were never allowed to reunite, even in a strange land and a different faith, as long as the soldier could do his work. The hunger and thirst, the watchings and the labours, which annealed to their due temper the spirit and frame of the Spartan boy, were not greater than those which exercised the young postulant of the Janissaries, when he was sent to Anatolia or the schools of the capital, to learn his new language, to imbibe his new fanaticism, and to practise the arms which he was to handle till his death. The mind of the Spartan boy, when he grew to be a man, was not more thoroughly warped from all the influences and interests of civil and social life, to think of war as the only end for which it was worthy to live, and to long for it, as his holiday and refreshment after the austerities of peace, than that of the new recruit, who entered one of those dormitories filled with the fiercest of the Moslem soldiery, all of whom had been once, like himself, baptized in infancy into the faith of Christ. Nor did the training, at once so crushing and so inflaming, so narrow and so intense, relax there. In these 'convent-like barracks' all was silence and subjection. The younger humbly served and waited on the elder. Within the walls, and among the brotherhood itself,

the word of the superior was the only law, the instinct of the inferior submissive obedience; without the walls, the lowest knew no master, except their Sultan. They were men who recognised no old kindred: they were not allowed to seek a new one in marriage.[1] Such is the picture which Venetian residents and Austrian nuncios have preserved of this wonderful association, in its early days.[2] The only comparisons by which they could convey an adequate idea of their order, their rigid discipline, their simple and sparing fare, their coarse garb, their silence, their grave self-command, the stillness which reigned in their barracks and in their immovable lines, their blind and absolute obedience, were drawn from the austerities and self-abnegation of monastic life. They were soldiers, but soldiers whose demeanour and appearance was that of monks.

Nor was the comparison far wrong. The animating principle of that fiery valour, which, in the early Ottoman wars, boasted —and enemies confirmed the boast[3]—that the Janissaries had never fled in battle, was a religious one. The bond of their companionship was an affiliation to a religious order. The well-known formula of the consecration of their institute, when Orchan or Amurath led the *New Soldiers* to receive their name and their benediction from the Scheikh Hadji Bektash, need not be repeated here.[4] The Janissaries called themselves the children and family of this great saint of Islam. They wore to the last the badge of their spiritual relationship; the strip of coarse cloth, which hung down behind from their white felt caps, represented the sleeve of the Dervish's mantle, with which he covered the head of the first Janissary when he named and blessed him. Hadji Bektash was also the founder of an order of Dervishes; and between these two families,—the brethren of prayer and the brethren of the sword—the strictest fellowship was kept up. The Janissaries were incorporated with the order of the Bektash dervishes. The Scheikh of the Bektashes was, in virtue of his religious office, the chief of the 99th *Oda* of the Janissaries: in their barracks, eight of the Bektash dervishes prayed day and night for the welfare of the realm and a blessing on the scimitars of their brothers. When those famous soldiers were destroyed, the Bektash dervishes were proscribed with them,

[1] Ranke, p. 19. [2] Ranke, pp. 7, 8. [3] Ranke, p. 7.

[4] 'Standing in front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words:—"Let them be called Janissaries, (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers;) may their countenances be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! May their spear always hang over the head of their enemies! and wheresoever they go, may they rn with a *white face*."' Gibbon, chap. lxiv; who assigns the institution and the ration to the time of Amurath, the son of Orchan. Von Hammer, who t to Orchan, quotes as his authorities two of his earliest Turkish annalists, i and Aali.

and shared their fate; and even now, in the extreme corners of the empire, travellers meet with a survivor of the condemned order, asking, with trembling, whether the men who slew the Janissaries, and chased away their brothers, are still in power.[1]

Thus the religious enthusiasm which had carried the first Arabs through their career of conquest, was revived and concentrated in these household slaves. It consecrated and gave dignity to their servitude, and raised them to be the most privileged body among their fellows. The Sultan was their comrade as well as their master, and inscribed himself by his simple name, as the first common soldier,[2] on their muster rolls. If the idea of a religious soldiery was suggested to the Ottomans by the knights of the Christian orders,[3] it found in Islam a still more congenial home. Christian Europe, which welcomed to its bosom monastic devotion, refused a lasting place in its system to a monastic soldiery. The ambition and power of the Temple, like its brilliant but troubled glory, soon passed away, struck down by the jealousy of the western kings. The Knights of S. John had a longer and nobler history. Bravely, but in vain, on the bastions of Rhodes,—bravely, and *not* in vain, on the rocks of Valetta, they stood at bay, when the armadas of the Ottomans awed the Mediterranean,—when Turkish corsairs swept the shores of Italy and Provence, and the name of Barbarossa or Draghut fluttered the cardinals within the walls of Rome. But relegated to their distant outposts,—keeping garrison in their island-strongholds, or afloat on their galleys in the eastern seas,—the knights exercised no influence on Christendom, except by the tales which came home of their heroic valour. When the Turk had ceased to menace, their work was done, and they languidly expired. But the company of the Janissaries at once made and marred the fortunes of the state within whose precincts it grew up: they were the nerve of its conquering armies, and the masters of its princes; they grew from the most exclusive of soldieries, to a great social guild,[4] and ramified from the barracks of the capital to the bazaars and caravanserais of the remotest towns;[5] and when they were

[1] Macintosh's 'Tour in Turkey,' ii. 40.

[2] Ubicini, p. 443.

[3] Von Hammer, i. 140.

[4] The steps of their decline are traced by Ranke, pp. 19, 20.—'1. Under *Soleiman* I. (1520—66), the Janissaries *took themselves wives.* 2. Under *Selim* II. (1566—74), they had *their sons enrolled* among them. 3. Under *Amurath* III. (1574—95), they were forced to admit among them *native Turks*, of a totally different descent, *who had not undergone their training.* 4. Under *Ahmed* I. (1595—1617), the privates, then stationed in the country and on the frontier, began *to ply trades*, to engage in commerce, and, satisfied with the advantages of the name, to think little of arms.'

[5] 'The prosperity and trade of Trebizond are perpetually disturbed by the

rooted up to save the state, it is doubtful whether the core and life of the state were not rooted up with them.

Orchan could well afford to stay his hand from conquest for twenty years, when those years were the first years of growth to the company of the Janissaries,—the years in which its strange and formidable character was clearly determined and strongly impressed on it, and the spirit breathed into its silently forming elements, which was to be the gage of continual victory and wide dominion, and which centuries were not to extinguish. But though the Ottoman frontier was not advanced, Orchan was by no means an unconcerned spectator of the scene of ruin and dissolution which the Greek empire beyond the Straits presented. Since the Ottomans had defeated the Byzantine emperor at Pelekanon, the pedant courtier, his master's trusted favourite, who lost, and who has left us the story of that disgraceful day, had become by his intrigues the usurping partner, and then the open rival, of his master's infant son. Cantacuzene warred with a Palæologus for the Empire, as the Palæologi had been in the habit of fighting for it among themselves. They were not content to burn and destroy, by the hands of their own soldiers, what was left to the Empire of its towns and cultivated districts; they invited to their aid the Turkish hordes from Bithynia, the Turkish pirates from Smyrna and the coasts of Caria and the Troad; and in return for such uncertain and precarious assistance as they were willing to render, the competing Christian emperors gave them free licence to pillage and enslave throughout their provinces, and formally consented to the demand, that the robbers should have a market for their Christian slaves in the capital of eastern Christendom.[1] Cantacuzene is not ashamed to dwell with self-complacent conceit—for in such a man it can hardly be called pride—on the close intimacy which continued till death between himself and a Turkish chief of freebooters; and celebrates what he calls the good faith and constant honour of his Mahometan friend, who was a useful counterpoise to Cantacuzene's enemies, but whose barbarian swarms wasted Cantacuzene's land, and swept off his subjects as ruthlessly as other Turks. Cantacuzene found a romantic friend in the Emir of Smyrna;[2] but in the Emir of Brusa,

factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janissaries, in one of which 30,000 *Lazi* are commonly enrolled." Gibbon, (from De Tott, [1784,] iii. 261,) chap. lxviii. 'The Turks of Macedonia who bear arms are Spahis, Yuruks, and Janissaries. The Spahis are the cavalry formed by the holders of the ziamets and timars, when called on by the government. The Yuruks cultivate their own lands, chiefly in the mountainous districts. The Janissaries are the garrisons of the fortified places, among whom are generally enrolled the greater part of the heads of families engaged in trade or manufactures, or who have landed property in the neighbouring plains.'—Leake, (in 1806,) Northern Greece, iii. 249.

[1] Finlay, 552, 553. 572; Gibbon, viii. p. 63. [2] Ibid. p. 60.

as we learn from his own unblushing narrative, the heir of Augustus and Constantine was glad to find a son-in-law. Orchan demanded, as the price of allowing his horsemen to ride and ravage in the name of Cantacuzene, rather than of Palæologus, that Cantacuzene should give him his daughter Theodora.[1] Cantacuzene took counsel with his friend, the Emir of Smyrna, and followed his urgent advice to enlist, by any means, so important an auxiliary on his side. When in after years, a deposed emperor, and a monk in one of the convents of Athos, he looked back on his schemes and deeds of ambition, and wrote their story, he had the heart to perpetuate the minute and pompous ceremonial with which his royal daughter, the daughter of the Emperor of the East, was delivered over to her Turkoman and infidel husband. Pompous and minute as the ceremonial was, one thing was left out—there was wanting even the form of Christian marriage.[2] So low had the purple of the Cæsars fallen; so rapidly had the fortunes mounted, of the son of the shepherd 'freebooter of the Bithynian hills.' The bride of Orchan's youth was the Greek chief's wife, whom his father's riders had carried off in a border fray. Fifty years had passed; and now the bride of his old age was another Christian damsel, the noblest of her country, given to him publicly in the face of the imperial city, with all the magnificence and formality of the most ceremonious court in Christendom.[3] And yet this loathsome and infamous sacrifice was not enough to purchase even a respite. Two years after his marriage, Orchan paid a solemn visit to the Byzantine court, and nothing was spared to do him honour. But the visit was scarcely over, when picked bands of Ottomans were across the Hellespont, wasting the Thracian cities, sweeping off booty and slaves from the very gates of Constantinople, and encountering in battle the Emperor Cantacuzene himself. When the traders of Genoa, from their fortified factory of Galata, bearded and assailed the emperor in his own harbour and palace, Orchan without scruple listened to their request for assistance, and, though in a state of profound peace with Cantacuzene, lent his Ottomans, to help them to insult his ally and his kinsman. At last the hollow friendship, which was Cantacuzene's main support on the throne, ceased even to be professed;

[1] Finlay, 572. 'His throne was only supported by his close alliance with his son-in-law, Orkhan, *whose troops were allowed to use the Greek territories as a hunting-ground, to supply their slave-markets.*' [2] Gibbon, viii. p. 63.

[3] Von Hammer, i. 128. 'Between his first and his last marriage a half century had passed of conquest; and in the interval, the Grecian wife was changed from the ravished Castellan's bride into the emperor's daughter, freely bestowed, and delivered to him with the pomp of a state ceremonial.'

Orchan negotiated alike with both the rival emperors, and seeing his own interest in keeping alive their quarrel, favoured each by turns, to weaken and destroy the other's power.

At length, at the very close of Orchan's life, the march of Ottoman conquest, which had been suspended for the work of consolidation, took up what had been left off at the fall of Nicomedia and the annexation of Mysia, and resumed its course. The Ottomans, like the other Turks, had long been too well known on European ground; but with the sea between them and their homes in Asia, they had not yet dared to settle there. At last they made the stride which separates ravage from conquest. Othman lived to see Brusa won; Orchan, the conqueror of Brusa for his dying father, reigned till the Hellespont was crossed and Gallipoli occupied by his son Soleiman. Each saw the first step made in the enterprise which filled the thoughts of his life; but the conquest of a province, which had been the ambition of the father, had swelled into that of an empire, in the plans and meditations of the son.

This great and decisive step, which, to the Greeks of the time, seemed but an ordinary incident in the harassing and insulting warfare to which they had become familiarized and resigned, is felt in its full importance by the Turkish historians; and if the details of their narrative are doubtful and untrustworthy, the Ottomans showed their sense of the event itself, by the legendary, if not fabulous, halo with which they invest it. It is the first occasion on which they think it worth while to record the passage of their countrymen into Europe. Soleiman, the son of Orchan, say the Turkish chroniclers, was spending the night—a fine moonlight night—among the ruins of what had been Cyzicus. His fancy was moved and his spirit awed by the sight of abandoned grandeur, of which the history was unknown to him: as he gazed on broken columns, and marble pavements over which the waves rippled, and triumphal arches reflected on the waters, he thought he saw one of the ancient cities which the genii had built for Solomon, with Persepolis and Tadmor; he believed himself among the palaces of Balkis, the Queen of the South, and the wonderful magnificence of the days of old, when the true believers were helped by the hand of Heaven. Again he looked, and the radiance of the moon upon the sea seemed to stretch away to the Thracian hills, and to be like a silver band joining his lands to the lands of the infidel—Asia to Europe. He remembered the dream of Othman, and how there the full moon was the presage and opening of his ancestor's vision of empire. Again the moon

was shining; and he seemed to hear in the murmur of the waves a call to follow where the radiant path across the waters pointed. Then, says the legend, his resolution was taken to bind the two continents together by the might of the Ottomans; and it was confirmed by the old warriors, whom his father had given him as counsellors in the government of his province. That same night two of them—Adsché-beg and Ghazi Fazil—rowed across the strait in a shallop, and brought back with them a Greek prisoner, who told them that the fort of Tzympe, a short distance from Gallipoli, was left without a garrison. Soleiman cut ox-hides into strips, and with them bound together trunks of trees into two rafts; thirty-nine of his bravest companions, and himself the fortieth—the legend keeps the favourite number, like the forty companions of Othman, and the forty robbers of the Arabian tale—trusted themselves on the rafts, and on the following night were ferried across the Hellespont. Among them were the great Ottoman heroes of the time, with the renegade Greek chief of Brusa, Evrenos, the future conqueror of Greece and Macedonia, who was to grow grey as the most renowned among the captains of Amurath and Bajazet. The defenders of Tzympe were abroad in the fields, gathering in their harvest beneath the moonlight: a dung heap had been left, raised against the rampart, and over it the Ottomans mounted. They were followed next day by a large body in barks, and before three days were over 3,000 Turks had crossed to Tzympe, and held it fast. This crossing of the Hellespont is fixed by the Ottoman historians in the year 1356.

Cantacuzene was at the very moment asking the help of Orchan against the rival Greek Emperor. Orchan sent Soleiman himself; he beat back the Servian and Bulgarian allies of Palæologus, and then swept the valley of the Hebrus on his own account. But within a few months, a fearful catastrophe of nature threw open still wider to the Ottomans the gates of the Greek empire. While Cantacuzene and Orchan were negotiating about the restitution of Tzympe, an earthquake laid in ruins the cities of the Chersonese, and shattered their ramparts. It was winter; torrents of rain were followed by snow and piercing frosts; and in the midst of desolation and death from the fury and bitterness of the elements, the Ottoman robbers, 'like evening wolves,' came rushing in through the riven walls, to plunder, and now to occupy, the ruined cities. In this way they seized Gallipoli, while their chiefs were treating about the ransom of Tzympe.

It would have been surprising, if anything but force could have wrung back from the wily Ottoman a prize of which he knew so well the value. But his answer to the remonstrances

of his father-in-law and ally Cantacuzene, is characteristic of the grave and ironical perfidy, which soon became one of the distinguishing marks of his family and race. Cantacuzene, he said, had no right to demand back Gallipoli, and the neighbouring towns of the Chersonese, 'for it was not the force of 'arms which had given them to the Ottomans, but the earth-'quake.' Cantacuzene, according to some historians, was unable to pay the ransom which the Turk demanded. But it is plain that no ransom would have paid the price of that secure lodgement in Europe, which the opportunity of the moment had given him, and which was obviously the next step, whenever it could be taken, in the manifest policy of Orchan's house.

The operations of modern war have but lately reminded us of the importance of Gallipoli as a military position, where the safety of Constantinople is at stake. Its importance in the times of Orchan might have been less, if the maritime superiority of the Greeks, which at this period seems clear over the light Turkish barks, had been turned to account by resolute and able leaders. But in the hands that ruled Byzantium, it was useless. Fifty years before, the Catalan Grand Company had seized on Gallipoli, and from this commanding stronghold, joined to the land only by a narrow isthmus, and open to the sea, had sallied forth at will, to ravage the Greek provinces, to help or to overthrow an Emperor, and to insult the Imperial City at its gates. The system and the success of the Catalans, in this as in other instances, were obviously not lost on the Ottomans, who possessed their valour and their internal discipline, with far more of settled and formidable purpose. At Gallipoli, they held a post impregnable to the Greeks, which at once secured the ferry between Europe and Asia, and gave them the mastery of the approaches to the harbour of Constantinople. The same system of waiting and watching at the gates, which had given Brusa, Nicæa, and Nicomedia into their hands, was now applied on a larger scale to the reduction of the capital of the Empire.

In Gallipoli, Soleiman settled a colony of Asiatics,—Turks and Arabs,—and divided the lands of the Chersonese among the warriors who had been, according to the Turkish legend, the companions of his nocturnal voyage across the Hellespont. Many of them left their names to the places where they resided, and the tombs of some of these heroes of Islam make Gallipoli a venerable spot. But it is still more sacred in the eyes of Ottomans, as possessing the tomb of Soleiman himself. He died, shortly after leading his people into Europe, not in the battle-field, nor from disease, but because his horse tumbled, while he was flying his hawks in a field near Bulair. He was buried where he fell, by a mosque which he had

built, within view of the sea. His grave marks the northern entrance of the Hellespont, as that of Protesilaus does the southern. 'For a hundred years,' says Von Hammer, 'he was 'the only Ottoman prince who lay buried in European earth; 'and his tomb continually invited the races of Asia to perform 'their pilgrimage to it with the sword of conquest. Of all the 'hero-tombs which have been hitherto mentioned in connexion 'with Ottoman history, there is none more renowned, or more 'visited, than that of the second Vizier of the empire, the 'fortunate Crosser of the Hellespont, who laid the foundation 'of the Ottoman power in Europe.' The atmosphere of legend still environed his memory in death. Ottoman story-tellers related to enthusiastic hearers, and Ottoman historians gravely repeat the tale, how when a mighty Christian armament landed near the holy tomb at Bulair, the hero Soleiman reappeared, leading a host of heavenly warriors, radiant with light and mounted on white horses, to the aid of his hard-pressed countrymen, and utterly destroyed the invaders. But the learned and impartial German, who has collected the Ottoman records, is at the pains to inform us, that the armament, the battle, and the victory, are irreconcilable with the more authentic facts of history.

Orchan survived his son Soleiman scarcely a year: he died in the year 1359. With Orchan and Soleiman, the lawgiver and the champion, seems to end the age of the heroes in the Ottoman annals: with the conquests of Amurath, these annals enter into the domain of European history.

Then it was known why Orchan had held back so long. When his son Amurath took up his father's work, it was seen at once, in terrible clearness, what a change had come over the Ottoman invaders. In that significant and eventful pause in their advance, the rude freebooters, who prowled in conscious and patient helplessness round the impregnable ramparts of Nice and Brusa, content if, after ten years of untired watching at their gates, they might surprise or weary out their prey, had become transformed into self-reliant and ready soldiers, able for all the works of victorious warfare, for swift, and continued, and enduring conquest. With Amurath begins, rapid and sudden, the irresistible outburst of Turkish power. Their roving bands, indeed, had long known well the routes in neighbouring Europe; they were familiar with the towns and cities of Thrace and Macedonia, under whose walls they had often swept in insulting security. They had watered their horses in the Strymon and the Axius, in the Morava and the Danube; but they had come and gone. But when, in the first year of Amurath, their squadrons issued from the fastness of the Chersonese, along the

narrow isthmus of Bulair, and through the towns which Soleiman had already occupied at its outlets and approaches, they entered to remain; they were come this time to divide and take possession. All the harassing forays of their predecessors are forgotten, compared with this great and determined advance, which in less than thirty years, for the second time in history, established an Asiatic power in Europe; and which made the Greek emperor a vassal to a Mahometan chieftain, for all that was left to him of his renowned empire,—the city and outskirts of Constantinople.

The intrigues of the rival Turks of Karaman detained Amurath for a moment in Asia; but the rebels of Galatia were soon put down, and the important castle and city of Angora, reputed by Ottoman writers one of the strongest in the line of Turkish fortresses from Buda to Van, was secured, to guard the eastern limits of the Ottomans. Then he at once crossed into Thrace, where his brother's grave seemed the call to conquest and its pledge. There was no delay in seizing the towns that remained untaken, in the vicinity and on the approaches of the Chersonese. From them he marched boldly into the heart of what had been the Greek empire. Amurath threw himself on the great military road which joins Constantinople to the Upper Danube, and so to the countries of the west: the towns upon its line were successively and swiftly occupied; while another body, under the veteran renegade Evrenos, and another of Orchan's old captains, pushed up the valley of the Hebrus. Didymotichon, the modern Demotica, the future prison of Charles XII., was taken; and Amurath, pleased with its position, and with the capture of a favourite residence of some of the Byzantine emperors, thought it worthy of being selected for the site of his first European palace. But a grander capital than Demotica was within his grasp. The Ottoman powers by the Hebrus, and the great north road, were converging on Adrianople. Hadji Ilbeki, the conqueror of Demotica, had ridden that year up to the walls of that great city, and boldly maintained the possibility of its capture. The thought of the greatness of the prize seems to have made even Amurath hesitate; but the council of war was held, and it was resolved to venture. The Greek governor of Adrianople risked and lost a battle outside the gates of the city, the first and last which the Greeks dared with Amurath. The Greeks fled, and Adrianople surrendered. In Amurath's first campaign in Europe, before he had been two years on the throne, the rival capital to Constantinople, lying opposite its very gates, and barring the approaches from western Christendom, came without resistance into his hands.

From this time, till Amurath's last field, no check stopped him in his steady progress. Along the great north-western road, the flame leapt from point to point, along its stations and towns, from Adrianople to Philippopolis, from Philippopolis over the passes of Hæmus to Sofia, from Sofia to Naissus, on the edge of the Servian kingdom, and within a few marches of Belgrade. Westward, along the old Egnatian way, Evrenos pushed onwards, and prepared the way to Greece: he halted only after he had crossed the Axius, at the Macedonian town of Vardar;[1] the castles and strongholds, which had not yielded to him on his first passage, were one by one mastered afterwards, and a line of posts in the mountain passes and on the coast secured; Serres, and the fruitful valley of the Upper Strymon, on one side, and the great city of Thessalonica on the other, at last, after several years, completed the Turkish conquests over the southern shore of Thrace. Nor were the Turkish invaders come this time merely to conquer. At the furthest points of their progress, they at once began to build and to endow, as the permanent occupants of the soil, not only for themselves, but for their posterity. At Vardar, Evrenos was the founder of richly endowed caravanserais and public kitchens for the poor; at Philippopolis, Lalashahin left his memorial, in a noble bridge of stone two bow-shots in length, and wide enough for the passage of two carriages abreast; and gave a large number of slaves, for whose sustenance he provided, to keep it in repair. The towns on each side of the great Adrianople road were captured; and thus the circle of Turkish occupation round Constantinople was completed and drawn closer, and the Emperors were isolated, at least by land, from their ancient realm. In due time, Hadji Ilbeki pushed up the valley of the Tundscha, which comes down from the Balkan to join the Hebrus at Adrianople. The towns on the pleasant southern slopes of the mountains, Iamboli and Aidos, and Sizeboli on the sea, were taken. Then the great dividing range was crossed. The Ottomans threaded from the south the defiles, which led to the plains of Bulgaria and the banks of the Danube. Then first, names are heard of, which have been heard so often, and with so much interest, since; then first we hear of the mountain-nest of Schumla, which has so often sheltered the Ottoman armies; and at the end of Amurath's reign, we hear of the Ottomans round the towns of the Lower Danube, from Nicopolis and Rustschuk to Hirsova, and of the first siege, recorded by history, of Silistria.

It was not with Greeks that the Ottomans disputed for the

[1] *Yenidjé Vardar*, near the old *Pella*. See a sketch of it, in Lear's 'Albania,' p. 30.

Greek empire. *They* struck no blow—princes or people—for their land and homes: the invasion roused indignation and resistance, but not in them. Amurath found antagonists; but they were competitors for the inheritance of the empire and the prize of Eastern Europe, jealous that he should forestal them. His battles on Greek soil were fought with other foreigners, who wrangled with him for the helpless carcase of the Byzantine dominions. It was the Sclavonic nations from the Danube and the Drave, Servians, Wallachians, and Bulgarians, who met him in his first field, and his last, and who struggled for supremacy in the plains of Thrace, with the Turkomans from the Oxus and the Caspian.

In the weakness of the Greek empire, a rival Christian state had insensibly risen on its western border, as the Ottomans had grown up on the east. Stephen Dushan, a politician, a legislator, and a warrior, had laid the foundation of a powerful kingdom amid the wooded mountains of Servia: he had established his authority and his influence over the multitude of local hereditary nobles, by whom his race, like the rest of the Sclavonians, were ruled; he was received as a deliverer by the Bosnian chiefs, as a protector by the republic of Ragusa; his standard was followed by the warlike tribes from Albania; he was obeyed in Arta and Belgrade, in Macedonia and Bulgaria; and he assumed the name and the ensigns of a Roman Cæsar, the tiara, and the globe and cross. Stephen Dushan left behind him a great national name; but an unfinished work. He lighted up a high ambition in the aspiring race whom he had ruled; but he died too soon, and the nation itself was too immature, for the consolidation of the loose and refractory elements of Servian power. Servia had led the Sclavonians in challenging the advance of the Ottomans, but with no fortunate issue. From the first, the superiority of the Ottomans declared itself; and the votive Styrian chapel of Mariazell, the most sacred place of pilgrimage in Austria, preserved the memory of the escape of Louis of Hungary, when he fled on the banks of the Hebrus from the Turkish scymitar, in the first encounter of the confederate Sclavonians with the lieutenants of Amurath, though the Styrian legends of the sanctuary itself have changed the defeat into a victory. Thus early, though unsuccessfully, began the fierce, long struggle, between the Ottomans and the nations which found their rallying point in the house of Austria. But the part and position of the Greek emperor was a very different one. John Palæologus, after the first burst of Turkish conquest, begged for and obtained peace at Constantinople, while Amurath overran the rest of his dominions;—a peace which the Greek only on one occasion attempted to interrupt, when he went to Italy to offer the submission of the Eastern

Church as the price of a new crusade. In this he failed; an ignominious arrest at Venice for debt, which was paid by the sale or pawn of the church plate at Constantinople, detained him a while; and then he returned, to offer his services against the enemies of the Ottomans, and to spend the remainder of his reign as the humble and resigned dependent on the good pleasure of Amurath. His degraded and pitiable vassalage, as well as a terrible earnest of that merciless cruelty which ran in the blood of the Ottoman house, are shown in the story of the conspiracy against their fathers, of his son Andronicus with Saudschi, the eldest son of Amurath. Amurath, when he heard of it, summoned the Emperor to prove his own innocence at the Emir's court; and when John had, without difficulty, convinced his master that he could not have been a party to such perilous designs, Amurath called on him to join him in arms against their insurgent sons, and in a compact to blind them if they were captured. The rebels were overthrown; Amurath, say the chroniclers, approached their camp at night, and called aloud to their Ottoman soldiers to leave them. The soldiers heard once more the voice which had been wont to lead them in battle, and could not resist its fascination. The rebellious sons were taken. Amurath redeemed his pledge in full measure; he first put out his son's eyes—then, when he had discharged his promise, he slew him. Andronicus was also blinded; but it was done imperfectly, and Amurath reproached his dependent for his weak compassion for his son. He himself was guilty of no such mercy for the Greek associates of Andronicus. From the banks of the Hebrus, he looked on calmly and unmoved, while the captive nobles were thrown, tied in pairs, into the river, from the battlements of Demotica. His composure was only disturbed by a laugh of scorn, when a hare, the emblem to the Ottomans of the Greek race, crossed his view, pursued by dogs, and he saw in the circumstance a coincidence, which moved his mirth, with the bloody scene which his war hounds were enacting before him. Yet Amurath was proud enough to be magnanimous. Manuel, the emperor's second son, who had tried to raise the standard of resistance to the Turks in Macedonia, when he found every place of refuge, even his father's palace, closed against him by the terror of Amurath's name, boldly threw himself on the chance of his mercy, and appeared before him at Brusa. Amurath spared him. He pardoned his past misconduct—thus is their interview described—and warned him, that on his mended behaviour would depend the mending of his fortunes in Europe; and then he sent him to his father, and gave the Emperor leave to open the gates of his capital to his own son, on condition that he would guard him carefully. It

is the historians of the Greek empire who are our authority for these features of its decline.

Amurath inherited the organizing spirit of his father Orchan. The countries he occupied were carved out into military tenures, the smaller *Timars,* and the larger *Siamets,* for the horsemen who had come across with him from Asia, and the bases laid of that great feudal system, which so long and so inexhaustibly fed the Ottoman armies, and riveted their power over the subject races, while it prevented the conquerors from identifying themselves with the soil, or feeling themselves more than, as it were, its lessees and tenants. The privileges and the service of this feudal militia, were defined and regulated; and in the place of the old Moslem colours under which the warriors of Islam had been wont to fight—the yellow of the Prophet himself, the green of the Fatimites, the white of the Ommiades, the black of the Abbassides,—the *Spahis* of the house of Othman reared that blood-red banner, so well known and so long feared in Christendom. For the service of the camp, a carriage train was organized of Christian followers, who, in consideration of the menial and burdensome duties to which they were bound, were exempt from tribute. The old law of the Koran was remembered and revived, which exacted a fifth of all the spoil, and a fifth of the price of every slave, for the use of the prince. A peace of six years was interposed in Amurath's conquests, and gave leisure, not only for the erection of mosques and palaces and baths in Adrianople, his new European capital, but for perfecting the military system, to which everything else was subordinate. The wily old man, Black Halil, who had suggested to Orchan the institution of the Janissaries, was in high power and confidence for twenty-seven of the thirty years of Amurath's reign; and the office of grand-vizier, which he bore for eighteen years, under the title of Haireddin Pasha, never went out of his family till after the fall of Constantinople. Even the Greek historians were impressed with his keen and far-sighted character, and record how carefully he was wont to impress upon Amurath, the necessity of preparing and proportioning his means and instruments for the high aim which he had before him. With such a counsellor, Amurath developed and matured the outlines of policy which Orchan had left him; and the men whose names are chiefly associated with his conquests, were mostly aged warriors, but energetic and able in their old age, who had passed their manhood as the servants of Orchan.

But it was not in Europe only that the Ottoman power was advancing with such vast strides. In Asia Minor, it rapidly absorbed two more of the smaller states, which had risen from the ruins of the Seljouks. The Emir of Kermian, the ancient

Phrygia, had to surrender his province as a marriage gift with his daughter to Amurath's son Bajazet; the Emir of Hamid, the old Pisidia, had to part with his by a forced sale. There was only one among these principalities which could pretend to measure itself with the Ottomans. The princes of Karaman occupied the plains of Iconium, the rugged masses of Taurus, and the shores of the Cilician sea. They had before shown jealousy of their rivals of the north-west. Amurath was provoked by their intrigues; and their submission was not timely enough to stop the march of an army, which he had collected for their chastisement, from his European dominions and allies, as well as from Asia. In 1386, on the field of Iconium, the Ottomans first tried their arms in a pitched battle against their Turkish brethren. The array of the Ottoman host on that decisive day is recorded, as the precedent which was ever after followed, in their many future battles. The feudal cavalry from Asia, as the fight was on their own ground, occupied the post of honour, the right wing—the troops from Europe the left—an order which was reversed, when European ground was the scene of battle. In the first line of the centre,—covered by a cloud of irregular skirmishers on foot, the *Azabs*,—stood, for the first time that history records, the 'new soldiers' raised from the Christian children in Black Halil's schools, the trained infantry of the Janissaries. Behind them was the post of the Sultan and Grand Vizier, surrounded by the squadrons of the regular cavalry of the guard, the paid *Spahis* and *Silihdars*. The Beglerbegs of Roumelia and Anatolia, the supreme military chiefs of the forces of Europe and Asia, commanded each on his own wing; but on this occasion, Amurath's two sons, Bajazet and Yacoub, were joined with them in command. The Karamanians were utterly routed; and on the field, the title of Vizier, and the distinguishing banner of the three horse-tails, were first conferred as a dignity of military honour, on Timurtash, the Beglerbeg of Roumelia, and the hero of the fight of Iconium. Amurath humbled, but was prevailed on to spare, the Emir and the state of Karaman; a storm was gathering behind him; and he had again to summon all his powers, both in Europe and Asia, to meet the danger, which was once more threatening from the banks of the Danube.

The Servians and their allies had been subdued, and Amurath had compelled Servian auxiliaries to help him against the Turks of Karaman; but the decisive trial of strength had not yet come, and the absence and occupation of Amurath in Asia, and perhaps the smart of Ottoman superiority, tempted them to enter the lists again, and for the last time, against their victorious competitor. Lazar, King of Servia,

the son of Stephen, gathered together the armies of the confederate Sclavonians from the gulf of Arta and the Croatian highlands, to the plains of the Theyss, and the mouths of the Danube. Seven tongues were spoken in his camp. There were Wallachians from beyond the Danube — Poles and Hungarians from beyond the Carpathians. The Tartars of the Dobruscha had been induced to revolt from the Ottomans; and the tribes which now furnish the fiercest soldiers, wherever the Turkish power requires the most daring and unscrupulous ferocity, the Albanian and Bosnian mountaineers, were then banded together with the kindred nations of Bulgaria and Servia, which have not, like them, accepted the faith with the yoke of their conquerors. The confederates hung on the edges of the Ottoman conquests, and defeated Ottoman armies; yet Amurath seemed hardly to heed them. He was busy with the affairs of his newly-acquired Asiatic provinces;—there he was occupied in celebrating at Brusa, with pompous ceremony, the circumcision of three of his grandchildren, and his own marriage, and that of his two sons, with Byzantine princesses. At last he moved. The forces of Asia Minor were once more poured across the Hellespont. With one wing of the army, his Grand Vizier, the son of Black Halil, crossed the Balkan, smote Bulgaria, and made it from that day a Turkish province. Then, through the rugged watercourses and intricate passes, in the heart and centre of the Sclavonic peninsula, where the mountain chains of Thrace and Macedonia are knotted together with the prolongations of the Dacian and Illyrian hills, Amurath pushed forward to seek the Servians. Old Evrenos, the apostate chief of Brusa, came back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, which he had just performed at the close of life, in testimony of his zeal for his second faith, to lend the Ottomans once more the renown of his formidable name, and to lead their vanguard. At Kossova, the '*Ousel's Field*,'[1] a pleasant plain in an amphitheatre of hills, where the borders of all the great Sclavonic provinces meet, the armies engaged. Of that stoutly contested battle, the issue was not doubtful, though a great price was paid for it by the conqueror. The life of the first invader of Europe was exacted, as the sacrifice due from the Ottomans for their first great European victory—but in that victory, the liberty of the Sclavonic tribes was struck down for centuries, and an omen given, of but too faithful presage, of the way in which Christian and Moslem were to meet afterwards in many a bloody field.

The histories and legends of both nations dwell upon, and perhaps exaggerate or overcolour the remembrances of this-

[1] "*Amselfeld.*"—Von Hammer, ii. 174, 6.

eventful fight. On the eve of the battle, say the Turkish chroniclers, the mind of the stout-hearted Amurath for awhile misgave him. The banded Christian host, now that he had found it, barred his way with numbers greatly superior to his own. His army had marched far, and through rough and difficult ways; and now that the die was to be cast, the only chance left him was victory; for behind him, were the defiles of Rhodope and Hæmus, and all around, an unfriendly country. The Ottoman chiefs were divided in their counsels as to the method of attack, and night found them still disagreed. With the night came a violent wind, which drove the dust across the plain in stifling clouds into the faces of the Ottomans. Meanwhile, in the Christian camp, the proposal to take their enemies at disadvantage during the night, was rejected, for fear, it was urged, lest under the cover of darkness any of them should escape. The whole of the night Amurath spent in prayer, that if he might not conquer, he might at least have the privilege of dying a martyr for Islam. With the morning came a change: the clouds of dust which had swept over the field gave place to a soft rain; the view was cleared, and the Ottomans could see their opponents. Drawn up in the same order as at Iconium, they closed on the Christian army. The fight was obstinate and bloody: the iron mace of Prince Bajazet smote fierce and fast, and where he led, the yielding Ottomans rallied, and the Christians were scattered before the tempest of his attack; but the fortune of the day was long doubtful and threatening to Amurath, before their overthrow was completed and irretrievable. It had been almost accomplished, when, from the heaps of the slain, a Servian soldier started forth, and crying out that he had a secret message for Amurath, burst through the guards and orderlies to his person. Amurath suffered him to approach; the Servian bowed to kiss his foot, and as he raised himself, stabbed Amurath mortally. A man of prodigious strength and speed, the murderer sprang forth again through the circle of guards; three times his pursuers came up with him, and three times he shook them off; the fourth time, faint with his wounds, he was overpowered, and died under their swords. But Amurath had still strength to direct what remained to be accomplished of his victory. It was achieved while he yet lived. Lazar, the Servian king, was brought in prisoner to his tent: and while he was dying himself, Amurath ordered him to be slain, and looked on while he was put to death. Conqueror and conquered, each gazed with fierce triumph on the last moments of the other, and carried with them the certainty of his rival's fate.

Such are the Ottoman accounts of the fight of Kossova and the death of Amurath. The Servian legends and Greek historians give a different version of the deed of Milosch Kobilovitsch, the

soldier who avenged his nation's liberty on the conqueror who had struck it down. Milosch and Wuk Brancowich, say the Servian legends, had married the two daughters of King Lazar, and the sisters had quarrelled about the merit of their respective husbands. Brancowich, provoked by his own jealousy and the complaints of his wife, accused Milosch of treasonable correspondence with the Turks. On the eve of the battle, King Lazar was pledging his nobles to the morrow's good fortune, in the *Stravitza*, the silver goblet which he used; when he came to Milosch, he passed him the goblet, but reminded him that his good name was not untainted by suspicion. 'Thanks, O King, for the *Stravitza*,' said Milosch, 'to-morrow shall prove my truth.' In the morning, before the battle began, Milosch rode into the camp of the Ottomans as a deserter; and when he was brought into Amurath's tent, to kiss his foot, Milosch overturned his seat, and dealt him his death-wound. He rushed forth and reached the swift horse, which was waiting to carry him back to the Christian camp; but he had not time to mount before the sabres of the Janissaries hewed him down. The Turks then began the attack. But it was not till the evening, when King Lazar was brought in to die in the tent of his expiring enemy, that he learnt how Milosch Kobilovitsch had redeemed his pledge. With the Servians he is a patriot and an avenging hero; with the Ottomans, an assassin, whose crime was afterwards made the pretext of the insulting ceremonial, which obliged the ambassadors of Christian powers, to approach the Sultan with their arms held by attendant chamberlains. Yet even the Turks seem to have felt a kind of involuntary and admiring interest in the daring and strength which was so fatal to their great leader.[1] On the plain of Kossova, where a chapel marks the place where Amurath died, the Turks have set up three great stones, at intervals of fifty ells, to point out the spots where Milosch thrice sprang through the crowds of his pursuers; and in the old armoury at Constantinople, are still shown the arms and the trappings of the Servian champion and his war-horse.

Such was the first stage of that military empire which Orchan had planned for his house and race, and for which he had so patiently prepared. From the time when Amurath 'the Victorious' burst upon the Byzantine realm, it was clear that no power in the east of Europe was a match in battle for the combination of fierceness and discipline which was found alone among the Ottomans; as there was no dynasty or state which

[1] They are said to have shown the same feeling towards the remains and the name of their most successful opponent, Scanderbeg. When they took Alessio, they crowded round his tomb, to look on his corpse; and fragments of his bones, set in gold or silver, were worn by the Janissaries as relics or amulets.—Von Hammer, i. 545; Gibbon, c. 67.

aimed so high in its policy, and was filled with such confident and resolute enthusiasm of conquest. But the mounting fortunes and the strength of the new state were disclosed with more formidable certainty, amid the splendours, and still more, amid the vicissitudes of the reign of his successor Bajazet. Bajazet met at Nicopolis, not Asiatics, or Greeks, or Sclavonians, but the choicest and proudest chivalry of the West; and he trampled them down with an overthrow more humiliating and more cruel than that of Kossova. Till his last fatal field, no check suspended the proud and prosperous sweep of his victorious armies, from Widdin to the Morea, from Smyrna and Sinope to the Euphrates. Yet the victory of Nicopolis, and the ancient empire of the east in Europe and Asia once again united beneath his feet, are less striking proofs of the vigour of the Ottoman state, than the disasters of Angora. Few eastern dynasties, few nations anywhere, in the outset of their career, could have so endured the shock and strain of that memorable casting down of human pride. Bajazet himself became one of the household instances in all men's mouths, of the instability of the loftiest fortune. His power seemed to break in pieces and dissolve—its instruments and its seats were swept away under the hoofs of the Tartar horses. And when the tempest which had carried him along with it had passed over, Ottoman was ranged against Ottoman, Janissary against Spahi, while his sons tore among themselves what remained of the Ottoman dominions, and fought with one another for its ruins. Yet out of this wreck of public calamity and domestic war, the institutions of Orchan emerged unimpaired in form, and unaltered in spirit; the tenacious and elastic strength of his race rapidly recovered and collected itself; and from the confusion and disasters of that house, which seemed not only beaten down but divided against itself, arose in terrible energy and relentless purpose, the awful form of Mahomet the Conqueror.

A primitive and severe simplicity of habits had hitherto marked the Ottoman sovereigns. Unscrupulous in policy, reckless of blood, and fierce in their scorn of those whom they had destined for their slaves, they were yet largely imbued with what religious tempers the Koran can infuse; it speaks much of kindness and mercy to the needy, and of rigorous justice even to the stranger; and they had gained renown even among their enemies for both. Nor, while displaying magnificence in their public constructions and foundations, had they yet been tempted to leave their ancestral homeliness, and copy the barbaric gorgeousness of Oriental state. Once only a whim of Amurath prompted him to add a slight ornament to the severe plainness of his attire. At the plunder of a town he discovered and exposed

the device of one of his soldiers, to secrete a golden cup, by placing it on his head, and covering it with his head-dress; Amurath chose to be amused at the trick, and in his merriment to imitate the soldier, and set the fashion of wearing a gold embroidered cap beneath the white linen of his turban. And his illiterate rudeness, ostentatiously affected, if it was not real, is still commemorated in the *Tughra* or sign manual of his more polished successors—the Arabic letters of their name and style are interwoven into a rude outline of the impression of a human hand, in remembrance of the way in which Amurath, like the shepherd kings of Tartary, the Mongol conquerors, and Timour, ratified his treaties, by dipping his palm into the ink, and leaving the print of it on the instrument. But under Bajazet, the effect was seen of unbroken and marvellous success, of increasing wealth and strength, on natures still steeped in the ignorance, and instinct with the savage and untamed wildness, of the steppes of Central Asia. The pride and the dazzling pomp, the cold deliberate ferocity, the monstrous lust of blood, the deep insolent perfidy, the foul and unnameable sensuality, thinly disguised under a veil of grave and manly courtesy, which have marked almost every Ottoman sovereign, and certainly every period of Ottoman power, appear already in their hateful combination, if not yet in their full proportions, in the Court of Bajazet.

'The reign of Bajazet Ilderim, "the Thunderbolt,"' says Von Hammer, 'begins, like the history of the world, with fratri-'cide. Scarcely had his father breathed forth his spirit, than 'Bajazet ordered his brother to be put to death'—the brother who had shared with him, the day before, the perils and the toil of the hard-fought field of Kossova. 'He did this,' says the official historiographer of the Ottoman empire, Seadeddin, who proclaims it his duty only to record the facts which set forth the honour of the noble house of Othman—he did this 'in con-'sideration of the text of the Koran, "*Disturbance is worse than* '*putting to death:*"—in consideration of the evil example given by 'his brother Saudschi of conspiracy and rebellion, that such an 'example might not find an imitator:—and in consideration of the 'example which ought to be followed, of God, who is alone, and 'without a rival; wherefore also the shadow of God upon earth, 'the Ruler of the Faithful, ought, like God, to govern on his 'throne without companionship and without rivalry.' 'The rea-'sons which influenced Bajazet,' continues Von Hammer, 'were 'found so weighty by the succeeding sultans, that his example 'was followed as a rule; and afterwards, in the legislation of 'Mahommed the Conqueror, the murder of the brethren of the 'Sultan was publicly proclaimed to be the law of the kingdom.'

The vassalage of the Servians, and other Sclavonian tribes,

which followed on the battle of Kossova, gave Bajazet an undisputed preeminence in the East; but the rout and massacre of Nicopolis at once spread his name and terror throughout Europe. In the most disastrous days of the Crusades, the pride of the nobles of the West had not been taught so terrible a lesson by the Infidels of Asia. A momentary pause in the confusions of the Great Schism, and the civil wars of France, had left them free to seek the excitement of an Eastern adventure. At Pentecost in 1396, a gay and princely company met at Vienna, whom Sigismund of Hungary, the future emperor of Germany, had invited to accompany him to chastise the hordes which were riding along the Danube, and to sweep them out of Christendom. In it were heard some of the most famous names and noblest titles of France, Burgundy, and Flanders: D'Eu, De la Marche, and Bar, belonged to the blood royal of France; St. Pol, De la Trémouille, Sampi, and De Couci, to its most high-born lordly houses; John de Vienne, the Admiral,—John Boucicaut, the Marshal of France, were captains renowned in the wars and councils of the West; the men-at-arms and squires, whom they brought with them, were picked men of the tried and fiery knighthood of their gallant land; at their head was a grandson of France and heir of Burgundy, known then as the Count of Nevers, but afterwards as *Jean sans Peur*,[1] reserved to be the father of mighty princes,—to be the troubler and scourge of his country,—to be able to daunt a council of the Church from condemning the doctrine of tyrannicide, and ruin the greatest theologian of his age, John Gerson, for denouncing it,—and to end and expiate his guilty and blood-stained life, by being himself its victim on the bridge of Montereau. Nor were the noble names of Germany absent. A Hohen-Zollern led knights from the Rhine; the Count Palatine, from Bavaria; Herman of Cilli, from Styria; and with them was the Grand Master of Rhodes, and a numerous company of the Knights of St. John. On St. Michael's eve, they met the foes they had come to seek on the Danube. Headstrong and insolent, 'despising their enemies and their allies,' scorning the caution prompted by Sigismund's dearly-bought experience of Turkish war, confident in their mail of proof and their western spears, they rose up from their wine and debauchery, and the perfidious slaughter of their captives, to look for and ride down the Infidel rabble rout[2] who had terrified the East.

[1] When the Count de Nevers was brought before Bajazet, after the battle of Nicopolis, 'disoit-on communement, qu'il y eut un Sarrasin, nommé Nigromancien, devin, ou sorcier, qui dist qu'on le sauvast, et qu'il estoit taillé de faire mourir plus de Chrestiens que le Basac (Bajazet), ny tous ceux de leur loy ne sçauraient faire.'—Juvenal des Ursins. 1396.

[2] 'Cette chiennaille.'—Mém. de Boucicaut, c. xxv.

They encountered a well-ordered and well-prepared army, whose warlike and brilliant show equalled their own. A swarm of light-horsemen covered the Ottoman lines, and concealed what they were doing. As the French advanced, the light-horsemen swept off right and left like a dispersing cloud, and disclosed, behind a fence of thickly-planted stakes, which had been fixed under the cover of their skirmishing, a long line of infantry, from whom a storm of arrows poured into the faces of the French cavalry. But through the deadly arrow-flights, through the barrier of sharp and slanting stakes, among which men and horses were maimed, they pushed on in spite of great loss; then, before their thundering onset and levelled spears, even the Janissaries, who never fled, were broken and overthrown. The first line of their enemies was destroyed, and the horsemen, who had taken refuge behind it, scattered; but the French could not halt, and a second line of stout and fierce infantry awaited them. As riders and horses, in disorder and out of breath, mounted the crest of a rising ground, they came upon Bajazet, and with him, not on the wreck and remains, but on the masses, fresh and untouched, of the main body of his host. At once, a 'forest of lances' closed round the loose array and exhausted strength of that troop of knights. They fought fiercely and terribly in their despair, but they could charge no longer; they were hemmed in, entangled, jammed together, stifled, by the surging throng and press of the storming Turkish squadrons. They were crushed and broken down, says the report of one who saw the scene, 'like the iron on the anvil.'[1] The Hungarians, far behind, and panic-struck, when they saw the French cavalry struggling in the toils,—led also, it is said, by faithless generals,—broke and fled. But Sigismund's guards, with the soldiers from Bavaria and Styria, yet formed a strong and formidable body, and advanced to extricate and relieve their comrades. They, too, were at first successful, till a fierce onset on their flank overthrew them. Sigismund, when his royal banner was struck down, escaped, with a few companions, by means of a small boat, on the Danube. But the Christian host was no more; and those of the French and German nobles who were not lying on the field, were prisoners in the hands of Bajazet. On the morrow came a more dreadful scene. Bajazet was furious at the massacre of the Turkish captives by the French nobles, and at his losses on the field. Sitting at his tent door, he ordered the whole body of prisoners to be collected from every part of the camp before him. Two of those who were present and escaped,

[1] Mém. de Boucicaut.

have left behind their remembrances of that day of humiliation and blood.[1] The 'noble youths of the Fleur-de-Lys,' honoured and high-spirited children of the lineage and royal blood of France, were tied tightly with cords by the 'ugly and horrible Saracens,' who held them with 'hard and rough grasp before the tyrant as he sat.' He granted their lives to the Count de Nevers, and twenty-four of his noblest companions, and bade them sit on the ground at his feet. Then he ordered the whole number of the remaining prisoners to be slain before him. They were brought up one by one, or stood in lines, as they were tied; and the club, or the sharp heavy yataghan,[2] passed along from head to head. The number of the victims varies, in different accounts, from three hundred to ten thousand; but one of our informants, an eye-witness, the German Schildberger, who was saved by the son of Bajazet for his extreme youth, and returned an old man to Nuremberg to write the story of that horrible morning, says, that at sun-rise the work of death began, and that when it was stopped, at the entreaties of the Turkish chiefs, wearied and sickened of its horrors, it was already four hours after noon. As Boucicaut, the Marshal of France, approached in the sad procession, and his turn was rapidly drawing near, his eyes met those of the Count de Nevers.[3] The Count cast a piteous look at Bajazet, and joined the fingers of his hands, to signify that Boucicaut was as a brother to him. Bajazet understood the sign, and Boucicaut was spared, to share the count's captivity, and, at last, after losing once more his liberty in a more famous battle than even Nicopolis, to die a prisoner in England.[4] Such was the end of that gallant company. At Pentecost they had met at Vienna. On Christmas night, while the gay court of the King of France was holding a brilliant festival at Paris, a horseman, booted and spurred, rode into the Hotel S. Pol, and kneeling before the king, delivered the message, that the corpses of the French host were lying unburied on the banks of the Danube,[5] and that the few survivors, and among them five princes of his own race, were waiting for their ransom in the prisons of Brusa. France and Flanders were thrown into mourning. And the first of those degrading tributes of money and presents, with which the great kings of the West used, from time to time, to deprecate the hostility and

[1] Schildberger and Boucicaut; supposing that the writer of Boucicaut's Memoirs had the account from himself, which is probable. Cf. *Notice sur Boucicaut*, (*Collection Michaud et Poujoulat*,) ii. p. 212.

[2] 'Grands cousteaux.'—Boucicaut.

[3] 'Dieu feit, que le Comte de Nevers, sur le point que on vouloit ferir sur luy le va regarder moult piteusement, et le mareschal luy.'—Boucicaut.

[4] Gibbon *kills* him at Agincourt; but it is a mistake. Cf. *Notice sur Boucicaut*, p. 212.

[5] Juvenal des Ursins. 1396.

feed the insolence of the Turks, was offered at the Porte of Bajazet by the most ancient royal house in Christendom, to redeem the captives of Nicopolis.

For twelve years nothing interrupted the uniform course of Bajazet's conquests. In Asia he finished what his predecessors had begun, the reunion under one sway of all the fragments of the old Seljouk kingdom. The principalities of the coast were finally extinguished. Karaman was conquered, and its chief put to death; and from the shores of Cilicia, Bajazet turned to those of the Euxine, to punish and dispossess the Isfendiars of Kastemuni, the lords of old Paphlagonia, for having harboured the fugitive princes of the Ægean coasts. The shelterers were driven from Sinope and Amasia, as the sheltered had been driven from Smyrna and Ephesus, to seek and raise up an avenger, in the midst of that dark tempest of desolating conquest, which was raging in the depth of Asia, and in which a mightier than Bajazet was drawing near, amid the ruins of the kingdoms of the East. Nothing daunted by the portentous renown of Timour, Bajazet advanced eastwards, till the northern Euphrates became his border. In Europe, Servia, and Wallachia, were his tributaries. His fortified posts on the Danube were pushed upwards to Widdin, and the Turkish marauders began to feel their way into the unexplored lands of Hungary and Styria. Southwards, he plunged into Thessaly and Greece, offended with the Greek emperor, or in search of new hunting-grounds;[1] the instigator and guide of his march was a Greek and a churchman, the traitor Bishop of Phocis. This time there was no one to defend Thermopylæ, and Bajazet received the homage of the Greek and Frankish chiefs who ruled in Phocis and Bœotia; while the unwearied Evrenos, that implacable old man against his former race and faith, who, under Amurath, had firmly fixed the Ottoman horsetails on the banks of the Macedonian Axius, now carried them forward over the unguarded Isthmus, to the citadel of Argos and the waters of the Gulf of Coron. In this visitation—for it was not yet a conquest—Athens was not spared: and though the Ottomans for the present retired, they swept off with them a booty of 30,000 slaves, whom they fixed as a colony in Asia, in the same way as they had planted Asiatic colonies at the gates of Constantinople, and in the plains of Thrace.

If Bajazet judged of the nations of the West from his past experience of the spirit and wisdom of his Christian foes, it is easy to understand the words of scorn and menace, with which he is said to have dismissed his prisoners.[2] For in

[1] Finlay; Von Hammer.

[2] Cf. Gibbon, chap. lxiv. p. 72.

the East, he had not only conquered the Christians,—he had forced them to fight his battles against their fellow-Christians, not in the ranks of the Janissaries merely, but under their own banner of the Cross. The charge which finally crushed the Christian host at Nicopolis, was made by Christian troops led by the Christian chief of Servia, the son of him who had been slaughtered in Amurath's tent at Kossova, the grandson of Stephen Dushan, but now the brother-in-law and sworn liegeman of Bajazet. For the Palæologi at Constantinople a lower depth of infamy was reserved. It was not only, that Bajazet made and unmade Cæsars at his pleasure,—deposed, imprisoned, and then caused the occupant of the throne and the dungeon to change places again; it was not only, that he compelled them to receive a Mahometan kadi, and to allow a Mahometan mosque to be built within the imperial city,—it was not only, that when the Emperors had pulled down three famous churches to fill up a gap in the ruined city walls, they submissively obeyed his prohibition to add any new fortifications to Constantinople, and razed to the ground, at his order, what they had just built; it was not only, that the smallest disobedience was at once punished by a strict and prolonged blockade—the ignominy of the Greek emperors yet wanted something to complete it. A single Greek city, which had stood the brunt of more than one fierce storm, still raised itself above the ruins of the empire. Alascher, the ancient Philadelphia, was a great staple of trade, and, in the very heart of the Turkish conquests, was still a free town. Bajazet wanted lands and houses, to form the endowment of his new mosque at Adrianople; and he led his army against Philadelphia. The Greek vassal emperors, with their troops, were with him. It was Manuel, the Greek emperor, who summoned Philadelphia to receive the Turkish yoke. When Philadelphia resolved to defend its freedom, it was the Greek emperors and Greek soldiers who were appointed, and who undertook, to conduct the siege. Lastly—what would be beyond belief, if a Greek chronicler[1] had not related it—'it was John and Manuel, the Greek emperors, who led the 'assault against their own city, to deliver it into the hands of 'the barbarians.'[2]

The shadows of ancient greatness still lingered and flitted in its decaying palaces, or wandered, unhonoured suppliants, with their piteous tale of woe and shame, among the courts of the West; or in ludicrous mockery of their fallen state, emulously multiplied themselves in the still shrinking limits of their narrow corner in Thrace, and contending Cæsars reigned, not

[1] Chalcocondylas. [2] Von Hammer, i. 185.

only at Constantinople, but a score of miles off, at Selymbria. But the substance of power in what was wont to be considered the Eastern world, was in Bajazet's court, the Sultan's Gate, at Brusa. Bajazet had traversed the countries from Germany to Armenia, from the Carpathians to Persia and the Syrian desert, and had not yet found a rival; and now he stood, careless of the wild storm which was bursting over Asia, only waiting to arise and be the scourge of the sins and divisions, the scandals and confusions, of Western Christendom. And under him was now seen at Brusa, not only the substance but the show of a power, which served itself of the wealth and strength of many races of men. The Ottomans had long been rapacious—had long been overbearing—had long been insolent: they now exhibited, in rapid and premature development, the display and the corruption of secure prosperity. The profuse and pompous magnificence, and the greediness after money at the expense of public interest and private honour, which are such prominent features in almost all the great men of the Ottomans, began to show themselves in the reign of Bajazet. The son of the great Black Halil, Bajazet's chief minister and friend, was not above receiving a bribe from the Greek Emperor, to give a respite to Constantinople. Bajazet's glory and show in the hunting-field were the wonder of his French captives, the kinsmen of the gayest and of the wealthiest of European princes; but the fiery Bajazet, whose joy seemed the battle, and who owed his fame and his power to his army, left his soldiers without pay at the very crisis of his fortune, and grudged his treasures to them, even in the moment of peril, with the close-handed and shortsighted thrift of a miserly usurer. We still hear, indeed, of Ottoman justice; but Bajazet's, if we are to judge from the well-known stories[1] which illustrate it, was but the blind ferocity of a provoked barbarian. What is more certain than Bajazet's justice is the licentiousness, of which he gave the example and became the precedent. Bajazet, the first of the Ottoman princes, gave the rein to his wild nature, in pleasure as well as in ambition or revenge. A Moslem prince, he learnt from one of his Christian wives, and added to the sensuality of Asia, the drunken orgies of the West. But this was the least. It was in Bajazet's court that the seeds were sown, which took root so early and grew with the growth of the Ottoman State, of that unnameable system of public and unexampled profligacy—which remains to this day its burning and characteristic shame, and its incurable curse—that system of official promotion, which made the infamy

[1] See Gibbon, chap. lxiv.; vol. viii. p. 68.

of youth the ordinary path to the honours of manhood, and to the first places of the State. It was one of the immediate fruits of the policy, which led the Ottomans to recruit their strength in the families of the Christians they had conquered. The tribute of Christian children, not only filled the chambers of the Janissaries with recruits, but the Sultan's halls with pages. It is reported that the heinous taint which spread from the Court involved all the orders and classes, by whom the Ottoman State was supported and guided; and that foremost among the corrupt and the corrupting, were not merely all-powerful viziers and lawless soldiers, but the grave and solemn teachers and ministers of the Mahomedan law.[1]

'Bajazet sat at Brusa,' says one of the Greek chroniclers, in his flowery style, 'and the lofty tree of his prosperity was 'laden with fruit. Nothing of all the things which can give 'most exquisite enjoyment was wanting to him. Wild beasts of 'strange shapes, precious metals, and all that God has created 'most rare for the delight of the eyes, were found in his trea-'sure houses. Choicest slaves, men and women, of fair form 'and beautiful countenance, stood round him—they were 'Greeks, Servians, Wallachians, Albanians, Hungarians, Saxons, 'Bulgarians, Latins—who all sang and made music, each in 'their own language, however little heart they might have for it. 'But he sat in the midst of them, and gave himself up without 'interruption to the enjoyment of soft voluptuousness.'[2]

One thing only impeached the perfect splendour of his prosperity. At his very gates, enclosed and straitened by his ample conquests, the ruins and spoils of its worn-out empire, a great and venerable name still claimed the honours of twenty centuries, and maintained its precedence among Eastern princes, by the possession of a royal city, which seemed the symbol and pledge of Eastern dominion. True, Bajazet had held its keys; he had changed its rulers; he had put it to tribute; he had led forth its Cæsars among his other vassals, against their own less compliant towns. But it was not less true, that the lord still sat at Brusa, and the vassal in the imperial palaces of Constantinople; it was not less true, that the owner of Constantinople was, in the view, not only of Western princes and Western merchants, but of Bajazet's own subjects, the rightful Emperor of the East. And under Bajazet's own eyes, that single but splendid relic of greatness, itself more than half the empire, had been transferred without his leave, from one to another, by the helpless pretenders to the name of Cæsar; and when one of them could no longer hold it, he devolved his right, and united

[1] Von Hammer, i. 192.

[2] Ducas, in Von Hammer, i. 209.

the rival diadems of Selymbria and Constantinople, on the head of a blind and feeble pensioner of the Ottoman conqueror. The 'sick man's heritage,' according to the memorable phrase of modern days, invited the hand of his successor. Orchan and Amurath had each successively added a nobler capital to their dominions. It seemed reserved for Bajazet to outshine their exploits, and accomplish their work, by raising up the 'Gate' and throne of the Turcoman lords of the 'Black Castle,' within the precincts of the palace of the Cæsars, and by having the weekly prayer of the Moslems recited in his own name, and to the honour of the Arabian Prophet, in the oldest Cathedral in Christendom.

It seemed the triumph reserved for Bajazet; and in the first year of the fifteenth century he prepared to claim it. The blind John of Selymbria reigned in Constantinople, while his cousin and rival Manuel was vainly imploring help among the courts of Europe. Bajazet sent to John: 'Not for thy 'sake, but for my own,' he said, 'have I cast out thy prede-'cessor. Art thou our friend?—then remove from the city, 'and choose thee a province where thou wilt, and I will bestow 'it on thee to govern. But if not, I swear by God, and our 'Prophet, that I will spare no one. All shall utterly perish.'

As at the last, when the last *did* arrive, so now, when it seemed come,—a burst of brave resolution flashed up in the moment of utmost peril, amid the decay and ignominy of the Greek race. Constantinople sent back an answer worthy of her history and name, to the summons of the barbarian: 'Go tell your master,' said its people, 'that we are indeed without help. We have 'no defender, to whose might we can look for protection, except 'God—God, who upholds the helpless, and overthrows the 'strong. Now do thy pleasure.' And they and their proud enemy prepared for the encounter.

But the encounter was not to be. That generation was to be sleeping in its graves, before the change, which seemed at the very doors, should come; they were to be spared the shame, or denied the triumph, of seeing a new dynasty enthroned on the Golden Horn. The crash of a tremendous revolution was, indeed, to startle the world; but it was the downfal of its most rising power, not the extinction of one long doomed to ruin.

Bajazet was called away from Constantinople to meet the challenge of a rival conqueror, of his own faith and stock, but one before whose terrible ambition and greatness Bajazet dwarfed and overshadowed, and his broad Ottoman realm ndles down into the dimensions of a province. Timour the last and the most remarkable of those Tartar wan-

derers, in whom the boundless and lawless liberty of the Steppes awakened the dream of the mastery of the world; who, driven onwards by a frenzied and devouring enthusiasm that could not stop, and bursting by their grim energy through all that barred their way, were able for a time to bind the civilization of Asia to the throne of the Northern wilderness: and who, even after that throne had crumbled, left indelible traces of their character, their deeds and thoughts, on the memory, the history, and the legislation of the polished races of the South. Timour held the conquerors' spell over his savage brethren. Lured by that spell from their bleak, endless plains, and forbidding wastes, their roaming camps were once more gathered together for battle, under a chief who was able to break them to his discipline, and bend them as one man to the single aim of his vast ambition. Once more, and for the last time, the Mongol war cry of '*forwards*'[1] passed from land to land, across the Oxus, across the Volga, across the Euphrates, across the Indus, and at last across the Halys. About the time that Amurath the Victorious led the Ottomans into Europe, Timour began to conquer. While they had been advancing from the Hellespont to the Danube and the Euphrates, Timour had dashed to pieces power after power, from the deserts of Tartary to those of Arabia, from the shores of the Caspian to the fountains of the Ganges; he went onward, where Alexander and Genghis had turned back; the historic lands of Asia, the seats of her proudest kingdoms, the cradles and homes of her highest civilization—Persia and Chaldæa, Armenia and Hindostan—were joined in a common wreck with the barbarian thrones of Turkistan and Russia, to form a Tartar empire; over their impregnable fortresses, their fairest and greatest cities, Ispahan, Bagdad, Delhi, Damascus, his sword had passed, like the lightning or the pestilence, and left them without man or beast, marked by their reeking walls and pyramids of human skulls;—spoiled, that by their arts and industry Samarcand might be adorned; ruined, that Samarcand might be left standing alone, the one great city of the Tartar reign; while during the forty years that his armies traversed to and fro, and his horse-hoofs marked the soil, the lands of civilized man—of those who are nourished by the wheatsheaf, the vine, and the olive—tilth and garden, orchard and watered meadow, seemed yielding to the encroachments of his native steppe, to furnish hunting-grounds for his game, or unpeopled pastures for the horses and flocks, whose flesh and milk were the food of his race. The perfect and favourite number of the Tartars, nine, had been all but fulfilled

[1] 'Sürün:' Von Hammer, i. 223, 249.

and multiplied in the dynasties he had annihilated, and the crowns he had united on his head; *almost* nine princely houses, thrice nine separate lands, were reckoned when he told the sum of his conquests,—one more great family was wanting to complete the tale, when he marched against Bajazet; and the dynasty of the Ottomans made the ninth.

Such was the fierce destroyer of men, whom Bajazet had now to meet; a grimly earnest, lame old man, with long white hair, hair which had been white from his infancy, flowing from his massy head and open brow,[1]—a man who hated jests and lies,—grave and weighty in his sayings, finding his solace in complicated games of chess, or in discussing with his scheiks abstruse and thorny questions of theology or casuistry; a man who never forgot, never desisted, never regretted the past or repented of what he had done:—a man before whom the gems and gold of Asia had been showered, and who had all its glories and delights at his command; yet after nearly half a century of war and victory—war almost without a break, and victory without a reverse—was neither enervated nor wearied:—who was to go on till his last breath, conquering, planning, and building up with restless and sagacious energy—whose organizing mind had covered Asia with a network of rapid communications and watchful intelligencers, and had introduced obedience, subordination, a regular array and equipment, and a method of systematic and well-imagined tactics, among his swarming hordes; who spent his life in wasting Asia, yet was full of wise thoughts of statesmanship, and is named as one of the founders and sources of Asiatic law:—a man, merciless as death, to whose horrible butcheries of his Moslem brethren, the bloody morrow of Nicopolis seems but an excusable catastrophe of war; yet who professed the stern piety and benevolence of the Koran, who deigned to disclaim the character of a man of blood, and to throw the burden of what he had shed on his enemies; and who, in the height of his pride, took pleasure in contrasting the magnificence of his fortune with his crippled body, and in ostentatiously confessing that in all that he had achieved or won, he felt himself but the frail and feeble instrument of the hand of God.

Nearly forty years before, Ottomans and Mongols had each gone on their way to conquer; at the end of that time they met. It was but natural that the conqueror, who had spared no Mahometan house or kingdom, and who had been driven by the frenzy of universal dominion to the plains of India and the wastes of Russia, should refuse to turn back from any boundary that his horses could overleap or swim. Yet Timour does

[1] Von Hammer, i. 212.

appear to have been indisposed to break in on the territories of the Ottomans. He came, and marked his coming by the destruction of a great city, and then turned away; and Bajazet seems to have wantonly tempted and drawn aside the tempest from its path. At any rate, if the shock must have come, and his last and proudest crown had still to be won by Timour, either by voluntary homage or war, he was not suffered to want a pretext by the insolence of Bajazet. Irritating messages and words of scorn were exchanged by both; but the pride of Timour was dignified and self-possessed, compared with the furious and frantic defiance of the most sacred laws of Eastern right and courtesy, which Bajazet displayed to the ambassadors and the personal honour of Timour. 'The son of Murad is mad,' he said, when the last insult that an Oriental can offer or endure was cast in his face; and he gave the decisive order to go forward against Anatolia. Bajazet, who had the city of the Cæsars in his grasp, who had been dreaming of planting his horsetails even in their Western seat, could only be brought to look upon Timour as an adventurous and lucky freebooter of the desert. His soldiers were murmuring for their pay, and he refused to open his treasures. His chiefs warned him of the numbers of the invading cavalry, and urged him to avoid the plains and occupy the passes and the hills; but his only care was to find and exterminate them in open battle. He hastened to the frontier. They too were hastening on; they swept forward, and passed him far on his flank; and when he had lost their trace, and was waiting for them to appear, he heard of them many marches behind him. They were between him and his capital, assailing the great fortress of Angora which defends the road. He had to seek them once more in the very heart of his dominions. This time they did not disappoint him. He found the Tartar host well posted, entrenched, and ready. In the infatuation of his pride, to exhibit before their eyes his scorn of their power, he exhausted his already wearied soldiers with the vainglorious spectacle of an Oriental hunting-party. The Tartars, meanwhile, were busy in cutting off or spoiling the water-springs by which the Ottomans were supplied. Then came the day of battle. It would be a perilous attempt to estimate the numbers on an eastern battle-field, described by eastern chroniclers. But there can be no doubt that many years had passed, since a muster and a shock, like that of the Mongol and Ottoman powers on the plains of Angora, had been witnessed in the East. There, in Bajazet's line of battle, were arrayed—Christians and Moslems once more together—the conquerors of Nicopolis; on the left, Stephen, with his black Servian cuirassiers, who had broken the last reserves of the Hungarian army; and in

the centre the compact and stubborn lines of the Janissaries. But on Bajazet's right, were masses of the unsteady and discontented troops of Asia, whose hereditary princes were in the camp of Timour, and Tartar colonists from Thrace, won over by Timour's emissaries to the side of their former kinsmen. A stately array of elephants is said to have formed the van of Timour's army; but his real strength was the broad and open plain. There his overwhelming numbers found space and play for the unrelaxing impetuosity of their successive charges. They overlapped, they tore asunder the Ottoman line; they surrounded, they burst, in repeated assaults, on its divided fragments. Large bodies of the Asiatic troops, with the Tartar auxiliaries, went over to Timour. The Servian horsemen fought hard and dangerously, but they were wedged together by swarming throngs, as the French knights had been at Nicopolis, and perished as they did. Stephen, on his barbed war-horse, broke through the press, and made his way to where Bajazet had retired to a rising ground, and with the impenetrable and unshaken Janissaries maintained the conflict, when it had ceased everywhere else. Stephen urged Bajazet to escape, but he refused. Despair or hope still bound him to that fated field, where his bravest and his dearest dared not abide with their master and father. All fled before the inevitable ruin—chiefs like Stephen and Evrenos, officers like the Grand Vizier, the Aga of the Janissaries, the Captain of the Horse-guards—his surviving sons, each as chance opened a way through the Tartars, one westward to Europe, another eastward to the Pontic mountains, another southward to the crags of Taurus. But all day long, from morning to nightfall, under the blazing July sun,[1] the Janissaries, faint with thirst, and falling fast under the Tartar onslaughts, held on without flinching, for the last chance of retrieving their master's fortune; and he held on with them. But that fortune, so dazzling and so unchequered, had that day run out its term. Night came down on his thinned and sinking footmen, and he saw that on the field there was nothing more to be done. He was persuaded to mount and fly. But beyond the spears of the Janissaries, the Tartar horsemen were masters of the plain. His horse stumbled or stopped to drink; and he was taken. The titular head of the royal tribe of the Mongols, the lineal heir of Genghis, now a vassal chief in the Tartar host, led the Sultan of the Ottomans to the tent of his conqueror.

It is credible, and quite consonant with Eastern feelings, and with Timour's character, that he was received with proud and grave courtesy. When Timour's fury had spent itself, he was the

[1] 20th July, 1402.

man to eye curiously and moralize with irony on the monument before him of the strange mixtures and alternations in man's lot. He made Bajazet, it is related, seat himself on the carpet next himself, and conversed with him on the incidents of the fight. Then he allowed his thoughts to flow, on that mighty share of power which he had that day confirmed, and which Bajazet had the same day forfeited. 'Thou and I,' he said, 'owe great and special thanks 'to God the Lord, for the dominion which he has granted to 'us.' 'Why so?' said the prisoner. 'Because he has divided it 'between two such people as we—a lame man like me, and a 'gouty one like you: to the lame man he has given all from 'India to Sivas, and to the gouty one all from Sivas to 'Hungary. Surely this leaves no doubt, what the dominion of 'the world is worth in the eyes of God. If it had not been less 'than nothing, he would have shared it between men sound of 'body and whole of limb, not between a pair of cripples, like 'you and me. But because thou hast been unthankful to God, 'and not acknowledged His benefits, He has sent this chastise-'ment by *my* hand, the rod of His anger. Yet take it not to 'heart, brother Bajazet. If a man keeps but safe and sound, 'he soon comes back to fortune and blessing.' But the words of the conqueror, jesting in the moment of triumph with his own prosperity, are no real proof of the clemency or generosity of the man. Modern criticism has indeed changed the *iron cage* into a closed and latticed litter, and traced the origin of a world-wide story to a confusion between two like-sounding words. But Bajazet was impatient of captivity, and Timour was resolved to display his captive in the streets of Samarcand. The harshness of the imprisonment no doubt increased, as the prisoner tried to break from it. And the natural scorn of the strong and unrelenting barbarian, for what he had overthrown and ruined, for the helplessness which was before his eyes every day, soon broke out and overrode all temporary sentiment about the vanity of human greatness. Bajazet had been a passionate and famous hunter: Timour sent him a present of hounds and hawks, to mock him with the remembrances of his days of freedom. And more than this, the women of Bajazet's harem, and even one of his legitimate wives, were dragged forth in public at the Tartar's banquet, and forced to serve wine to his guests. Bajazet was carried about in Timour's train, as he slowly turned back to Samarcand. But he died in Asia Minor, before the year of his captivity was out. 'God's we are,' said Timour, 'and to God we return,' when he was told of Bajazet's death; and four days after, he received, with the same words, the announcement of the death of his own favourite grandson. He gave Bajazet's remains to his son Musa; and his tomb was raised like

those of his fathers, by the mosque which he had built, amid the groves and rushing waters of Brusa. Yet one more humiliation, the last that man, and the bitterest that Moslem can go through, was reserved to complete the reversal of his fortune. Alone of all the Ottoman princes, the proud and brilliant Bajazet was not allowed his last rest, amid the great dead of his line and race. In the confusion which followed his death, a chief of Karaman, of that family which Bajazet had crushed and disinherited, was able to take vengeance for the misfortunes of his house, in the city and at the grave of their destroyer; and in Brusa, Bajazet's chosen seat of glory and delight, his tomb was violated and overthrown, his corpse torn up, burnt, and its ashes scattered, that it might never again be restored to its resting-place, to give a savage triumph to a spiteful rebel.

Athens after Syracuse, Rome after Cannæ, France after Waterloo, were not so shattered and laid low as the Ottoman state was after the rout of Angora. Just a hundred years before, it had begun to be. In the first years of the fourteenth century, Othman became an independent chief, in an obscure castle on the borders of Bithynia. In the first years of the fifteenth, his descendants were crushed under the iron might of Timour. In the interval they had achieved an empire. And now it seemed as if the course of their empire were run, like that of so many fortunate and short-lived Asiatic dynasties; that the time was come for it to fall in pieces, and give place to another, or be frittered away in the hands of a number of quarrelsome and impotent local chiefs. For half a century the event seemed to hang in the balance. Desperate efforts, perilous struggles, compliances, submissions, and yieldings to the time, which would have provoked the indignation of Orchan and the first Amurath, marked the period; one hard and anxious trial of strength came at its close; and then the Ottoman power emerged, compact, invincible, and more terrible than before, to resume its career and accomplish its strange destiny, and long confront, with threatening and with scorn, the greatest and strongest polities of the rising civilization of Western Christendom.

The Tartar hordes pushed westwards till they were stopped by the broad Hellespont and the Ægean. They spoiled Brusa and its treasures, and burnt its mosques and schools; a storm and a massacre left Smyrna in ruins and blood; and then the devastating wave swept backwards, from the provinces over which it had broken, to roll to the other extremity of Asia, and menace China. But before Timour had departed, all humbled themselves before him, and acknowledged his supremacy. oleiman, the son of Bajazet, safe behind the sea in his palace Adrianople, yet asked and received the investiture of the

lordship of the Ottomans and of the kingdom of Roum, in a charter impressed with the print of the red hand of the Mongol.[1] Timour, it is said, had graciously received the prayer of Bajazet, that he would not root out his posterity, nor utterly destroy a race which was the bulwark and hope of the Moslems. From the Cæsar of Constantinople he received, before he departed, the tribute of the conquered—from the Sultan of Egypt, the submission of a vassal; and in the mosques and mints of Cairo, prayer was said, and coin struck, in the imperial name of Timour. The consolidating work of the Ottoman conquerors in Asia Minor was broken up and thrown back for many years. The Turkish principalities, which had been fused together under their sway, were again divided under their restored dynasties; and Timour left the Ottomans of Brusa, once more, what they had been under their first Emir, but one among the fragments of the Seljouk kingdom.

All had to be begun again in the Ottoman State; and *it did* begin again with a fierce war of succession, among the sons of Bajazet, whom the overthrow of Angora had hurled apart, to different parts of his ruined dominions. There still survived the emblem and the refuge of the unity of the State, in the court and capital of Adrianople. There, the 'Gate' of the house of Othman was secure from the assaults of the Tartars, and had not much to fear from the neighbouring dynasty of Constantinople. There, were collected, also, the great officers and chiefs, who had served it so zealously, who had witnessed its greatness, and hoped in its fortune, who were imbued with its spirit, and knew its traditions—the Grand Vizier, Black Halil's son,—Evrenos, the great chief of Macedonia, an old man of well nigh a hundred years, yet unabated in energy and keenness, who had, as a Christian, defended Brusa against Orchan, and had lived to accompany Bajazet, as a Moslem, to his ruin at Angora;—Michal-Ogli, the descendant of the first renegade companion of Othman;—the Aga of the Janissaries, the captain of the horse-guards, and the heads of the law; there, also, were the remains, or the reserves, of the Janissaries, and their schools; and to the prince who ruled at Adrianople, the Turkish feudatories of Europe looked up as to their master and liege-lord. There was the nucleus of the empire, and there, in fact, it was saved. But who the prince should be, who was to rule at Adrianople, was long uncertain. Strength and success are better tests than priority of birth, among the Ottomans, of the right of inheritance; and twice the veteran servants of the empire at Adrianople

[1] Instead of a signature or a seal, Timour, according to the Mongol usage, dipped his palm in red ink, and stamped it on the paper. See above, p. 270.

transferred their allegiance to a pretender, who gave the best promise of upholding the fortunes which they had founded with Orchan and Amurath. They deserted Soleiman, an indolent debauchee, for the more energetic Musa; in less than three years after, Evrenos and his companions called in, against the ferocity and oppression of Musa, the tried valour and wise humanity of the prince, who had reconquered a great part of his patrimony in Asia, Mahomet 'the Gentleman.'[1] Mahomet, says a Turkish historian, was the 'Noah who saved the ark of the State amid the deluge of the Tartars.'[2] But Mahomet himself had to maintain his right against another pretended, or perhaps real brother; and to the end of his life he was at war with the spirit of rebellion, which the great break-up of the empire had excited among its vassals, a spirit which he had to leave still unsubdued, to embarrass and keep back the ambition of his successor.

When Manuel Palæologus returned from the West to his capital, which he must have left with scarcely a hope of seeing it again, he found his position strangely altered, towards his dreaded neighbours. They, whom he had left thundering at his gates, had been humbled so low by their reverses, as to beg the help, and make sacrifices for the favour of a Greek emperor. Soleiman had given a son and daughter of Bajazet as hostages for peace, and offered to restore to Manuel the Turkish conquests on the Ægean and the Euxine, from the Strymon to Varna. In the wars of the succession, Manuel was able to throw in a considerable balance on the side he chose. To Manuel, Mahomet was indebted, at least, for the transport of his army to Europe; and when his victory over his brother Musa was secure, he confirmed the agreement of Soleiman, and yielded up to the Emperor the fortresses of Thessaly and of the two seas. 'Tell *my father*,' was the astonishing message of the grandson of Amurath, and the son of Bajazet,—'Tell *my father*, the Greek Emperor, *that with his 'help I have won my paternal kingdom*, that I owe him thanks for 'this, that henceforth I shall be bound to him as a son to his 'father, and joyfully do him service.' That a prince of the blood of Othman should have professed to reverence the Cæsar of Constantinople as his father, was strange enough; it was strange that he should have condescended to pay an annual pension to Manuel, for keeping in close custody a pretender to the Ottoman throne; but it was still more strange, that, dying, he should have wished to shield his younger children from the jealousy of his successor, and *their* brother, by solemnly committing them

[1] '*Tchelebi*,' Mahomet's title, is thus translated by Von Hammer.
[2] Von Hammer, i. 281.

to the guardianship of the old enemy, the despised vassal, and long destined victim of his house.

And yet in those days of weakness and peril, when it was wise to adjourn their ambition, and amid the confusion of family quarrels and unceasing intestine war, it is most remarkable to observe in the Ottomans the traits of undamped energy and returning power. Their old dominion gradually stole again over the Ægean coasts, and then, with the exception of the Karamanian princes, over the rest of Asia Minor. Musa, during his short reign, was able to recover the boundaries which the Ottomans had possessed before Bajazet's fall, beyond the Morava, the Strymon, and the Balkan; and Mahomet, though disinclined to war in Europe, in order that he might secure the reduction of Asia, yet when he was forced into it, compelled the submission and tribute of Wallachia, and built the fortress of Giurgevo beyond the Danube, to overawe it. Venice thought it worth while to negotiate, for the first time, and even after Loredano's great victory at Gallipoli, to renew, an equal treaty with the Ottomans, during this period of their crippled power. The adorning of their capitals still went on. Soleiman began and Mahomet finished a magnificent mosque at Adrianople; at Brusa Mahomet finished another, equally famous for its grandeur, which had been begun by Amurath; while his own 'Green Mosque,' with its walls incrusted with variegated marbles, and its domes and minarets covered with green porcelain,—together with its adjoining school and almonry, and his own tomb in a garden, similarly faced with tablets of porcelain,—is spoken of as one of the rarest examples of Ottoman taste. It is less surprising, perhaps, that in those troubled days, should be found the earliest gleams, though they seem but faint ones, of Ottoman literature,—of their poetry, their history, and their law.

It is melancholy and humiliating, to contrast with the unshaken purpose and steady recovery of the Ottomans in the most trying crisis of their history, the aimless, low-minded, hopeless policy, without principle, without forethought, without honesty, without courage, of the Christians around them. What were they doing,—those Greeks who had all but seen Bajazet change St. Sophia into a mosque,—those Sclavonian races who were threatened with a bondage, which was to rob them of their children, and turn those children into their taskmasters,—those great powers of the West, whose faith and peace were menaced by a power, in whom the ancient fanaticism of the Saracens had revived in double strength, and whose life was war—what were they doing, during that unhoped-for and fleeting half century of respite and opportunity? All the world knew why the Ottomans were encamped at Adrianople, on the great road from the Bosphorus to the valley

of the Danube, looking at once eastward and westward, to Constantinople, and to Venice and Vienna. All the world knew why the Janissaries were instituted; and why the bands of Turkish spoilers beat all the countries, from the Euxine to the Adriatic, for the flower of their children, to feed the schools and recruit the ranks of that hateful company. And what were the Christians doing? They did not even stand by, to let their enemies struggle out of their reverses, as they might. They were making leagues with them, with those who remained of them still on the sacred soil of Europe: they were calling them in, to their own internal quarrels, or taking sides in theirs; they were fighting their battles for them, and aiding the stronger among them to put down the weaker; they were helping them to quell their own discords, and heal their own wounds, and build up once more the strength and unity of their State. But for the Cæsar Manuel, Mahomet could not have found shipping for his army, when he was uniting once more the divided courts of Adrianople and Brusa. But for the Genoese Adorno, Amurath II. could not have been ferried across into Europe to overcome the pretender Mustafa. Stephen of Servia took up the cause and retrieved the fortune, of the fiercest and most dangerous, against the most indolent, of the sons of Bajazet, when no Moslem power would back him; and Servians and Wallachs joined battle with Greeks under the very walls of Constantinople, to determine whether Musa or Soleiman should be the legitimate heir of Othman. Loredano conquered at Gallipoli, only to gain a commercial treaty. In the West, the Popes went on bargaining for a hollow union, extorted from the fears, but retracted again by the indignation of the Greeks: from time to time they faintly repeated the call of more earnest days for a holy war; but no one, in that shrewd and deeply-corrupted age, was moved by what all knew to be the mere cry of feeble selfishness, to dissolve an alliance, or stave off a threatening council. Sigismund of Hungary, the old antagonist of the Ottomans, kept up a border war, and achieved some partial successes, which did not wipe out the memory or repair the disaster of Nicopolis; but he was soon involved in the intrigues of the great schism, the home dangers of the Hussite war, and the anxious issues of the Councils of Constance and Basle. Neither the races whom the Ottomans enslaved, nor Christian Europe which is dishonoured by their presence within her limits, had any right to complain of the shame and the bondage. The final victory of the Ottomans was the fair victory, which resolution, patience, and foresight, will gain in any cause, over indolent or cowardly apathy, which will neither dare, nor endure, nor look forward.

Mahomet the Restorer died before his work was half done. He

died suddenly at Adrianople, when Amurath his eldest son was at the utmost verge of Asia Minor. Once more the succession of Othman's house, that delicate thread on which the life of the Ottoman state—vigorous and tenacious as it was—depended, was in danger. Amurath was summoned with the utmost speed; but the utmost speed could not bring him for many weeks. Mahomet's viziers concealed their master's death. For forty-one days the perilous secret was kept. The soldiers murmured and disbelieved. They insisted on seeing their Sultan. They would listen to no remonstrances of the physicians, and at fearful risk they were successfully cheated. In a closed and darkened kiosk—for the Sultan, it was said, could not bear the air—the corpse of Mahomet was presented to them, seated on his throne, behind a glass door; pages concealed beneath his vestments moved his arms; the soldiers defiling before the door, saluted what seemed the living form of their chief, and their misgivings were satisfied. But Amurath the Second had hardly been girded with the scymitar of Othman, before his right was challenged. Manuel, the Greek emperor, had a pretender in his keeping, who claimed to be the son of Bajazet. Amurath, in spite of his father's will, refused to give up his father's children, the blood of Othman, to the guardianship of a Greek Cæsar; and Manuel let loose the pretender Mustafa. The Ottomans were at once again divided. Mustafa was able to rally to him the sons of Evrenos and the feudal chiefs of Thrace. Beneath the walls of Adrianople, he boldly called on the Janissaries to yield him their allegiance, and his voice and presence were enough to win them over to his side; he was strong enough to insult the Greek emperor, who had been both his gaoler and his ally, and to cross into Asia, and threaten Brusa. There the tide turned against him: as his voice had lured the Janissaries of Adrianople to his side, so the call of their old chieftain Michalogli was known and obeyed in the camp of Mustafa's light horsemen. He was deserted, and escaped to Europe. But Amurath had no ships to follow him. He applied for aid to Manuel; Manuel refused his ships, except in return for the children of Mahomet. Mustafa might have reigned at Adrianople, and Amurath at Brusa, but for the traders of the factories of Genoa. Adorno, the son of a doge of Genoa, proffered his galleys and his soldiers. All was done, as between the heartiest and trustiest allies—by the Moslem Sultan and the Christian Podestà. The Italian's service was frank and faithful. The Ottoman's acknowledgments were large and princely. Amurath was accompanied by Adorno, with his archers and his black bands of Italian infantry, in his victorious march to Adrianople. Adorno gained for the trade of Genoa a new station on the Ionian coast, and the free

working of the alum mines of Phocæa; and enjoyed, unmolested, during his lifetime, the tolls and profits of its custom-house.

The spirit of revolt was not quelled by the destruction of Mustafa. The long reign of the second Amurath was troubled to the end, and his vigorous and able enterprises continually checked, by the restlessness and impatience which the defeat of Angora had awakened in the Turcoman chieftains of Asia Minor. The old families to whom Timour had once more opened a chance of independence, were very loth to surrender it again to their powerful yet now frequently divided conquerors. And the Ottomans, though strong enough to chastise and weigh them down, were a long time before they could, by successive efforts, extinguish, as they had done before, their revived power. They were often obliged, for the time, to be forbearing, even in victory. Three times did the restored chiefs of Karaman, the old rivals of the Ottomans, break their engagements, and stir up war. Their inveterate feud made them intrigue with Amurath's Christian enemies—with Manuel of Constantinople, and Sigismund of Hungary. Yet after each victory, Amurath was content with a tribute, or the cession of a city, with allying their princes to his family by marriage, or investing them with distant governments; he never pushed his advantage to extremity, and the rebellious house of Karaman was neither extirpated nor dispossessed. The Ottomans also began to employ against rebels whom it was difficult to attack, the smooth perfidy which their successors learnt so well to use. Thus was cut off the wily and able Djouneid, one of the most turbulent and dangerous chiefs of the Ionian coast, who had been the life of every civil war since Bajazet's defeat, and who had successively betrayed every pretender, whose cause he had directed and strengthened. Iurkedsch-Pasha set the precedent of that peculiar fashion of ensnaring an enemy, which is so familiar to all readers of Ottoman history. Four Turcoman brothers were the chiefs of a band of freebooters who infested Iurkedsch's government of Amasia. He sent to offer them, in the Sultan's name, a territory of their own, if they would give their assistance against another tribe. The offer was accepted, the treaty concluded, the chiefs complimented and honoured with presents, and the whole band, 400 men, enticed to partake of the Pasha's hospitality at Amasia. In the drunkenness and carelessness of a sumptuous banquet, they were overpowered and seized. They were thrown into a cavern in the rock of the citadel, the entrance was walled up, and all were stifled with smoke. The doer of this deed was the *Lala*, the tutor of Amurath, and after him, of his sons; and

the deed itself is recorded to his honour by the historian, who relates nothing but the worthy actions of his master's house. In this there is nothing to wonder at: the banquet was, from the times in which Idris wrote, the usual scene of the Ottoman's craftiest and deadliest revenge.[1]

Yet Amurath accomplished what his father had begun. At the end of his long reign, the Ottoman power, which was yet in danger at its commencement, was once more all that it had been, in greatness and security, on the eve of Angora. His reign began by Manuel of Constantinople dictating conditions of friendship, and setting up a creature of his own to invade Amurath's birthright. It ended by Amurath's choosing a vassal Cæsar among Manuel's children, and imposing the last emperor on the throne of Constantine.

The old preponderance of the Ottomans in all the countries between the Carpathians and the three seas, gradually rose clearer and more irresistible. Their frontier began to advance again, no more to recede for centuries. Beyond their frontier, the adjoining Christian states paid them tribute, and served them in their wars; and their armies began to appear with terrible power in those which still bade them defiance, and had hitherto been beyond their reach. Their western post on the Danube was pushed from Widdin to Semendra; and when they were obliged to retire from before Belgrade, Amurath said he could afford to wait, for Belgrade must be theirs sooner or later. Janina the southern, and Croia the northern capital of Albania, became Turkish cities. Janina offered its keys on condition of retaining its franchises; and in the demolition of its churches and the forced marriages of its daughters, experienced what Turkish faith was worth. The Lord of Croia, John Castriota, died when his four sons were hostages at Amurath's Porte; and Amurath, when he seized their heritage, compelled them to embrace his faith, and serve it with their swords. But the outrage and the perfidy raised up its avenger; and one of these forced converts has left his name to history, as the wiliest and fiercest foe the Ottomans ever encountered, the implacable and unconquered Scanderbeg. Later in his reign, Amurath wrested the Morea from the stoutest of the Palæologi, and restored it only, swept of 60,000 slaves, as a tributary fief of the Porte. Within the limits of the old Greek Empire, he fiercely warned off every intruder, even when he had not actually taken possession. John Palæologus, or the inhabitants themselves, had sold Thessalonica to the Venetians. Amurath claimed it of the Republic. 'It had been conquered by his 'grandfather Bajazet; it was part of the inheritance of his house;

[1] Von Hammer, i. 330. Idris died 1523.

'its possession by the Greeks and their Cæsars he might have 'overlooked—they were the natural tenants of the land, and its 'first masters—but no Latin would he allow to intercept his claim. 'The Venetians must go back to their own land: otherwise he 'would be there himself.' The embassies of the Republic were sent in vain; 'Have you authority to restore me my Salonik?'[1] was his first and only question. The Venetians kept their ground for a few years; but at length Amurath appeared with overpowering numbers before its walls. The Italian defenders were few; the Greek inhabitants disaffected; an earthquake spread discouragement and alarm. Amurath, while his arrows swept the ramparts and his miners dug beneath them, was liberal in his promises of pardon and protection; but when the Venetians still held out, he gave the spoil and the people of Thessalonica to his army, and only reserved to himself the ground on which it stood, and the bare walls of its buildings. Thessalonica was stormed and depopulated; the last of the many terrible calamities which had fallen on that great city—one, like Thebes, of the unlucky cities of history;[2] the first great siege in which the Ottomans, soon to become famous in this trying operation of war, assailed with success obstinately defended walls, and proved the fury and power of their storming columns.

The first great siege in which they had succeeded,—but not the first which they had attempted. Amurath had, early in his reign, replied to the slippery and ill-judged policy of Manuel, and to his insincere excuses when it failed, by saying that he would bring an answer in person to the gates of Constantinople. He came, through ravaged fields and wasted villages, where his soldiers had torn up the very roots of the vines and fruit-trees, and invested the land front of the city, from the sea to the head of the Golden Horn. The attack was the prelude and rehearsal of the great siege, thirty-one years later: the points assailed were the same; the siege-works and engines of the Ottomans were on a greater scale than any yet recorded in their history. They raised a continuous mound with fire-proof towers, facing, at a bow-shot's distance, and commanding with its missiles, the rampart of the city; they had all the ancient machinery of a siege; but they had not yet the new artillery of Mahomet the Conqueror. Amurath had promised Constantinople and its treasures to the conquering Moslems. Besides the soldiers of his host, there were collected round the Christian capital a rabble from all parts, lusting for plunder and blood,—armed ruffians to secure, and monied ruffians to purchase, the spoil,—such a crew as always collects in the East, when a rich and populous city is

[1] Daru, xiii. No. 7. [2] Von Hammer, i. 336.

about to fall.[1] But foremost in ferocity and the madness of savage expectation and fanatic passion,—crying, howling, whirling, raging like wild beasts,—was an unclean rout of five hundred dervishes, who claimed the convents as their share of the prey, and kept at its height the excitement of the army. Their leader was the great Scheikh, Mahomet of Bochara, the Emir-Sultan, 'the chief among the princes' of Moslem holiness, the brother-in-law of Bajazet; who had girded Amurath with Othman's sword, and who had once before, it was believed, helped the true heir of Othman by his prayers. At the river of Ulubad, when Amurath and his rival Mustafa stood with their armies on the opposite banks, and the fortune of the empire hung in doubt between them, the great Sheikh of Bochara had prayed three days continuously for Amurath: at the end of the three days, the loud voice of Michalogli stirred their old allegiance in the hearts of Mustafa's *Akindjis*, and the rest of the usurper's host melted away from him. Now, the great Scheikh rode into the Ottoman camp amid a crowd of dervishes, who prostrated themselves before him, and kissed his hands, his feet, and the bridle of his mule. He shut himself up in his tent, to ascertain the fortunate day and hour when Constantinople was to fall. When he came forth, he announced that on Monday, the 24th August, one hour after midday, he would lead the Ottomans into their destined capital. A dervish with a wooden sabre had preceded the early Ottomans in their attacks on the Bithynian cities; so now, at the appointed moment, the great Scheikh mounted his horse at the head of the army; a huge buckler was borne before him; and surrounded by the crowd of yelling and frantic dervishes, he drew his scymitar and shouted forth the signal for assault. But Constantinople resisted stoutly and successfully. Manuel, the emperor, lay dying in his palace; but his son, John Palæologus, was at the post of danger—the fated gate of S. Romanus. *This* time, the Cæsar did not stand there in vain. Women armed themselves with reaping-hooks for swords, and the ends of barrels for bucklers; monks and priests were mingled with the fighting men, and shouted the sacred names of the Gospel in answer to the war-cry of the dervishes. The fury of the assailants broke in vain against the ramparts; it raged till the setting of the sun; then, says the Greek historian of the siege, it suddenly passed into a panic terror; the Holy Virgin had appeared on the battlements, in awful majesty, to the very eyes of the great Scheikh himself; and the whole Turkish host burned their engines and broke up from Constantinople. The Turkish power had not yet regained

[1] Cf. Gordon and Tricupi, on the siege of Tripolitza by the Greeks in 1821.

its strength, for the great effort: an outburst of civil war, and the appearance of a new pretender at Nicæa, recalled Amurath from his premature enterprise; and he never after attempted to renew it.

And indeed till the very end of Amurath's long and fortunate reign, that power, though mounting year by year to its old supremacy, was not safe from trials which jeoparded its existence. The last and decisive one,—the issue of which might have overthrown the Ottomans more hopelessly than they were overthrown at Angora, but which did in fact give the empire of the East finally into their hands,—was their great conflict with Hungary. During the earlier part of Amurath's reign, a desultory but bloody strife had raged on the border, in Transylvania and the Bannat: success had alternated, but Sigismund was an unlucky leader, and the wounds which the Turks inflicted were the deepest. Hungary was beginning to feel their system of preliminary ravage, by which each country, as they drew near its limits, was prepared for the condition of a tributary province, till they were able to occupy and parcel it out among themselves, into *sanjaks* and *timars*, the military fiefs by which the empire was maintained and carried forward. The cry of terror, 'The wolves, the wolves!' continually gave notice to the Hungarian villages that the dreaded turbans had been descried in their neighbourhood; and Hungarian boys and maidens, swept from under the walls of Kronstadt and Hermanstadt, were driven in such troops through the passes of the Carpathians, that a slave was bartered against a pair of boots in the Ottoman camp.[1] There were intervals of truce. The sessions and intrigues of the council of Basle were relieved, by the appearance of the envoys and magnificent presents of the Emperor of the Turks to the Emperor of the Romans: the embassy came to congratulate Sigismund on his election to the empire, and to offer a lasting peace; it was received by him with solemn pomp and honour in the cathedral, and the presents and the peace accepted. Yet Sigismund was at the same time corresponding with the Karamanian disturbers of the Ottoman power in Asia; and Amurath's pashas were soon leading the Christians of Servia and Wallachia, to join in a foray on their brethren of Transylvania. But towards the end of

[1] The historian Aschik-pachasade thus relates his own experience:—'Cette année (1438) le Sultan Mourad dévasta l'Hongrie. Le butin fut immense. Moi-même, le pauvre, j'achetai pour 100 aspres un beau garçon, car moi, le pauvre, je fis partie de l'armée. Un jour, je me présentai chez le Sultan, et il me fit don de plusieurs prisonniers; alors je lui dis: Seigneur et Sultan, il faudrait avoir des chevaux et de l'argent pour emmener ces prisonniers. Sur le champ il me fit donner deux chevaux et 5,000 aspres. J'arrivai donc à Adrinople avec quatre chevaux et neuf prisonniers. Je vendis ceux-ci pour 300 et 200 aspres la tête.'—Von Hammer; (trad. de Hellert,) notes: ii. 492.

Amurath's life, the raids and inroads on the Hungarian border gradually swelled into a serious and formidable war, which for once threatened the Turkish power with the combined and determined hostility of Christendom. John Hunyady, who is said to have owed his existence to a furtive amour of King Sigismund with a fair Hungarian lady, when he was seeking refuge from Bajazet's horsemen,[1]—a chief who in the irregular warfare of his country had no equal, except his contemporary Scanderbeg, fiery, audacious, crafty, and pitiless as the Ottomans whom he fought, and as open as they to corrupt and selfish influences, had made his name, in two or three years, a word of fear to those, before whom Europe trembled. The terrible and bloody '*Yanko*,' as the Turks called him, had slain one of Amurath's veteran chiefs, and captured a second; his soldiers had slaughtered his captives before him while he sat at meat, and he had sent to Buda a chariot, heaped with the choicest spoils, and surmounted with the heads of the fallen pashas. The warlike chiefs of Servia and Wallachia, who had so often fought for Amurath, went over to the winning Christian side; and a legate from Rome appeared in Hungary to fan the rising enthusiasm, and urge on the fierce valour of Hunyady. The rival councils of Basle and Florence, exhausted but not reconciled, had just ended their weary and fruitless sessions; and the crafty Venetian patrician, who sat in S. Peter's chair at Rome, seized the moment to turn men's thoughts from the thorny questions of internal reformation to a war with the Turks. Giuliano Cesarini, the cardinal who had so ably led the pertinacious and disrespectful fathers of Basle in their struggle with the Pope, and had already shown his zeal, if not his aptitude, in the conduct of a religious war against the Bohemian heretics, was despatched to employ his eloquence, his subtlety, and his turbulence, in rousing the wild nations of the Danube and the Vistula, in the name of the Holy Father. He succeeded. A little while before, Amurath could interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, and prescribe the conditions on which he was willing to support young Ladislaus on its throne. Now Ladislaus, king at once of Poland and Hungary, was the head of a confederacy, which included all the neighbouring Christian nations, Hungary, Poland, Servia, Wallachia, together with the Pope, the great maritime powers, Genoa, Venice, and Philip of Burgundy, and lastly, the Cæsar of Constantinople. A fleet of Italian and Flemish galleys, with the Pope's nephew, the Cardinal of Venice, as their admiral—such a post might not be wholly unsuitable to one who, though a churchman, was a Venetian nobleman—assembled at the Helles-

[1] Engel, in Von Hammer, i. 188. It is not the common account.

pont. John Hunyady, followed by the king and Cardinal Julian, burst like a tempest across the Danube. He beat the Turks out of Servia. He swept them before him, along that famous north-western road, the old pathway of armies on their march to decide the fate of nations, but which, for many years, had only seen them moving with unbroken uniformity against the west, and never in the reverse direction. Amurath stood under the walls of Nissa, only to be utterly overthrown. The Turks were pushed back to the mountain ramparts of the Balkan; half the great road to Constantinople, with its stations, was in the hands of the Christian army, and winter found them preparing to scale, amid snow and storm, the guarded defiles of the Balkan. Hunyady first tried the pass of Trajan's Gate, through which the direct road is carried; but he found it barricaded with rocks and paved with ice: he tried the next one to the east, the pass of Isladi, and on Christmas-eve, amid rolling rocks and descending avalanches, fought his way to the southern crests of Hæmus, and opened the road through Trajan's Gate to the army of Ladislaus. Once more the Turks were routed beyond the Balkan; and Hunyady, after slaughtering a hundred and seventy of his prisoners, led back a brother-in-law of Amurath, and the Beglerbeg, or military chief of Roumelia, to grace his triumph at Buda.

For the first time in their history, a sultan of the Ottomans sued for peace. It was not the time for peace: for Albania was rising against him under Scanderbeg; the Christian fleet was in the Hellespont; the Karamanian Turks were in league with the Christian powers, which had driven him across the Balkan; and while he was losing Europe, he was threatened in Asia. It was not the time for peace: but Ladislaus waited long for promised succours to renew the war, and they did not come; George Brankovich, lord of Servia, wanted to get his children out of the hands of Amurath, and to bargain with him for the future remission of all tribute and vassalage; it is alleged, that 50,000 Turkish ducats won the influence of the great Hunyady to the side of peace.[1] In spite of the earnest efforts of Cardinal Julian, peace was granted. The spring of 1444 was wasted, and in the summer, a truce of ten years, by which Amurath surrendered the tributes of Servia and Wallachia, but retained possession of Bulgaria, was solemnly agreed to. Copies of the treaty were made in both languages. Amurath swore to it on the Koran, and the Turks demanded that King Ladislaus should swear on the Sacred Host. This was refused; but he gave his oath to observe it on the Gospels.

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[1] Contin. de Fleury, an. 1444. No. 2.

Such was the fruit of Hunyady's boasted 'Long Campaign.' Such was the use, which the Christian potentates of the Danube made, of the first great success they had ever won against the Ottomans. One of them got back his children; a couple of provinces were spared their tributes, till their mighty and inflexible enemy had gathered up his strength, in the breathing time which their princes had pledged to him; and for this ignoble and miserable bargain, the only moment when they had him at advantage was thrown away, the claims were neglected of their allies, who had gone with them into the war but were not included in the peace, and the hopes and the future of their brethren and their children, and of that Christian faith for which they had so pompously taken up arms, finally sacrificed. Well might Cardinal Julian indignantly protest against their selfish and short-sighted folly. Well might remonstrances from the Bosphorus and the Hellespont denounce their breach of faith with their confederates, and warn them of their madness, in dreaming that a treaty would keep back the Turks. A great opportunity—the greatest chance which the Christians had yet had against them—was lost. It would have been well, if this had been all; if the gross mistake of levity and greediness had not been followed by a great and memorable crime, deliberately committed under the auspices of the most venerable authority in Christendom.

Cardinal Julian had spoken like a statesman, wisely and manfully, *before* the oath by which King Ladislaus had confirmed the treaty. He spoke like a swindler and a knave *after* it. The word of a king, and the oath of a Christian, sworn, if not on the Holy Sacrament, at least on the Holy Gospels, were in his view no difficulties in attempting to undo what he had failed to prevent. It is likely enough that the light and wayward chiefs around him soon repented of their bargain. It is certain that the representative of the apostolic throne left no means untried to make them do so. But to their instincts, rude and fierce as they were, the oath was a barrier. Then did their chief spiritual guide, speaking in the name of the Great Pastor of Christians, and by the authority of Christ, undertake to allay their scruples. To these untaught barbarian children of rapine and war, the subtle and practised lawyer of Padua, who had come bringing them wisdom and benedictions from Rome, unfolded and explained the favourite thesis of that age of audacious hypocrisy and perfidy, that an oath is not binding, when high considerations of public good, and especially of the good of religion, are interfered with by its observance: and when the plausible diplomatist had confounded their sense of right and wrong, the Apostolic Legate, by the command and the divine powers of his

master, pronounced the oath invalid, and absolved all from its obligation. On the 15th of July, Ladislaus swore peace on the Gospels to Amurath. On the 4th of August, Cardinal Julian, the Legate of the Pope, made the king and his council swear again, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, of the most Glorious Virgin Mary, of S. Stephen and S. Ladislaus, that he would break his treaty with the Ottomans, and appear with an army before Orsova, on the 1st of September.[1] After such a deed, by such actors, it is hardly worth noticing, that some of them contrived that corruption and deceit should be added to perjury; but it *is* recorded that Hunyady, who is said to have been bought *for* the treaty by Amurath's gold, was bought for its violation by the promise of the kingdom of Bulgaria; and that, at his instance, the public declaration of war was delayed till the 1st of September, in order that the Ottomans might have restored the fortresses which they were to give up by the treaty, before they had warning that it was at an end.

Amurath had chosen that very moment for the first of his two abdications: whatever his reason, the step itself argued as much reliance on the oath of Ladislaus, as confidence in the general strength of the Ottoman state. But he at once re-assumed the government, and hurried back to Europe, when he heard that the Hungarians were assailing the fortresses of Bulgaria, on the Danube and the sea. How he crossed from Asia, is yet a question. The Hellespont was held by the Western galleys; the Bosphorus, it might be supposed, was commanded by the navy of the Golden Horn; and for neither were the war-ships of the Turks at that time a match. It is reported by one of the Hungarian historians, that ships of Genoa ferried the Turkish soldiers across the Bosphorus, and that the fare was a ducat a-head. However this was, Amurath crossed the Balkan, and with greatly superior numbers met the Christian host, encamped before Varna, with their left flank resting on the marshy lake of Devno, on ground which has since been made but too famous, by the losses of a Russian army in an obstinate siege, and of an English one in the idleness of a pestilential summer. On S. Martin's-eve, 1444, was fought this

[1] This is the transaction which is thus described in an eloquent review of the fortunes and probable destiny of the Turks: 'They, the allied Christian army, had considerable success against him (Amurath) at first; in vain was the bravery of Hunniades, and the preaching of S. John Capistran: the Turk *managed* to negotiate with them, *to put them in the wrong, to charge them with perjury;* then to beat them in the fatal field of Varna,' &c.—Lectures on the History of the Turks in their relation to Christianity. By the author of *Loss and Gain.* P. 180. This is a singular way of putting the facts. The Turk has much to answer for in the matter of perfidy; yet it seems rather hard, that he should also be made responsible for the treacherous counsels of a Roman Cardinal, and the deliberate jury of a Christian king, *against himself.*

great wager of battle. On high, between the two armies, and between earth and heaven, was exposed on a spear-point the treaty which Ladislaus had signed and sworn to: and in terrible words—words recorded by Christians and Ottomans—Amurath called on Him by whom it was sworn, to prove his truth by punishing the guilty. The wild and confused battle of the cavalry, the main arm on both sides, and the only one employed by the Christians, seemed at first to go heavily against the Ottomans. Even Amurath's courage and hope gave way; he was turning his horse out of the throng, when one of his pashas, more trustful than himself, seized his bridle and forced him to remain; but so near were the Hungarian sabres to his person, that one of them struck down an officer of the Janissaries, who attempted to release the Sultan's bridle from the hand of his daring subject. The horsemen of Hunyady and of Wallachia had borne down and swept before them, on the right wing and the left, the spahis of Thrace and of Anatolia; but the burning core of battle, was, as always, where amid the whirl and reflux of charging and rallying squadrons, the infantry of the Janissaries fought and stirred not. The Janissaries stood firm behind their ditch and palisades, and till they were broken, the field was not lost. Ladislaus dashed against them with the fiery youth of Hungary, and perished beneath their spears. He fell wounded: they refused him quarter: his head was raised aloft on a pike, and Hunyady fought in vain to wrest from them this signal of the Ottoman victory. That ghastly sight spoke to both armies in clear and dreadful emphasis the verdict of the day. The Wallachs and Servians fled and dispersed; and in the evening Hunyady himself escaped, and left the Hungarians to defend themselves as they could, behind the baggage waggons. Next day the camp was stormed, and they were massacred. Two bishops of Hungary fell, among the magnates and chiefs who perished with King Ladislaus;[1] and with them, perished the lying prophet, who had absolved them from their oath, Cardinal Julian.

The miserable fall, in the flower and pride of youth, of a king of Poland and Hungary; the death in battle of a cardinal and a legate of Rome, who had played such a leading part in the history of his day; and the swift and sudden stroke of retribution on violated faith, inflicted before the eyes of both Christian and Mahometan worlds, have made the field of Varna memorable,

[1] We are reminded of these days by the following extract from a newspaper of the day:—'A consistory was held at the Vatican on the 16th ult. for the purpose of conferring the scarlet hat on Cardinal Scitowski, Primate of Hungary. The Primate has greatly scandalised the pacific clergy of Rome by persisting in wearing a splendid dagger at his waist, "*ad defendendam crucem*," as he piously observes, his gold cross hanging immediately above the weapon.'

above more decisive battles. Varna, terrible as was its lesson, had not broken the Hungarian power, nor quelled the spirit of Hunyady. Which nation was to be mistress on the Danube, had still to be determined. It was determined four years after. In the summer of 1448, Hunyady led forth a numerous army, the finest and best equipped that Hungary had yet raised, with auxiliaries from Wallachia, and a band of German and Bohemian musqueteers, across the great river, and up the valley of the Morava. Servia was then leagued with the Moslems, and ravaged by the Christians. In the autumn, Amurath and Hunyady met again; their meeting was where Turks and Christians had met once before, under another Amurath, and a king of Servia, —the mountain plain of Kossova, the famous 'Ousel's field.' At Kossova, the natural trysting-place and battle-lists for the nations between the Adriatic and the Euxine, Scanderbeg, from Albania, was to have joined with Hunyady. But he did not come; the year was wearing on, and Hunyady attacked without him. On S. Luke's-eve, (17th Oct.) began a three days' battle; a harder one than even that, which, sixty years before, had made the highland brook, that wanders through the 'Ousel's field,' run red with Ottoman and Sclavonian blood. The cavalry skirmishes of the first day, the fierce and earnest conflicts of the second, between Hunyady's skilfully divided and successively relieved squadrons, and Amurath's huge and storming masses, left the victory still to win: the German musqueteers bravely kept the centre and key of the Christian line; the Janissaries, entrenched and immovable, were again the sure rallying-point of the Turks. A night-attack failed against their composed and steady courage. The morrow of S. Luke found the battle still raging which had begun on the eve, but found discouragement in the Christian ranks. By the evening, Amurath had won his last and greatest victory. Once more Christian warriors had sold their brethren; once more the first of Christian captains had deserted his soldiers in the hour of disaster, and left them behind him, to find their own way from the field, or be slaughtered on it. The Wallachians had been bought, and had gone over to Amurath. Hunyady, at the last, led his Germans and his artillery to stop the Janissaries; and, sheltered by the engagement, escaped, and escaped with difficulty, through hostile Servia. The second Kossova decided between the Ottomans and the Hungarians,—as the first had done between the Ottomans and the Sclavonians,— who were to advance, and who to yield. Hunyady's valour was henceforth reserved for the defence of his country. Scanderbeg, who, if he had been waited for, might have turned the scale at Kossova, continued to maintain his freedom fiercely among the

Illyrian precipices, and on his mountain eyrie of Croia;[1] but now the last struggle had been made, and henceforth the cause of Christendom was irretrievable, to the south of the Danube.

And the man who had carried through to its triumphant close this fateful conflict; who had won back for his house and race all that they had lost in Timour's victory; who had coped successfully with greater difficulties within, and more dangerous foes without, than his great conquering namesake, had, at forty years of age, become weary of his power, and longed for repose. A devotee in the view of Gibbon, a voluptuary in that of Von Hammer,—in reality, perhaps, both (for a life of easy and luxurious indulgence has often been no illegitimate accompaniment of Moslem devotion,) Amurath twice, with eager and hasty pertinacity, seized the occasion of apparent peace, to relinquish the throne of Othman and Bajazet to a son of only fourteen years. The first time was when the oath of the King of Hungary seemed to secure a ten years' truce with the only Christians whom he feared. He returned to conquer and to avenge. Then, from the bloody field of Varna, and the imperial state of Adrianople, he hastened away, the second time, to the unclouded Ionian skies, and the cypress groves and tulip gardens of Magnesia. With them, he reserved to himself the revenues of Ionia and Caria. Of his favourite pleasance, the fragment of a wall, and a few straggling cypresses, still remain. Near them—with the mosques and baths, the madhouse and the almonry, the school and the caravanserai, which are the motley monuments of another Amurath's luxury and devotion at Magnesia—is a mausoleum with more than twenty tombs—tombs of the youths and dames, it is said, who shared the retirement of the two sultans. But whether that of the conqueror of Varna was ascetic or voluptuous; whether he danced and howled with dervishes, or gave himself up to a soft and Epicurean ease, the Ottoman state soon needed again his experienced and vigorous hand. The first recorded mutiny of the Janissaries followed his abdication; the viziers of his son appeased it, and taught the soldiers their strength, by an increase of pay; and then earnestly intreated Amurath to return once more. A second time, within a year, he came back to the power, which he found that he could not abandon; and distaste or weariness did not abate the vigour and spirit with which he resumed the ambition and the policy of his race. His last years were at once his most glorious ones, and his most chequered. He overran the Morea: he conquered at Kossova: he gave its last Greek emperor to Con-

[1] See a sketch of Croia, in Lear's 'Albania,' p. 116.

stantinople. But he, who had broken the might of kingdoms, was baffled and humbled, to the very day of his death, in a petty and protracted mountain war. He made no more obstinate efforts anywhere, than he did to break or soften the spirit of Scanderbeg; he had never known such reverses, as dogged his armies through the stern passes of Albania, and before the crags on which were perched its robber fastnesses. The last scene of a long and fortunate reign was his repulse, sick and heart-broken, from before the walls of Croia, into which his gold could not buy an entrance, and which the huge stone bullets, launched for the first time from Turkish cannons, could not shatter; and the envied and dreaded Amurath went back to die by a fit of apoplexy, at a banquet at Adrianople.

With him ended the first series of the Ottoman kings; of those remarkable and persevering chiefs, who laid the foundations, and drew the plan, and prepared the power, of the Ottoman state. A little more than two years after Amurath's death, his son, a conqueror at twenty-three, rode through the broken wall to take possession of S. Sophia; so ready was everything left to his hand; so successfully had his father and grandfather laboured to repair the ruins and efface the stain of Angora. With Mahomet the Conqueror, a change comes over the charact[illegible] of the Ottoman state and its rulers. The possession o[illegible] centre of Eastern civilization, instead of softening and taming them, corrupted and debased them. They retained and exaggerated the vices of their fathers: they lost, what appear at least at this distance of time, their nobler and more hopeful qualities. For, fierce and remorseless conquerors as they were, men of passion and men of blood, the earlier sultans yet exhibit a far higher stamp, both of intellect and of character, than is to be found, with perhaps one exception, in the long line which followed the Conqueror. They planned, they ruled, they fought in person, and not by the mind and hand of slaves. There appears in them a power of self-control and self-constraint, of patience and forbearance, which disappeared when their children found themselves in the palace of the Cæsars; and merciless as their wars were, we do not read, except in the instance of the massacre of Nicopolis, of those monstrous and wanton slaughters of helpless crowds, which marked the victories of Timour, and even the *civil* administration of the Ottomans of Constantinople. When Amurath II. gave Thessalonica to the spoiler, he forbade and prevented massacre.[1] Two points may be particularly observed, in which the earlier are strikingly contrasted with the later sultans.

[1] Von Hammer, i. 351.

One is, the praise that is given to most of them, for justice and consideration to their Greek subjects, by the Greek historians who wrote at the very time when they were destroying the Greek empire. When all abatements that may be necessary are made, these reports yet show a feeling on the subject, which assuredly could seldom be found in later times. We are told of the strict impartiality of Othman's tribunal at Kara Hissar. We are told that under Orchan, the Greeks of Nicæa and Brusa preferred submitting to his rule, than passing over, as they might have done, to the dominions of the Christian Cæsar. Chalcocondylas compares the justice of the first Amurath to that of Cyrus, though the historian had suffered bitterly at his hands.[1] The united testimony of Ottomans and Byzantines bears witness to the humanity, the uprightness, the truthfulness and good faith, the gentleness, both to Greeks and Turks, of the first Mahomet. Ducas and Chalcocondylas both speak of the nobleness, justice, and equity, of the redoubtable conqueror of Varna;[2] and perhaps he was the last of the sultans whose word was generally given in sincerity, and could be trusted without imprudence. The other point is, their relations to their own ministers and servants. Every one who has looked into later Ottoman history, has been tormented by the confounding rapidity, with which the names of the great men of the state are changed, or rather, what adds to the perplexity, with which the changes are rung on a very confined list of names. With a very few exceptions, no grand vizier, no general or admiral, stays long enough on the scene for the reader to fix and master a distinct image of the man. In each case a slave has toiled up from the meanest condition, and often by the basest services: he appears, for a moment, on the pinnacle of power—for a moment, the absolute disposer of life and of welfare, in the mightiest despotism of the world: his master's hand waves, and the head rolls; or the slave drops, without a murmur or a memorial, into the nameless herd from which he rose. But the names are few, and recur continually and for long spaces of time, of those who helped and served the early sultans. Their prolonged and unbroken service speaks of honour and attachment on the part of the master, as much as of loyalty in the dependant. They were vassals and liegemen, not slaves. We do not find a single instance of capricious and sanguinary outbursts of displeasure against a great servant of the state, till the cruel and vindictive Mahomet the Conqueror. We hardly find till his day an instance of even a change or a disgrace. Great families grew up, and took root in the con-

[1] Von Hammer, i. 180. [2] Idem, i. 351.

quered provinces, from whom the chiefs of the army were taken, like the children of Evrenos in Macedonia, or Timurtash in Anatolia. There was even a strong tendency to hereditary office,—in some cases, apparently, even by special privilege. Out of the first six viziers of the empire, one family, Black Halil's children, the Dchendereli, furnished four. The difference is perhaps made most palpable when we look at the lists, in Von Hammer's book, of the grand viziers and other great officers of the empire. In four centuries and a half, he enumerates 162 grand viziers; of these, the first six occupy more than the first of the centuries. The first six viziers served five sultans, till the reign of Mahomet the Conqueror. In the third year of his reign, the year of the taking of Constantinople, he put to death the vizier his father had left him, the namesake and descendant of Black Halil. In the thirty years of his reign, six grand viziers were deposed,—exactly as many as had served his five predecessors during a space of a hundred and thirty years. The seventh was slain by the Janissaries. And the changes were at least equally rapid under all the succeeding sultans.

Three times did Mahomet the Conqueror ascend the Ottoman throne. Twice he had resigned it, a sullen and reluctant boy of fourteen, whom it was necessary to inveigle out of the way, lest he should resist his father to his face, when, to save the state, he appeared to resume his abdicated power. The third time, seven years older, he sprang on the great prize with the eagerness and ferocity of a beast of prey. He never drew bridle from Magnesia, when he heard of his father's death, till on the second day he reached Gallipoli, on his way to Adrianople. To smother his infant brother in the bath was his first act of power; and then he turned, with all the force of his relentless and insatiate nature, to where the inheritor of what remained of the greatness of the Cæsars,—leisurely arranging marriages and embassies,—still detained from the Moslems the first city of the East;—little knowing the savage eye that was fixed upon him, little suspecting the nearness of a doom, which had so often threatened and had been so often averted.

For a hundred and fifty years the Ottomans had marked Constantinople for their own, and had waited. Long had been the waiting. Rapidly, and in hot and urgent haste, did the end arrive at last. All was at first peace and amity between the Ottoman and the Greek. The Greek even presumed to be the first to menace: the grand vizier, the friend of the Greeks, warned them of their madness in rousing the tiger before the time; but the words of Mahomet were still grave and courteous. The first year of his reign was almost over, and yet no signs were apparent to the Greeks of the fate which was drawing

near. But in the winter, the tidings came to Constantine, that the Ottomans purposed to build a castle on the European shore of the Bosphorus, at its narrowest interval, and corresponding to one already built in Asia: that the site had been chosen at five miles distance from Constantinople, and the materials collected. Constantine remonstrated, but vainly. 'No,' said the Ottoman, 'he meant nothing against Constantinople;—but he should build on his own ground, for his own purposes; and the next messenger who dared to interfere should be flayed alive!' The announcement and the message revealed to Constantine the greatness of the crisis; but not to his people. He would have drawn the sword, but they refused. 'Amid hope and fear, the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away,' while Mahomet was burning his lime, and felling his timber, and quarrying his stone, to be ready for the first days of spring. Spring came, and with it his busy masons and zealous officers; and the summer saw the Bosphorus commanded by a new Turkish castle, bearing, in its fantastic outline,[1] an augury and a memorial of the man and the faith, which were henceforth to reign along those shores. Still Mahomet spoke not of conquest: but he pulled down churches to build his towers, and his soldiers turned their horses into the corn-fields under the walls of Constantinople, and slaughtered the peasants when they resisted. And he himself was eagerly and curiously questioning the cunning Hungarian engineer, whom the niggardness of the Greek arsenal had driven over to the Ottomans, about the powers of his art; and whether he could cast a cannon whose stroke should shatter the walls of Constantinople. 'Of Constantinople or of Babylon!' answered the craftsman. His cannon was cast; a Venetian galley, whose topsail was not lowered to Mahomet's castle, was sunk to try its range, and the survivors from the wreck impaled and beheaded, as an earnest of the purposes for which the cannon was destined, and the mind of its employer towards the Christians. Winter came on again,—the second winter. The foundry of the Hungarian engineer was kept in full work. The hugest cannon that had yet been imagined or cast, issued from his moulds, and Adrianople was terrified by its explosion when it was tested. As the time drew on, a fierce and savage impatience took possession of the terrible young man, who was preparing to seize what the greatest of his fathers had vainly longed for. He pried with feverish and dangerous suspicion into the thoughts and wishes of his

[1] The outline of the walls was made to imitate the Arabic letters of the name of *Mohammed*. The three *Ms*, a round character in Arabic, were represented by three towers at unequal distances.

soldiers and ministers. 'Give me Constantinople; that is all I require of thee,' was his ejaculation to his grand vizier, whom he had summoned in the restlessness of a sleepless night, to warn him not to be drawn away, as his father and his grandfather had been, by the bribes of the Greeks. So the winter passed with Mahomet, in anxious excitement, but in diligent and careful preparation. In Constantinople it passed, the last winter of the Christian empire, in dull and sluggish expectancy of evil,—deepened by the gloom of dismal prophecies, which were repeated more frequently and more confidently,—disturbed only by furious quarrels of which religion was the watchword,—enlightened by scarcely a gleam of hopefulness, of self-reliance, of purpose. The Emperor, in the maddening extremity of his helplessness, had consented once more to the submission, which the pride of the Popes was content to exact, from those who only gave it in distress, and never with sincerity. The Emperor had consented, but not the people of Constantinople. The Roman union was celebrated in S. Sophia, but cursed in the streets and convents of the city. Christmas, and Lent, and Easter, were spent in the bitterness of party war, in which one side avowed its preference for the Moslem turban over the cardinal's hat. And on the Friday after Easter, the Moslem appeared before the city, to take the boasters at their word, and to still the feuds of the two Churches in a common destruction.

Christendom was cold. The Pope, in spite of the submission of the Emperor, was offended and suspicious. In Constantinople itself, Constantine had made a muster of those who were willing and able to stand by him for their homes and churches. Out of that great city—the number has been preserved—they amounted to four thousand, nine hundred, and seventy-one! Those who defended Constantinople were not its own children, but foreign merchants and foreign adventurers. Out of the twelve posts of consequence around its walls, two only were held by Greeks; the other ten were commanded by Spanish, Italian, and German officers. To the last hour of the Greek empire, it was Christians who betrayed the cause of Christendom. While the flower of that mighty and enthusiastic host, which their determined and remorseless master had gathered round the walls, had been won from Christendom; 'while the greatest part of Mahomet's pashas and Janissaries 'were the offspring of Christian parents;' Christians, who had their faith and their liberty to save, hung back, and refused to fight in company. The Genoese traders of Galata were bargaining for themselves with Mahomet, in the very height and crisis of the siege; and looked on without molesting him, when

he dragged his barks under their fortifications, from the Bosphorus to the harbour. It was a Christian engineer who gave Mahomet his artillery;—but he was, perhaps, only a dull craftsman working for his bread;—it was a Christian ambassador in the camp of Mahomet, the ambassador of the great Hunyady, who instructed the awkward artillerymen how to breach the rampart.

It is some relief in this oppressive spectacle of blindness, of baseness, and of decay, to rest our eyes on the imperfect virtue and desolate end of the last Constantine. A brave man in a herd of cowards, yet even he did not deserve to save Constantinople; for he had sold his conscience and outraged his people, by purchasing the niggard aid of the Latins at the price of the humiliation of the Eastern Church. But he, at least, had taken his resolution to endure even to death, and that gave him nobleness. He calmly bore the insults of the fanatic and dastardly populace in the streets, who remembered only that he had suffered a Roman legate to profane by the Western ritual the altar of S. Sophia, and hooted him, while he was toiling against hope to save them. Then, when all was done; when, in spite of all, the Turks were in the harbour, and the walls had crumbled beneath their cannon; when the great breach was now ready at the gate of S. Romanus, and the last sun had set on an empire of eleven hundred years, he prepared to die, as one who bore the name and the crown of him who had been the first of Christian kings. All Christmas time, all Lent, all Eastertide, at Pentecost, on Ascension-day, there had been emptiness and solitude under the mighty dome of Justinian; since the Latin prelate had been there, the crowds of Greek worshippers had forsaken it, as delivered over to demons. Its midnight gloom was the fit refuge for a deserted emperor, when his soul came to seek for the last mournful moments of peace. All round the city, from the heights of Galata, along the bridge across the harbour, and in front of the city walls to the shore of the Propontis, a dazzling blaze of illumination lighted up the Turkish lines; in the camp, and on the sea, festive lamps were hung out on tent, and mast, and yard-arm, and the shouts of exulting multitudes, proclaiming the greatness of the false prophet, and the victory of the morrow, rose fierce and wild on all sides through the night, while the last rite that Christians were to perform in S. Sophia was celebrated, the midnight communion of its doomed emperor. Humbled and meek in his fortitude, he earnestly craved, as his last request, the forgiveness of those from whom he was parting. Dawn found him in the breach, breasting the destroying storm. He bore up while the Genoese captain, Giustiniani, who had fought with

him through the siege, remained by his side. He might, perhaps, have borne up successfully—but Giustiniani was at length wounded; whether from the agony of his wound, or, as others thought, from a despair which he could control no longer, the gallantest of the Italian captains left the breach; and when the stranger forsook him, Constantine sunk beneath his fate. He perished, unrecognised, by an unknown hand. A few hours afterwards, Mahomet rode through the gate, in which the heaps of corpses showed where the last fierce struggle for the perishing empire had taken place; and knew not that the Cæsar's was among them. It was found before evening; and, for the second time within ten years, the head of a Christian king was borne on a pike through the camp of the Ottomans.

The great capital city of the East had fallen, and both Greeks and Latins were alarmed, and mourned its fall. But it had changed owners before, and neither were at once alive to the full significance of *this* change, to the history of the world. Neither suspected, what strong and what cruel masters had come, to take possession of the desolate palaces, where the spider had long stretched her web,[1] and to fill once more, for centuries, their vast and echoing emptiness, with the crowds of a gorgeous court. Mahomet declared himself the protector of the Greeks of Constantinople. The new patriarch, he who had inveighed so fiercely against the Latin union and the compliances of Constantine, received his jewelled crozier from the hand of the infidel, according to the old ceremonial of the Byzantine court; paid him the same homage, received the same honours, as had accompanied the investiture of his predecessors under Christian emperors. But in time, the waste streets of Constantinople became peopled with new inhabitants from distant and strange regions. Where the venerable palace of Bucoleon had stood, the new Seraglio began to crown the promontory of the Golden Horn: the Mosque of the Conqueror rose on the ruins of the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the tombs of the Cæsars; and the Greeks were reminded, that in Constantinople they were in a capital which was not their own. And very soon too, the massacre of their noblest, and the dishonour of their fairest, told them more terribly what a change had come, in the place of the dull and oppressive, yet not sanguinary, Byzantine rule. Then they began to see what was meant by the settlement of the Ottomans at Constantinople; and Europe soon saw it too. The conquering fury of the Ottomans burst forth with new and consuming force, along all its old tracks; Austria and Hungary felt its desolations, renewed

[1] See the Persian verses repeated by Mahomet. Gibbon, viii. p. 256.

again and again, though it broke it in vain against the walls of Belgrade; it drove Scanderbeg from the haunts to which he clung so fiercely, to die before he could be conquered; in Europe, Albania, Bosnia, and Peloponnesus—in Asia, Karamania, and the Christian kingdom of Trebizond, sank finally under its strength. But this was not all. Lords of the Bosphorus, the Ottomans from this time, began to claim the seas, as they had subdued the lands. Mahomet was the first builder of an Ottoman fleet, and he lived to see its power. It gave him Negropont and the Archipelago; then it destroyed the settlement of the Genoese at Kaffa, and explored the Sea of Azoff, and the mouths of the Don, and the Danube; and from Kilia and Akerman, from the Crimea and Trebizond, the Ottomans were masters of the Black Sea. First of the European states, the Signory of Venice understood the great revolution in the East, and measured its danger. From the time of Mahomet II., no state recognised the importance of the Ottomans so clearly, or had such continual relations with them, both in peace and war, as Venice. Her keen-sighted envoys soon discovered how firmly the Ottoman power was fixed at Constantinople; how, under its remorseless and able chief, it was becoming consolidated and organized into a strong and enduring engine of conquest. Her own fierce wars and chequered negotiations with her new rival at once began, to last till both Venice and the Sultans were exhausted. And she had early and ample confirmation of her forebodings. In a few years, the Ottoman conquests had reached to the shores of her own Adriatic; their fleets had conquered Zante and Cephalonia, had crossed the Ionian Sea and sacked Otranto. And while the entrance of the jealously-guarded Gulf was bordered by a Turkish coast, and threatened by Turkish fleets, the Turkish horsemen had found their way, through Dalmatia and Friuli, across the rivers which pour into it at its head; and before the end of Mahomet's reign, the watch-fires and the burnings of the Ottoman ravagers had been descried from the steeples of the Lagunes.

The chronology of the Ottoman chiefs to Mahomet II. is as follows:—

Othman, 1288—1325.
Orchan, 1325—1359.
Amurath I., 1359—1389.
Bajazet, 1389—1403.
Mahomet I., 1413—1421.
Amurath II., 1421—1451.
Mahomet II., 1451—1481.

Othman, Orchan, and Amurath I. styled themselves *Emirs*. The title of *Sultan* is said to have been first taken by Bajazet; but Mahomet II. still called himself, also, the Great Emir. His style, in the capitulation of Galata, 1453, is—Ὁ μέγας Αὐθέντης, καὶ μέγας Ἀμυρᾶς Σουλτάνος ὁ Μεχμὲτ Μπέης, κ.τ.λ. Von Hammer, (Hellert,) ii. 523.

ART. II.—*The many Mansions in the House of the Father, scripturally discussed, and practically considered. By* G. S. FABER, B. D., Master of Sherburn Hospital, &c.; *with a Prefatory Memoir of the Author. By* FRANCIS A. FABER, *Rector of Saunderton, Bucks.* London: Royston & Brown. 1854.

GEORGE STANLEY FABER belonged, in all his associations and habits, to an age of Anglican divines that is now passing away; and if we cannot wish for the resuscitation of his school, either in literature or theology, we can at any rate afford a sincere tribute to his indefatigable industry, his many amiable qualities, and the extent of his intellectual researches. He was of the class of dignitaries; though not in any unpleasant sense of the word; and, from the very commencement of his career, he was sufficiently in the way of promotion to have been relieved from any acute sense of neglected merit. Would that all his contemporaries, in possession of the Church's lucrative positions, had been equally deserving, and had equally devoted their dignified otium to study, and to the pursuit of truth! To wish they had all been equally voluminous in published writings, intended for the instruction of the public, would be an insincere act of regret, for we do not apprehend that, as a class, the result of their labours would have materially advanced the cause of theology, however useful they might have been to themselves in providing employment suitable to their calling. Mr. Faber, however, was a vast improvement on the worldly money-making dignitaries of his age. There were few of whom it could be said that they used their leisure for the benefit of literature and theology; that they were careful to fulfil such obligations as were connected with the offices they held, and that they made their house and income available for the general benefit of intellectual society.

The work before us was published by its author in 1851, professedly as the result of many years' thought, and in fact, as the expression of certain ideas, with reference to the future life of man, without which he felt in his own case that a Christian's hope would be wanting in tangible and real objects of anticipation. What those views were, we shall subsequently explain; whether or not they meet with any general sympathy on their own merits, it must be at least granted, that speculations on this subject come with peculiar interest from one, almost fourscore years old, whose whole manner of life, even from his

youth, had been calculated to promote serious thoughts of the future, and whose habit of mind had always led him to a very close dependence on the divine Word for his secret convictions. Grossly material, and even grotesque as some of his views may appear to be, they yet merit a degree of respect, as being the legacy of his old age, especially when it is remembered that they did not, by any means, owe their source to that age of life, when they were first published; but were conceived, in the full vigour of his intellectual progress, and were only indebted to the last years of the writer, for their expression in writing and for a confirmed testimony to their truth.

Faber was essentially a controversialist in religion. He felt more at home in this kind of writing than in any other. He was stimulated by the presence of an enemy, and his pen flourished with tenfold energy, when the vision of a hostile theologian was standing before his desk. Yet, withal, he was an amiable warrior, and all sense of honour in his cause was fully satisfied, if blood were drawn from the slightest scratch. He did not in his heart wish to inflict any deep or mortal wound. The pleasure of the combat was in his own adroitness, rather than in the enemies' discomforture; except, towards the latter end of his life, when the mysterious monsters of 'tractarianism' somewhat stirred up that genuine thirst for blood, which strong passions and real home-convictions are at all times liable to encourage. It is a blot on Mr. Faber's literary career that he disfigured it with the intemperate and vulgar vituperations to which we allude. Happily for their writer's reputation, they only survive in the miserable newspaper in which they were first published.

In the earlier part of his life, brought up as he had been with ultra-protestant associations, and possessed also of an instinct for literary combativeness, he as naturally fixed on popery for his object of attack; as in the case of other persons, we find that an unfortunate class of animals, such as foxes, bulls, or badgers, are brought forward into the arena of their combative propensities. As long as Dr. Trevern, Bishop of Strasburg, was his antagonist, he was delightfully in his element. The enemy was respectable, definite, and tangible: he was too distant to provoke any but legitimate personalities, and altogether he was that kind of foe, with whom it is most practicable to fight, and at the same time to feel perfectly cool. Their controversies did, indeed, at length exceed those polite rules of courtesy which Mr. Faber most anxiously studied at their commencement; but it was much after the same manner, and with the same spirit, that distinguish the rival annotations of angry old classic commentators, who were wont to thunder no

measured anathemas at each other, correctly expressed in the Latin tongue.

The following passage conveys what we may almost call a picturesque and somewhat amusing idea of this controversy:—

'Another kind of compliment was paid to the *Difficulties of Romanism* by the manner in which the Bishop of Strasburg received it. He had been treated with marked and studied courtesy by Mr. Faber; and some of the friends of the latter thought that he had carried the principles of Lord Chesterfield rather further than was desirable. Dr. Trevern's answer was in a very different strain. Though "a gentleman and a Frenchman," he forgot the politeness which is said to characterise his nation, and the loss of his temper proved that he was fighting a losing battle. His reply was soon greeted by a rejoinder from Long Newton, and in *this* publication Mr. Faber expressed his sense of the manner in which his courtesy had been received. "We have been wont," he says, "to esteem the well-polished sword the appropriate weapon of the gentleman; but the Bishop inclines to prefer the obtuseness of a bludgeon, or the deformity of the tomahawk." Mr. Husenbeth came to Dr. Trevern's rescue, and an amusing pamphlet from Mr. Faber's pen was the result of that gentleman's interference. Subsequently, Mr. H. published a work of some length, entitled "*Faberism exposed and refuted*," which fell still-born from the press, and was heard of no more.'—*Memoir*, pp. xviii. xix.

Though Mr. Faber had many prejudices, habits, and sentiments, which were characteristic of his contemporaries in our Church, yet on many points he displayed an undoubted originality of thought, as well as most noticeable peculiarities of language, and great freedom from intellectual bondage or the trammels of party. We suspect, indeed, that the work before us,—the publication of which gave him peculiar interest, as one with which he was anxious that his future name should be connected,—was so far antagonistic to the general views of his school in theology, that it was a kind of reaction against what he felt to be a narrow system; a supplement, though eccentric in its character, to fill up what had long appeared a void place in those theological schemes with which he had been associated. The manner in which this was accomplished, the peculiar theories, that is, which he propounded for the satisfaction of his own mind, partook, of course, of his own natural habits of thought, of his love for the positive and tangible, and so far must be received with no little caution; but yet, on the whole, we feel satisfied that, like the majority of errors, they sprang up from a real conviction of some existing defect in the sentiments and views that form the traditions of the day.

Thinking that our readers may take some interest in the very pleasant memoir of this theologian, supplied by his nephew, we propose, in the first place, to be biographical in our notice.

George Stanley Faber was the son of a Yorkshire clergyman, vicar of Calverley, and was born in 1773. His mother, whose

maiden name was Anne Traviss, was descended from Henri de Dibon, exiled on the revocation of the edict of Nantes; a Protestant confessor, from whom all his posterity seemed to have inherited strong religious feelings. A curious heirloom, possessed by the family, helped no doubt to maintain alive the fire of Protestantism, from generation to generation. Henri de Dibon, before he was hurried off by the dragoons of Louis XIV., buried his family Bible within a chest, in his garden. After many sufferings and tortures, such as 'the application of fire to wreaths of straw fastened round his legs'—this torture being resorted to because he was a sufferer from the gout—he at length escaped, and before he quitted his native land for ever, he exhumed the much cared-for treasure, with which he safely arrived in England during the reign of William III. The master of Sherburn, as representative of Henri de Dibon, came into possession of this Bible; and lest its history should be forgotten, or become the subject only of vague oral tradition, he wrote within it a most circumstantial account of its wanderings, together with a genealogy of the Faber family.

At an early age, George Stanley, that member of this family whom we are now considering, was sent to Hipperholme Grammar School, near Halifax, and when only fifteen, was matriculated at University College, Oxford, being elected to a scholarship the following year. The happy days of his undergraduateship were undisturbed by visions of coming strife in the battle-field of University honours; no feelings of ambition or jealousy were prematurely stirred up in the young academical mind, by the invidious and uncourteous practice of numbering men under the figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, in different departments of learning, like the A. I., &c. of metropolitan policemen. If a man was a good companion, and behaved like a gentleman, what more was needed? if he chose to be ignorant, that was his own concern and would be his own loss; for proficiency in scholarship always brought its own reward, and also made a man generally respected in society. How different now! Provided a good class can be obtained at the age of twenty-two, the whole object of literature is accomplished, and the thing too often laid by. On this subject, however, we are not speaking from any comprehensive view of its bearings, we only adduce the particular instance of Mr. Faber from the Memoir before us, as an instance of scholastic proficiency without the list of honours. Are there many candidates for deacon's orders in our days, who, like Mr. Faber, could ask with perfect simplicity of the examining chaplain, whether the answers were to be written in English or Latin? In 1793 he took his degree, and also was elected fellow of Lincoln, where he shortly became a tutor.

After an interval of eight years we find him, in 1801, being then only twenty-eight years of age, University proctor, sitting in judgment, by virtue of that office, on Heber's 'Carmen Seculare,' and also preaching the Bampton Lectures in his 'velvet sleeves.' It did not, however, accord with his tastes to remain in Oxford, or to follow up the academical success he had attained. It was one of his sayings, that 'a fellowship is 'an excellent breakfast, an indifferent dinner, and a most mi-'serable supper.' Acting on this long-conceived sentiment, as well probably as on softer and less philosophical impulses, he took the irretrievable step, in 1803, of vacating his fellowship by marrying, having not yet obtained any preferment. His choice is thus pleasantly described by his nephew:—

'The lady he married was Miss Eliza Sophia Scott Waring, second daughter of Major Scott, who took the name of Waring, well known as the friend of Warren Hastings. In this most excellent person he found a "help meet" for him, in the truest sense of the expression. Her own talents and acquirements were very considerable, and whilst she thoroughly appreciated the endowments of her husband, she was well fitted to be the companion of his domestic life. When he became a parish clergyman, the assistance which she gave him was invaluable; for her very active habits made her intimate with the surrounding poor, whilst her benevolent sympathies were ever ready to devise assistance for them. To a numerous acquaintance she was endeared by her social kindliness of character; but it was in the "inner circle" that her worth was best understood. Her thoughts were ever engaged on the welfare of others, and it might be safely recorded of her, that in no action of her life did she ever appear to consider herself. Self seemed like a subject totally forgotten by her.

'Words like these but feebly delineate the excellence of the person to whom they are applied, but it may perhaps be permitted to one who knew her well, to pay such an imperfect tribute of gratitude to her memory. "His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani munere."

'It pleased God to grant to this union a long period of duration, and the term of separation betwixt them was brief.'—*Ibid.* pp. xiv. xv.

For two years after his marriage he was content to live in his father's vicarage, acting as curate; at the end of that time Bishop Barrington presented him to the vicarage of Stockton-upon-Tees, in the county of Durham. This was a laborious charge, which necessitated great economy of time, in order to maintain inviolate a certain portion of each day for the seclusion of his study. We are not informed whether he was successful in the parochial art; whether, according to one phraseology, he was a good parish priest, or, according to another, his pulpit ministrations were acceptable to his congregation. His voice was indeed peculiarly mellow, and his reading was much thought of among his friends, but he would not seem to have possessed that rough power of lungs which is most suited to the wants of a populous north country parish. Little, however, is told us of this portion of his experience; probably it was rather

irksome to him, for his removal, in the beginning of 1809, to the rectory of Redmarshall, a rustic village with a small population, is pronounced to have been an acceptable change, as introducing him to a place certainly better adapted to a student like himself, than the larger sphere of action which he quitted. During his incumbency of this place he gave a striking proof, for the age in which he lived, of his honourable freedom from that grasping desire for accumulated Church patronage, which was the disgrace of his time. Bishop Barrington requested Lord Eldon to give him the adjoining benefice of Great Stainton, that he might hold the two livings together; the Chancellor readily consented, and the Bishop wrote to congratulate Mr. Faber on this addition to his income. The offer was, however, graciously declined, at the risk, as his friends thought, of offending his patron. In this, however, they were mistaken, for within a year the Bishop presented him to the rectory of Long Newton, which he held for the long time of twenty-one years, and from whence most of his literary productions emanated. That the act of refusing to be a pluralist was in those days considered a superhuman exercise of self-denial we have the following evidence, from one of much local acquaintance with the clergy:—

'When this anecdote was first told in the presence of the late Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth, he rose, and with much gravity announced his intention of ordering his horse instantly. "Why," said a friend, in astonishment, "where can you be going at this time of night?" "Going?" said he; "why to take a look at a clergyman who has refused to hold two livings, to be sure." This joke was characteristic enough of the speaker; but Mr. Surtees did not forget the story when he published the History of Durham.'—*Ibid.* p. xvi.

This favourable opinion on the part of Mr Surtees, appears to have been maintained by Mr. Faber's subsequent reputation, judging from another passage in his history, to which allusion is made in the following extract. The memoirist has premised, quoting Wordsworth's beautiful lines—

'Where holy ground begins, unhallow'd ends,
Is mark'd by no distinguishable sign,'

that at the rectory of Long Newton there was in former times no partition between the churchyard and the shrubbery:—

'An incumbent, long before Mr. Faber's time, had built a wall across the lawn; and this he did, as a parish record informs us, because the people of the village were accustomed to inspect the *facta* and listen to the *dicta* of the inmates of the Rectory. "The wall," Mr. Surtees goes on to say, "is now pulled down, and the cemetery and pleasure ground are again in one; but the *dicta* et *facta* of the present tenant of the manse need not shrink from audience or inspection."'—*Ibid.* p. xvii.

An inspection indeed of Mr. Faber's proceedings would have entailed great watchfulness, for his daily labours commenced in

his study about six o'clock, and often before; his love of working must almost have amounted to a restless, nervous activity. He was the sole instructor of his two sons, and he was never assisted in his parish by a curate; yet his literary occupations were incessant, for besides his numerous publications, all needing much study, he maintained an extensive correspondence with many distinguished members of the learned world.

Thus tranquilly did Mr. Faber pursue that active and studious life which so well accorded with his tastes, till 1830, when at last he became a dignitary. Bishop Burgess gave him a prebendal stall in Salisbury Cathedral; and in 1832 he received, from Bishop Van Mildert, a still more important piece of preferment, that of Sherburn Hospital; at which place he resided for the remainder of his life. His nephew thus speaks of this change in his fortunes:—

'To a man of his pursuits and habits nothing could be better adapted; for, by giving him complete command over his own time, it enabled him, without any scruple of conscience, to devote himself as much as he pleased to the labours of the closet. It was, in short, one of those sanctuaries, which the piety of olden times provided as a retreat for the learned and the good; and which the spirit of modern progress, as it is called, would gladly sweep away. To Mr. Faber it was even more than this, for it was given him as a reward for the services of many years. It was his "patent of nobility," by which he showed to his clerical brethren that he had "approved himself in the office to which he had been called." There were other circumstances, too, which tended to increase the pleasure of his residence at this place: it is in the immediate neighbourhood of Durham, and amongst the clergy of the Cathedral and the University he had many valued friends. If ever an affirmative answer to the old question, *An locus conveniat locato?* could be given, it might surely have been given here.'—*Ibid.* p. xxxi.

Sherburn Hospital was originally founded, for the exclusive accommodation of lepers, by Bishop Pudsey, in the twelfth century; but in the time of Queen Elizabeth it was devoted to the maintenance of thirty brethren, natives of the Diocese of Durham, only half of whom reside within the walls of the Hospital. The institution also possessed a chaplain, so that no very onerous labours can have fallen on the master. At the present moment the foundation is in abeyance, waiting the ungentle verdict of a ruthless Charity commission. In former times the situation of the Hospital was that of 'pleasant pastoral seclusion,' cheered by the bells of Durham Cathedral. Its character, however, is much altered by the substitution of coal-pits for sheep-folds, and of tall, gaunt, slate-coloured men issuing forth from the nether regions of earth, and stumping along on its surface with large wooden clogs, in place of those pretty Arcadian figures, which shepherds, of all times and countries, are supposed more or less to resemble. These external invasions, however, of the picturesque were compensated for, by

the erection, on Mr. Faber's appointment, of a far more commodious house, than Dr. Bell, of educational notoriety, his immediate predecessor, had enjoyed. The Hospital, under Mr. Faber's reign, is thus described:—

'To the spacious and convenient mansion which arose upon the ruins of the ancient dwelling Mr. Faber finally removed, in the summer of 1834, and here he constantly resided during the remainder of his life; still following the avocations of a student, but entering freely into the hospitalities of the neighbourhood, though he was at all times better inclined to see his friends at home, than to quit his own fireside. His partner, too, loved well to fill her house with her friends, and delightfully she played the part of hostess; infusing into everything that she undertook, a spirit of vivacity and cheerfulness which was certain to be reflected back from others, and throwing over all, the exquisite charm which arises from genuine benevolence of heart. With such a mistress, it is not to be wondered at that both young and old found Sherburn House a favourite place of resort. It was seldom without company, the guests being not unfrequently persons of literary celebrity; and the residence of the Superior *mutatis mutandis*, promised to be as renowned a "Xenodochium" as the Hospital over which he presided.'—*Ibid.* p. xxxii.

One great charm of Mr. Faber's society consisted in his store of anecdotes, with which he was ever willing to entertain his guests. The present generation are not much given to that style of conversation which is understood by the expression, 'full of anecdote.' We are very intolerant of being *bored* with long stories; and impatient of any prolonged attention being exacted by the discourse of one individual. We all want to join, and therefore promote the short repartee style of conversation, in preference to the steady listening, which our forefathers were content to sit under, so long as they had good cheer before them, and a spokesman of creditable powers. We do not question the general improvement which has, within the last generation, come over the intercourse of intelligent people; no doubt there is more acuteness and readiness in the tone of ordinary conversation, more diffused information, and a more equal distribution of sensible talk, than in society fifty years ago; but this very improvement in the mass, is at the sacrifice of great individual talkers, whose pleasant rehearsals used, no doubt, to afford great satisfaction to many listeners. A little egotism, and the entire occupation of a whole company by one speaker, used to be willingly endured, if that speaker was pronounced deserving of attention; and therefore, the art of telling stories or anecdotes was studiously fostered by any one who had a gift that way; whereas, in these days, the necessity of compression, and of rapidity in the details of any communication which passes in general society, and the fear of being prosy, act as a discouragement to any rising ambition at assuming the character of a man 'full of anecdote.' In the

case of young men, we are stringently severe on the slightest attempt to subjugate our listening powers, or to claim any large share of mental attention; but with those who have derived their habits from a former generation—who enjoy the privilege of age—we are still tolerant, partly no doubt from the respect which they claim from us, but also from the fact that they can tell stories and anecdotes more neatly and pleasantly, with more point and facility of expression, than we are accustomed to meet with in juniors. Mr. Faber would seem to have enjoyed this art, and to have had great pleasure in the exercise of it: from him a decided lead in the conversation would come as a natural right, and be acceptable to all who were enjoying the hospitality of the Hospital. The following picture is suggestive and interesting:—

'In these pleasant reunions, which many will remember now with sorrowful pleasure, the master played his part well in the entertainment of the inmates; and a stranger might have been surprised to notice that a scholar like himself could "touch life at so many points." His conversation, like his reading, was various and discursive, full of entertainment and instruction, and he had a rich store of racy anecdotes, always borrowing much of their effect from the manner of the narrator. This was especially the case when his stories were descriptive of provincial life and manners, for he kept up to the last his familiarity with his native dialect of Yorkshire. There were indeed few topics upon which he did not know something, so miscellaneous had been the nature of his reading, whenever abstruser studies were laid aside. He used to call himself a perfect *helluo librorum*; and it may amuse the reader to hear that he applied this epithet when detected in engaging in what he called "a course of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances." '—*Ibid.* p. xxxiii.

Cards the Master of Sherburn abjured, partly on principle, but chiefly, his nephew rather implies, because they interfered with conversation, that 'divine talk,' which he rightly held ought to be the staple amusement of intelligent beings. In order to maintain his conversational powers, he was a great devourer of all contemporaneous literature, especially romances; although, at the same time, he was so unwilling to forget anything which had ever formed part of his mental store, that a friend, one day, found him sedulously reading the whole of the plays of Euripides: on which occasion he quietly replied to some expression of astonishment, 'It is true that I shall want these things no more, 'for my boys are done with; but it is always unpleasant to 'diminish any faculty which one once possessed; and as I am 'a tolerably good Grecian *now*, I should like to continue so.' One of his special literary tastes was for the supernatural romance of the East. Arabian Magic or Hindoo Mythology were his delight. Oriental lore and tales of enchantment, as 'Thalaba,' and 'Kehama,' were most favourite studies. The history of the appearance of Samuel to the witch of Endor, is dwelt on at great length in the course of the book now before

us; while mysterious prophecies and visions, occurring in Scriptures, are everywhere shown to have been his favourite objects of investigation. This hardly arose from his love of mystery, as such; but rather from the pleasure of exercising his ingenuity in unravelling the mysterious element before him, and displaying to view a plain tangible result or fact. Real and acute appreciation of character as drawn by the humourist, or the depicter of common life, does not seem to have engaged his interest to that extent which we associate with the mind of a deep observer of mankind. In truth, Mr. Faber was so actively engaged in a never-ceasing round of self-occupation, that he never enjoyed those periods of reflective contemplation, which may perhaps seem at the time to be only the indulgence of an indolent mind, but which are yet productive, in some persons, of much thought and deep-seated knowledge of practical life. It was symptomatic of Mr. Faber's turn of mind, that he much preferred the romance of Southey, to the humour and the descriptive powers of Sir Walter Scott. This last author he seems wholly to have failed in appreciating. Again, of the plays of Shakspeare, he preferred the Tempest and Midsummer Night's Dream, to those which contain a more solid study of character. He abhorred Byron, except Manfred; and delighted much in Bulwer's 'King Arthur.' This love of the imaginative, is stated by his nephew not to have applied to theological writers, but to have been changed in their case into a liking for a more homely style. Jeremy Taylor he was not fond of, and professed to be wearied by his exuberance of imagery; indeed, strange to say, he did not possess a copy of his works. Hooker he ranked preeminently first of English divines, and Barrow next; but the Anglican Chrysostom he placed nowhere. We are not disposed to quarrel with any one's right to assert an individual taste in this matter: much as we admire Jeremy Taylor, it is undoubtedly the case, that style sometimes carries him away into a stream of volubility which, interspersed as it is with most terrible formations of Anglo-latin phraseology, may be allowed to have its wearisome feature. Yet in spite of this we feel that not to admire Jeremy Taylor suggests the suspicion of a certain deficiency in appreciating poetical language, and especially in a person whose own style is somewhat remarkable for abrupt and broken statements, and for the want of that flow and rhythm which prose may possess as well as verse. The framework of Mr. Faber's writing is generally somewhat exposed, and his compositions are therefore open to a charge of dryness, which is not perhaps deserved when the matter and thought, used in their cause, are recognised. His syllogisms and logical machinery of a sentence, together with

a free use of emphatic symbols which encroach on the art of the typographer, rather than display the man of letters in a higher sense of the expression, all betoken a want of richness and grace of style. In fact, we suspect he had no real flow of language, but rather that he possessed an art of dotting down on paper, with considerable energy and acuteness, certain arguments and suppositions, whose sequence and consistency depended often on a violent external arrangement of parts, rather than on any internal gift of eloquence.

Yet if we thus criticise Mr. Faber's usual style of writing we must admit occasional exceptions, and are bound to redeem his habit and taste of mind from any want of refinement, or of poetry, by recording in the following extract his great love of music:—

'Another great resource was music, which he enjoyed most thoroughly, and of which he had a considerable scientific knowledge. In the Lyra Ecclesiastica, published by the Rev. J. Fawcett, of Wibsey, Yorkshire, there are three of his compositions; the last of which, entitled "Salvam fac Reginam," is very beautiful. Few things, indeed, were more to his mind than the society of guests distinguished for their musical talents. Upon such occasions all discussions ceased, and nothing was allowed to interfere with the claims of Euterpe. The writer well remembers, when on a visit with him at the house of a common friend, how zealously he laboured to initiate two young ladies of the party into the mysteries of thorough bass, and how interesting he made it to his pupils. In the society of his young female friends, especially if they showed any tendency towards intellectual pursuits, he always took especial pleasure: and there is perhaps no passage in his life more pleasing than that which is exhibited in his prefaces to the poems of his much-loved niece, Sophia Woodrooffe, a young lady of rare promise, to whom, when cut off in the very opening of her blossom, her parents might well have applied the motto which distinguishes the remains of Arthur Hallam—

'Vattene in pace, alma beata e bella.'—*Ibid.* p. xxxvi.

In memory of this youthful poetess, an extract from her 'Five Garlands,' is mentioned in our Memoir, as deriving special interest from the connexion between the Hospital of Sherburn and her own personal history. The peculiarities of the locality form the obvious scene of this poem, while its conclusion assumes almost a prophetic character, when we hear that she was numbered with the dead a very short time after:—

'Fair forms, and robes of radiant white
With wreaths of orange gleaming bright
Floated before the dazzled sight.
But quickly did that vision wane.
Another comes—a stately fane
With solemn portal, and a train
Of youthful figures gliding slow,
In sable veil'd, and chanting low.'—*Ibid.* p. xlviii.

In the year 1844 Mr. Faber's health, which hitherto had been uniformly good, was materially affected by an obstinate cutaneous disorder. From this he himself recovered, but the care

and anxiety of his illness entirely shattered the health of Mrs. Faber, who gradually declined in strength, though even to the last she persevered in works of charity which were far above her powers. In 1851, however, Mr. Faber became a widower, and the short interval which remained in his own life is thus told:—

'Those who were acquainted with Mr. Faber's habits of life could not view his bereaved condition without much anxiety, knowing how he had been accustomed to entrust everything to his helpmate. But it was ordered that his loss should be repaired, so far as reparation was possible. Amongst the literary or scientific friends, whom his repute as a man of letters procured for him, was Miss Louisa Beaufort, an Irish lady, whose acquirements rendered her a very acceptable correspondent to a man of learning. She had presented the Master with a copy of her work on the Round Towers of Ireland, being at that time unknown to him; but in this circumstance originated the friendship with herself as well as with her brother, Sir Francis, Hydrographer to the Admiralty. Upon the occasion of one of this lady's visits, she was accompanied by her niece, Miss Marian Beaufort, who was soon on terms of affectionate intimacy with the family at Sherburn, and who was indeed a distant relative of Mrs. Faber. This young lady chanced to be still in the neighbourhood, when the approaching winter of 1851 rendered it necessary for the Master's daughter-in-law to seek a warmer part of the Island. She had observed with much pain her mother's fast increasing debility, and requested Miss Beaufort to spend some little time at Sherburn after her own departure, in order that Mrs. Faber might have a female companion constantly at hand. The latter only survived till the end of November; but Miss Beaufort's intended temporary visit was changed into a permanent residence, for she most kindly consented to preside over the Master's establishment: an arrangement the more valuable to him, as the delicacy of Mrs. William Faber's health rendered her unable to endure a northern winter. Nothing could have been more gratifying to Mr. Faber than such a prospect, and never did result answer more completely to expectation. He was accustomed to call Miss Beaufort his adopted daughter, and, indeed, he could scarcely have regarded her with more affection had she really been his own child. During the short period which still remained of his pilgrimage, her society formed his principal comfort: she became completely identified with the family, shared the last watchings with them, and was one of those who had the privilege to stand by his death-bed. Her labour of love at Sherburn came to an end sooner than might have been anticipated, but none of Mr. Faber's family can ever forget what he owed to this lady's kindness, or sufficiently express the gratitude with which they must always remember her name.'—*Ibid.* pp. l. li.

In November of the year 1853, Mr. Faber had a serious bronchial attack, which was followed by a spasmodic affection of his heart. His end was now close at hand, which is thus most simply yet touchingly described by his nephew:—

'For some days previous to the Master's departure there had been recurring attacks of his malady, very distressing to witness, and on the evening before he died he sustained one of an unusually severe character: but it was the last, and the remaining hours of his existence were free from pain. At nine o'clock on the night in question, he expressed a wish to meet his family and household in prayer for the last time. For this purpose all his domestics assembled in his chamber, together with his son and daughter, his great-niece, Miss Eleanor Faber, Miss M. Beaufort, Mr. Hepple, and Mr. and Mrs. Prest. The chaplain offered up the usual petitions,

and in the Lord's Prayer, at the close, the voice of the dying man was at times distinctly audible. "When we rose from our knees," says one of those who were present, "he said, 'God bless you all; I have not breath to say much, but I wish you all good, most truly, most sincerely.' A never to be forgotten sight it was, to see that venerable old man, with his grey hairs, sitting so peacefully whilst his spirit was passing away." He had spoken to Mr. Prest previously of the great change which was approaching, when he said, "that if he looked to *himself*, he felt fear; but when he turned, as he could do, to Christ, all was hope." During the continuance of one of the paroxysms he whispered, "God is very good to me." And Miss Beaufort writes, "Never can I forget the emphatic manner in which he said, in that last fit of great suffering and oppression before his death, as I was wiping the damp dew from his forehead, 'Great bodily suffering, but perfect peace within.'" His mind, at one time, had probably been dwelling on those mysterious scenes which, in his last work, he had endeavoured to unfold; for he said on the last day of his life, "I am going, to be happier, and where all mystery will be taken away." The same lady adds, "I never saw anything so calmly, trustfully peaceful as he was. There was no enthusiasm, no exaggerated warmth of expression, but a perfect, quiet assurance of his own salvation and approaching happiness through the merits of his Saviour. Often and often during those last few days, he said, 'If I thought of myself, I should be wretched; but I look away from myself, and on to Christ: for well nigh sixty years he has led me in the footsteps of his flock, and I know He will not now forsake me.'" A similar sentiment he uttered, with much solemnity, to his younger son: "I desire," he said, "to bear my testimony, that I place my sole hope of salvation on the alone merits of Jesus Christ." At ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th of January, 1854, he entered into his eternal rest.'—*Ibid.* pp. lv. lvi.

Thus died, in the 81st year of his age, a worthy man; whose distinguishing quality is stated by his nephew, in no light words of praise, yet well deserved by him, to have been 'plain sincerity of speech, and downright honesty of purpose.' The open frankness and independence of his biographer, disarm all personal criticisms. By temperament Mr. Faber was nervous and slightly irritable, which often conveyed to strangers a wrong idea of his character. Though by nature apprehensive and anxious about the future in secular matters, he was yet uniformly liberal in all pecuniary transactions; and it is much to his credit that he increased the stipends of the poorer livings, which were in his gift, as Master of Sherburn.

Mr. Faber's literary productions, exclusive of pamphlets, are twenty-six in number. It was always in controversy that he became most voluminous, and a friend suggested to him on one occasion, that he felt it a subject of regret for his time and energies to be so much devoted to controversies, which in the nature of the case could not be of lasting interest. In reply, he intimated a doubt whether he should have been so successful or so useful in any other line. On being then reminded of his treatise on the operations of the Holy Spirit, he answered half smiling, 'True; but the composition of that little work gave

me more trouble than any two of my longer ones.' Perhaps it would have been better if, by a little self-restraint, Mr. Faber had devoted himself more than he did to the writing of uncontroversial books, even at the risk of not leaving behind him so great a number of volumes. The book just instanced as being an exception to his general taste, has passed through many editions, and has established a position far in advance of his other writings. The nature of the controversies in which he was engaged, is indeed little calculated to give them any lasting interest: they were not undertaken from any practical idea of aiding his Church in developing and bringing to the surface, by her own struggles and her own divine power, the great mission entrusted to her. Mr. Faber was too fond of mystic speculations, to devote much time or thought to the daily work of the Church immediately around him. His ingenuity and labour were expended in crushing foreign theories and errors, while he too much overlooked the urgent need of his own Church to be raised up, by powerful constructive efforts, for the great home work that was before her. All, however, have their tastes and vocations, nor do we quarrel with Mr. Faber for pursuing that line of study, which he felt most congenial with his powers; but the fact that he was, by his own choice, much removed from the practical business of the Church, must essentially weaken his authority on some questions of the day, about which, in the latter part of his life, he expressed very strong opinions.

On many points we have to regret that Mr. Faber's influence was exerted with considerable energy to the hindrance of the Church's true interests. The boldness and independence for which he was always noted were brought to bear in their fullest development against what he denominated *Tractarianism*. This indeed was, according to the acknowledgment of his biographer, who admits it with evident regret, the characteristic of his declining years. Circumstances in his own family connexion were indeed naturally calculated to inflame his mind against what seemed to him the prevailing spirit of modern Oxford; and it was no doubt deeply mortifying and wounding to him, that a favourite nephew should actually join that Church against which it had been the mission of his whole life to hurl unceasing thunderbolts. But such is all human controversy; it is no uncommon thing for a long series of imagined victories to be all at once succeeded by some partial but irritating advantage on the part of the enemy whom we had with too much self-complacency thought to be utterly conquered. Mr. Faber's retaliation was, however, too wholesale: brilliant as were some of the present converts of Rome when pursuing their respective academical careers in Oxford, they were not the whole of Oxford, and the

number who yet remain within her walls, actively and faithfully engaged in serving the cause of their mother Church, will bear comparison with any former age of her history, in spite of all deserters. Mr. Faber's grievous complaints of Oxford arose, indeed, from the querulousness of an irritable temper on seeing the progress of events outreaching his own ideas. Yet we cannot be angry with him, for he was always honest and independent, even at the price of consistency, of which no greater proof can be given than many eccentric statements and sentiments in the book before us, which do not claim their origin from any general principles of the school he so warmly supported. We excuse him for saying, at eighty years of age, that he had only been regenerated sixty of that number; though doubtless the Vicar of Calverley duly brought him to the font of his parish church long before he could freely select his own religious course; we overlook this, because the present book is the best illustration of the extravagant results that may follow from such erroneous ideas, and such a loose way of talking.

After the space we have devoted to the biographical portion of the book before us, we cannot dwell on the work itself; nor, as a whole, do we consider that it is worthy of any lengthened review. It was a sentiment of Dr. Johnson's, that if an author has any special affection for one part of his writings more than another, it will probably be to his future credit that he should immediately destroy his pet child. We are not sure that an illustration of this sentiment is not afforded by Mr. Faber's 'Many Mansions in the House of the Father.' That it was a pet child is clearly shown in the following extract from the Memoir:—

'This work, as has been remarked, appeared in 1851, and Mr. Faber lived to see the issue exhausted. The edition to which this memoir is prefixed, was called for in the last year of his life, and an interesting note which is here subjoined, was written by the author to the publishers, on hearing of it.

' "Dear Sirs, ' "Sherburn House, Feb. 7, 1853.

' "I have to thank you for your very satisfactory letter. . . .

' "They say that an author is not the best judge of his own works: and peradventure, I might have a sort of special affection for my *Many Mansions*, as the child of my old age. But I am much inclined to rate it higher than any of my former writings. In it, except occasionally in new editions, I take my leave of the public: for a man, who is rapidly approaching to eighty, may well think it time to bring his labours to an end.

' "I shall certainly be very glad to hear of another edition: and all the rather because I do not recollect that the former requires either correction or alteration, which is more than I can say of most of my former works . .

' "Believe me

' "Yours truly,

' "G. S. Faber.

' "To Messrs. Royston & Brown." '—*Ibid.* p. lii.

A reference to some passages in this favourite work—which was so perfect that it required neither correction nor alteration—will, we think, in the opinion of our readers, complete the lexicographer's inference. But even if we had formed the design of noticing, as a second part of our article, the substance of this work, we should despair of our task. Amid the multiplicity of sciences, of localities, of times, of living and inanimate existences, of things known and unknown, past and future, natural and revealed, we lose that fixedness of mind and that comprehension of a main idea which are pleasant, if not necessary, in the construction of a review, however humble in design. If we rush, for the clearance and arrangement of our ideas, to the table of contents, we only find ourselves in a labyrinth, sixteen pages long, of subjects discussed, questions proposed, difficulties started, without any of the various solutions supplied ready to hand, or in such a form as at all to simplify the body of the work.

Mr. Faber delighted in mysticism, in the secrets of prophecy, and the great unknown speculations suggested by the depths of the past, and the furthest anticipations of the future; by fathomless divings towards the right and left, the above and below, of human thought, and therefore he approaches not seldom on what are altogether irrational subjects of contemplation. His love of the mystic was the affection of a combatant for his foe, or of a sportsman for his game: he delighted in it, not as a serene subject of meditation, but in order to pursue and destroy it; he thought it his vocation to solve all doubtful and confusing assumptions into plain and tangible facts, whether they refer to the past or are prospective. The world, as it were, stood before him, together with the sun, moon, and stars; he also beheld human beings, and the various productive functions of nature; invisible beings also were revealed to him, both good and bad, on authority which he credited; prophetic announcements also were given on the same authority, while human instinct and the light of science had much to reveal, all of which he was anxious to include in any system which he formed.

All these things then were his material, and the task which he undertook and imagined to be feasible was, to sort the various elements and beings before him into their proper places, and apportion to each his definite and tangible abode. In the pursuit of this laborious task he is neither carried away, from its gradual and steady progress towards solution, by any rapturous anticipation of glory on the one side, nor by the most gloomy and terrific pictures of eternal ruin on the other. A stern work was commenced, and must be finished with logical exactness, come what would; nay, even at the risk of almost exciting a smile by the sudden transformation, in the

mind of the reader, of things and ideas, hitherto altogether mystical, into the plainest and most intelligible scenes, described with the dry phraseology of science, and the most simple-minded enthusiasm of purpose. The 'Many Mansions in the House of the Father' form a subject of speculation which Mr. Faber is unwilling to pass over, as many do, under the general idea of the word heaven, with all the vague hopes and misty ideas of a future life; to define which is often thought presumptuous. Perhaps indeed it has been too much the tendency of Protestantism to discourage all attempts at judging of what is unseen by the seen, at forming ideas of the future by analogy with the present, or indeed at fixing any definite images on beings which are spiritual. Matter itself is almost pronounced evil, by a resuscitated gnosticism apparent in modern times. It is considered to be carnal-mindedness when visions of the future are framed out of anything that is connected with our present experience: all that we now see or do must be obliterated from the soul's recollection; and the reward which is to come at the end of the world is to be of a nature wholly different from any conceptions which the existing order of things is calculated to suggest, even in way of type. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body has thus become vague and confused; the intermediate state is solved by the simple process of sleep; so great has been the reaction from the Romish system of active communications between the living and the dead in purgatory, that the presence of spirits and angels surrounding our earthly life, either for good or harm, is made a topic of mere sentiment or even of hilarity, rather than a part of our real conviction as Christians. Mr. Faber was distressed at this hazy outline in that western horizon of life, which he saw before him as the great future of his own existence; he must have better defined objects of faith, or he could scarcely feel the splendour of that great consoling truth that death is swallowed up in victory.

With such convictions on his mind, he inquires first, what is meant by the 'Father's House.' This, he concludes can be no less than the great celestial universe, comprehending all created worlds. He has little difficulty in deciding on the mooted question as to whether there are inhabitants in other worlds besides our own. To imagine these spheres created for no purpose but to twinkle in our eyes, appears to Mr. Faber like the *ἀνήριθμον γελασμα* of Æschylus. Each star, then, and planet is a mansion created for the residence of blessed and happy beings, forming part of the one great House or Temple of the uncreated Deity.

From two passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mr. Faber conceives that he has established a strong argument for the

similarity of all the celestial bodies with our own world. Unless he can have some assurance that this is the case, his idea of there being various mansions in one great house is materially injured. The expression, 'By whom also He made the worlds,' and also, 'By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God,' are supposed to allude to the same material worlds, which are the mansions of the one great heaven. The moon and the stars, together with the earth and the sun, are the host of heaven, and that which we know of one out of this host, viz. the earth, we may, in some sort, predicate of the others. We may indeed; but what impartial critic could for an instant lay any weight on such a construction?

Among other instances of wild assertions and loose arguments, Mr. Faber claims a material body, though, as he wisely adds, of a highly attenuated nature, for the state of existence through which we pass between death and the resurrection. Scriptural proof is adduced under this head, and what will our readers imagine this consists of? The whole statement is made chiefly to rest on the appearance of Samuel, when called by the witch of Endor. Another proof is, however, added which we cannot omit. The vision which appeared to Eliphaz, the Temanite, described as an 'image before his eyes,' is supposed to have been a disembodied spirit (*probably* of Abraham, it is most strangely asserted,) with a visible and material form.

Another absurd specimen of the materialistic ideas, which seem to have haunted Mr. Faber's brain, is afforded by the analogy which S. Paul describes between the grain of wheat and the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The statement made in the following passage we must hand over to the consideration of physiologists:—

'Now, unless the whole of this illustrative explanation be quite wide of the mark and nothing at all to the purpose, there must be in every Human Body a material germ, analogous to the material germ in a grain of wheat: a germ, I apprehend, so small, as to elude the search of the most skilful anatomist; yet a germ, absolutely indestructible, and, on the known principles of Matter, capable of *Indefinite Extension* and thus even of *Visibility*.

'From S. Paul's illustration, *so much*, I think, is clear and certain. But, whether the indestructible germ, be or be not, associated with the Disembodied Spirit; and whether, in a state of great expansion and consequent rareness, it does, or does not, constitute the subtle clothing or vehicle of the Disembodied Spirit: it would, I suppose, be presumptuous to determine positively. We may, however, say; that, if it *be* thus associated, we should possess a *physical* mean of accounting for the *scripturally* recorded Visibility of more than one Disembodied Spirit.'—Pp. 99, 100.

Mr. Faber's great aim and object in thus establishing the material character of man under every stage of his existence is, to prove the necessity of a future material residence, and to throw

an air of probability upon the history and the prospects of the world, which he so methodically lays down for our instruction. What then, in few words, is the history, and what are the prospects, of our globe which he would have us believe in as something not only speculative but approaching to the definite and certain? With regard to the past, he invokes geology to prove that the earth already has passed through many eras of a gradually progressive nature, separated from each other by convulsions, but springing up each time more perfect than before. So far there is nothing fresh or new in his remarks, but we confess to have been rather startled by the announcement that during these geological eras the world was governed by that angel of God, who afterwards fell and became the serpent of Eden, or the devil. The great progress indeed which was made in the earth, and the unfolding glories of its inner nature as each period of change come over it, were the very cause of Satan's fall. Inflated by the dignity of his viceregal authority, he aimed at the independence of his kingdom, and therefore was cast out. On the fall of Satan, God, Mr. Faber at once most boldly concludes, created man to be his successor, and thus he accounts, on the common principles of jealousy, for the intense hatred of Satan against our own race; a feeling which he possesses a certain power to gratify during the present state of the world.

But now for the future. As changes have taken place in the world, the traces of which are perceptible, Mr. Faber concludes that the future change foretold in Scripture will only be of a similar kind. Forthwith, therefore, he rushes into an exact and methodical account of what will take place at the last day from the influence of fire; he defines with the greatest perspicuity what will be the order of events at the second advent. The well-known passage of S. Peter, descriptive of the new heavens and the new earth is made to substantiate whatever Mr. Faber's own imagination may depict to be the future residence of man. The whole earth he conceives will be burnt, or changed by the influence of fire into a sublimated state, after which by ordinary chemical laws certain dense particles will be precipitated into the form of a crust or shell. During this process the saints will 'meet the Lord in the air,' and then return with Him to occupy the exterior of this shell, as their future heaven. Was ever heathen dream more gross and material than the picture thus broadly asserted to be the ascertained hope of our new and spiritual life?

The most painful efforts, however, which Mr. Faber indulges in, while speculating on the future, are those which relate to Satan and his angels, including of course the lost of mankind.

Mr. Faber is sternly methodical in this part of his subject,

almost as though he were engaged in an epic poem. Satan, indeed, plays no small part in the whole theory which he enunciates; for, as being the prince of the powers of the air, all his history is inalienably linked with that of earth. We have already stated, the imagined connexion between Satan and the past ages of the world. We are not, then, if we adopt this theory, to suppose that when the serpent stealthily crept into the garden of Eden, he had hitherto been a stranger to the earth. He had long known it; he had long dwelt on it; his recollections penetrated far behind that dark era of chaos, which immediately preceded the Mosaic cosmogony, and brought to his fallen state the grievous memory of better and happier times. Hence his natural malignity against man, who was created to supplant him. Struggle after struggle followed, and too many have fallen in his snares, but yet man was destined at last to triumph. When the Redeemer of the world Himself became man, then was Satan's grand effort to regain once more his kingdom; and when the Cross at length was upraised from the earth for the death of that Holy Victim, who had come down from heaven and taken upon Him our nature, then it almost appeared that Satan's day was at hand, that his hour of triumph had arrived. In Mr. Faber's rather quaint language, he found himself, however, 'considerably mistaken;' his liberty forthwith received a check, his head was bruised; though still he possessed a power to wander over the earth, leading all those astray, from their allegiance to the true God, whom he could tempt with his snares.

Such then being the condition of Satan and his host in the present age of divine dispensations, we have next to contemplate his future actions, and also his eternal portion. During the Millennium, Mr. Faber supposes him to be literally bound in the Domdaniel caverns of the earth, from which at the end of that period he is once more released, to enjoy a brief but terrible despotism; till at last, the final catastrophe dissolves the whole earth, ends his power for all ages, and leaves him in the eternal punishment, which is allotted to him by divine justice. And where is the dungeon in which Satan, with his evil hosts, and with all lost mankind, are to be for ever confined? Here Mr. Faber gives us the complement of Burnet's wild speculations, and presents us with what might not unjustly be termed 'Telluris Theoria Diabolica.' Mr. Faber, while engaged on this most awful topic, seems to revel in the wildest horrors of a diseased imagination, with Miltonian zest; made all the more striking by the cool and technical method of his descriptions. After stating, as we have already said, that the fire of judgment will remodel the earth into a large hollow shell, through which there will never more be an opening between

the exterior and interior, he proceeds to make accurate calculations about the capability of this interior to form for ever the penal abode of the lost. Let the following passage suffice to illustrate this part of the subject:—

'If, then, there should be *even no* enlargement of our Planet's diameter in the process of its renovation, when the Shell of the New Earth occupies the position of the Shell of the Old Earth; *still*, as now, that diameter would be eight thousand miles. Taking this measure as the basis of our calculation, let us suppose the Shell of the New Earth to be of the uniform thickness of a thousand miles. On such a supposition, we shall have an interior hollow Space of six thousand miles in diameter. Hence, if we ascribe a diameter of two thousand miles (which is a trifle less than the diameter of the Moon) to an Ignited Central Nucleus: we shall finally have a circular Space, of two thousand miles in every radiating direction, between the Central Nucleus and the Interior Face of the Shell.

'Thus ample will be the lurid Space even on the *present* conjectural reckoning. But the probability is, that our Renovated Planet will, in its diameter, be very considerably enlarged. We have, indeed, no reason to believe, that a single particle of *new* Matter, either has been, or will be, added to our Globe, since its original creation out of nothing: yet, if the specific gravity of the *whole* be diminished by an enlargement of the lurid Space between the Fiery Central Ruin of the Old World and the circumscribing Shell which will constitute the New Earth of the Blessed, this Shell itself being diminished proportionably either in thickness or in material solidity; a fearfully sufficient amplitude of room will be provided for the Infernal Prison of the Damned.

'How the supposed Space, between the solid Centrical Nucleus and the inferior Side of the Circumscribing Shell which acts as an enormous arch, will be occupied, must, to a certain extent, be a matter of conjecture. It is, however, probable (and the probability may seem to be confirmed by SCRIPTURE), that this vast Space will be filled with liquid fire, forming a sort of circumambient Ocean to the Continent of the solid Centrical Ignited Nucleus. Such may be, what in SCRIPTURE is styled, more than once, the LAKE of Fire and Brimstone: a fiery DELUGE, as our great poet speaks, fed with ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.'—Pp. 257—259.

With all the respect that is due to Mr. Faber's talents and personal character, can we describe him as otherwise than a melancholy enthusiast, when after having written such passages as the foregoing, he concludes the book in which they appear, with the following solemn words?—

'As I approach the confines of another state of existence; as the blossoms of the grave have now long whitened my head; I sensibly feel my footsteps strengthened, my hopes elevated, and my consolations increased, by that *definiteness* which God has so graciously imparted in his HOLY WORD. On the verge of Eternity, I have the sensation of a sure footing: and I trust, that it makes me a better man, to have ascertained *definitely* the LOCALITIES of what, through Christ's Merits, may be my Future Progress, instead of plunging into Regions of Unknown Space with no antecedent clearness of conception.'—P. 423.

Let it not be supposed, from the tone in which we have criticised the work before us, that we condemn all speculation on the things which are unseen. Scripture plainly leads us on

to the subject, and by its prophetical announcements would seem to give its sanction to the reverent consideration of a future state. Nor, again, do we think that the investigations of physical science are to be without their influence in any judgments we may form. The laws of analogy also must have their force, and it is natural that we picture the scenes of a heavenly condition in some measure from the better parts of our present experience. It is an allowable, and indeed, a happy thought, that our future state is not to be one of entire change from all our present associations, but that the brighter elements of the present world, those, which in the beginning were pronounced very good, will survive the last fiery trial, and be our companions in eternity. To believe otherwise would deprive the present world of half its charms and all its glory, for it would drive us to the conclusion that all matter was in itself evil. God created the world with far too many signs of His greatness impressed upon it, for us to believe that the inherent powers of beauty and of increase, which all things contain, are to be wasted and destroyed: it is no mere common-place or unreal sentiment that the beauties of nature, nay, the flowers of the world, whether literal or figurative, are a foretaste and a type of heaven.

What, however, we do most seriously object to is, turning such speculations into little better than a burlesque of holy and unknown things. On subjects which are meant to be shrouded in mystery, or only approached in the dim religious light of a well-ordered and deeply poetic fancy, it is simply ridiculous to assume the dry technical language of exact description. We cannot therefore acquit the author of such random speculations as are contained in the book before us, from the charge of lamentable irreverence. Little, indeed, was it his purpose to write otherwise than with becoming dignity on the topics which he undertook; but in this fact we only see another instance of a very common failing in active-minded men, viz., that they are often wholly unconscious of their true vocation. The study of religious speculation belongs to the higher class of poetic minds, and is only tolerable when thus treated. It is needless to add that Mr. Faber, however estimable he was, whatever talents he possessed, was not thus qualified for the task. The result therefore will be deemed, we think, a painful failure in the estimation of thoughtful and considerate persons.

ART. III.—1. *First Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed Nov.* 10, A.D. 1852, *to inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* 1854. *With an Appendix.*

2. *Cathedral Reform. A Letter to the Members of his Diocese, from* WALTER KERR, *Bishop of Salisbury, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

IT must be confessed, that the Reformed Church of England has hitherto exhibited but an imperfect conception of the uses of religious corporations. Whether it be the marriage of the clergy, or the domestic turn of the national mind, or whatever other cause, that hinders the development among us of the collegiate—not to say cœnobitical—life, it is certain that our ideas of clerical efficiency have been almost exclusively connected with parochial and pastoral ministrations. Valuing our Reformation on its retention of capitular establishments, which the ultra-Protestant movement would have swept away as little better than monkery, we have been always at some loss to know what to do with them. Pious people often tremble for the spirituality of a favourite clergyman when honoured with a Cathedral preferment; and every one is on the watch to prevent dignities which are tolerated—perhaps justified—as parts of a system which must adapt itself to all grades of society, from encroaching too far on the more important avocations of the Christian priesthood. Nor is this altogether a modern jealousy. It is an inheritance perhaps from the days of the Reformation, when the corruptions of religious houses, regarded by eyes which longed—as Bishop Fisher told the House of Lords—for the *goods* more than the *good* of the Church, precipitated a catastrophe, little likely to leave the public mind in an impartial frame towards collegiate institutions. The traces of it are evident in the Canons of 1603, drawn up under Bancroft with the avowed object of sustaining Church principles. While enjoining a variety of directions for the due performance of parochial duties, these Canons are almost silent on the subject of Cathedral reform. An order for the use of *copes*[1] seems but poorly seconded by directions to celebrate Holy Communion 'upon *principal* feast days,' and so as for every member of the foundation to receive '*four* times yearly at the least.' Beyond this, the most that seemed then expected from Cathedral Chapters, was that some of their number should assist the bishop in examining and

[1] Canon xxiv.

ordaining priests[1]—a regulation feebly enjoined, and vigorously neglected; that the dean should reside ninety days *conjunctim aut divisim* (unless dispensed with by the bishop), keep hospitality, and see that the vicars-choral study the Scriptures;[2] that both he and the canons should *preach* while in residence (yet in other churches as well as in the Cathedral);[3] and, finally, that they should inform the bishop of any unsound doctrine preached in their pulpit.[4] This is certainly a very moderate amount of duty in return for noble emoluments; and such appears to have been the opinion of those who enjoined it. For the Forty-fourth Canon *inhibits* prebendaries not residentiary from absenting themselves from their benefices, 'under colour of their prebends;' and further enjoins the residentiaries so 'to sort and proportion' the residence among them (which by the statutes should be kept by all in common), as 'presently to repair to their bene-'fices, *or some one of them*, or to some other charge where the 'law requireth their presence, there to discharge their duties 'according to the laws in that case provided.' The notion plainly was, that Cathedrals only kept the clergy away from more necessary duties: and this is the notion stamped on all subsequent legislation. A Cathedral dignity is a lucrative preferment without any real employment. The rights of the patron and the doctrine of 'prizes,' form the chief reasons for its retention; and the efforts of reform are directed towards preventing too many of them from accumulating to one man's share, or to seeing that his legalised *otium* does not detain the prize-holder too long from the more genuine obligations of a clergyman. Hence our royal statutes and episcopal injunctions have been mostly directed to restraining instead of enforcing residence,—to narrowing instead of extending corporate action. In the true spirit of such legislation, a bishop still living is said, as a matter of conscience, to bestow his Cathedral preferment upon those claimants on his patronage, whom he considers the least qualified for the more important responsibility of a parochial charge!

The legislation of later years is assuredly not to be complimented on exhibiting any deeper insight into the uses of Cathedral establishments. The framers of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835 might be thought to have adopted as the basis of their reforms Rob Roy's morality—

> '.....the good old rule,
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.'

Money was urgently required for the augmentation of poor

[1] Canon xxxv. [2] Canon xlii. [3] Canon xlii. [4] Canon li.

benefices, and the increase of parochial ministrations; the Cathedrals had money, with no duties which the public cared for, to discharge; all the Commission had to do was to seize upon these revenues, and apply them to the more imperative wants of the Church. The process would occasion a sad diminution in the number and splendour of clerical 'prizes;' but as 'existing interests' were to be respected, the loss would chiefly affect the future *patronage*, and this the Crown and the bishops made up their minds to submit to. Sir R. Peel, in his place in Parliament, went so far as to compliment the hierarchy on the 'sacrifices' thus made for the good of the Church; though in truth not a single bishop or canon was in any degree injured, while some were largely benefited by the scheme. The loss fell on their unnamed successors, and yet more heavily upon the people who should have benefited by foundations thus directed to another use. No inquiry was instituted, whether the Cathedrals themselves were capable of being invested with a more extended usefulness, or whether any of the 'existing rights' so scrupulously preserved, might not be flagrant abuses demanding correction by the visitor. No one, either, seems to have much cared what would become of these establishments when the process of depletion should be complete;—all such considerations were disregarded in the one idea of a fund for parochial purposes. In the well-remembered language of the energetic prelate who championed the design, 'the wants of the flock 'were so urgent, that he must have all the money he could lay 'his hands upon.' Hence a deaf ear was turned to the remonstrances of the few who appreciated the spiritual value of capitular establishments. The deans and chapters themselves were only listened to when they could urge some personal pecuniary claim; and too many of these dignitaries—like the witty canon of S. Paul's—dropped their protest as soon as their bargain was made, turned their backs on the sacred rights so solemnly obtested, and contentedly swam with the stream.

After this sort a measure was hurried through Parliament, which it has been the fashion to style a great ecclesiastical reform. That some advantages have resulted, it would be foolish to deny; but at what cost were they purchased? The Ecclesiastical Commission has unsettled a vast amount of ancient foundations; familiarized men's minds with an enormous traffic in church-lands, livings, and jurisdictions; occasioned no little scandal against particular dignitaries; and proved a 'good thing' to the solicitors and speculators, who have enjoyed the stewardship of ecclesiastical manors, and the fingering of ecclesiastical moneys.

On the other hand, as a scheme for augmenting poor benefices,

it has notoriously failed. It has been obliged to suspend even its own moderate promises to benefices in public patronage, and now only deals with the few which possess a local claim on the revenues coming under its disposal. Its one work, in short, is the endowment of the 'Peel districts;' and, without undervaluing the impetus thus given to church building, or the yet more praiseworthy efforts of the many zealous and self-denying clergymen, who have laboured and died in these home missionary fields, we have yet to be satisfied,—1st, that one bishop, at 5,000*l.* a-year, and a multitude of district incumbents at 150*l.*, constitute the best ecclesiastical establishment for a wealthy manufacturing town in the nineteenth century:—and, 2dly, that the assistance proffered to such towns by spoliating the religious foundations of other places, has not tended to prevent the application of their overflowing wealth to new endowments of their own.[1]

To whatever extent, however, the Ecclesiastical Commission may have proved advantageous to the *parochial* branch of the Church's system, it can assuredly lay little claim to the credit of any *Cathedral* reform. In this respect its idea was simple even to coarseness. The majority of the Cathedrals were perceived

[1] The public is little aware of all that goes to the completion of one of these 'New Parishes.' The districts are severed from the mother Church at the first stroke, and constituted independent cures. They consist, for the most part, of large masses of labouring and pauper population, sunk in spiritual, intellectual, and material destitution. We know a manufacturing town in which *nine* of these districts, containing from five to eight thousand souls a-piece, were thus cut off at once from the parish church and the vicar. Some of them received ministers of their own, who forthwith began the hard struggle to erect a church; others lay vacant for three or four years—a greater spiritual waste than ever—and were at last given away in despair to any one in priest's orders who could be got to accept them. Such clergymen, with their miserable stipends, their pauper population, their wretched 'licensed rooms,' assembling three or four old women—on rare occasions, perhaps a dozen—for Divine service on the Sunday, are the embodiment of meanness in religion. Even the most successful results are sometimes achieved at a fearful price. An ardent young curate is induced to exchange his happy employment for one of these destitute incumbencies. His first object is, of course, a church. By spending and being spent, annoying his friends, irritating his acquaintance, and experiencing rebuffs which would mortify a bankrupt tradesman, he gets heavily forward with a subscription. Then he begins the work, entangles himself in contracts, spends his wife's two or three hundred pounds, (his own has gone in taking his degree,) and *dies*, broken-hearted and insolvent, before the church is completed. Another, and another yet, may succeed to the charge and continue the struggle, before the edifice, all meanly furnished and saddled still with debt, is declared ready for consecration. And then the bishop's sermon will, perhaps, call on the congregation to rejoice in the rapid extension of the Church; while a couple of widows and a dozen of fatherless children are ruing the bitter day when the poor victims (now forgotten by all but them) cast themselves beneath the wheels of her chariot. Meantime, the laity, in many places, exasperated by the importunity of these clerical *duns*, are demanding that no more clergymen be appointed than there are churches to officiate in. It is certainly a grievous defect that the *parishioners* are allowed no voice in these rearrangements of parochial bounds and spiritual relations.

to possess two sorts of canons or prebendaries,—the one residentiary, the other not,—the former burdened with no very important duties, the latter with none at all. The residentiaries, again, varied in number and emolument in different Cathedrals; and deaneries were found to range from 600*l.* a-year to hard upon 5,000*l.* Let the deans be equalized at 1,000*l.* a-year, and the residentiaries at 500*l.*; perhaps as much as public opinion would 'stand' for dignities confessedly of no great practical utility. Let there be *four* residentiaries in every Cathedral,—one for each of the four seasons—and abolish the non-residentiary members altogether: their duties—the duties they might, could, would, or should have done—to be thrown to the winds, their patronage to escheat to the bishops, and their endowments, with the surplus revenue from the residentiaries, to form the fund for pastoral extension. Such, with a little garnishing in the case of two or three Cathedrals, where the larger *haul* seemed to warrant a little more liberality, was the scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commission. No consideration was given to differences in the original foundation; all difficulties connected with the statutes being surmounted by a summary power of repeal granted to the Chapters themselves. Neither were local circumstances deemed worthy of any greater discrimination. No larger Chapter was provided for the metropolitical city of York than for the country town of Wells,—the Cathedral being of no very definite advantage (it must have been surmised) to either. On the other hand, a *fourth* residentiary was set up at Lincoln, where the statutes required but three: and the whole four were imported into Ripon, which had never enjoyed nor discovered the want of any![1] Such additions in violation of the leading 'principle'—money for pastoral purposes—could only have been introduced on the profound theory of uniformity which obtains in the *compo* style of church architecture:—unless, indeed, it was thought that one bishop ought to have as many 'prizes' to bestow as another.

It was happily suggested by somebody, that since the money only was needed for the Ecclesiastical Commission, they might be content, with regard to the non-residentiary stalls, to

[1] The Bishop of Ripon actually complains of this importation, as *injurious to the Cathedral congregation*, who are positively suffering from an *embarras de richesses*:—'I cannot refrain from observing, that experience convinces me of the disadvantage that results to the spiritual interests of a parish church, such as Ripon Minster, from the great variety and frequent change of preachers. In truth, with us they are so many, and the several parties are so willing, that the great difficulty is to find turns enough to satisfy all. I should only have aggravated this embarrassment by the appointment of honorary canons: and this is one reason why I have hitherto refrained from exercising my privilege of creating them. I cannot but feel that the poor and less educated are *sufferers* by the multiplication of preachers, as systematic and consecutive teaching becomes impossible.'—App. p. 591.

'take all they had, and spare their lives.' The dignity would still be acceptable to deserving clergymen, if conferred only as an honorary mark of professional merit. It was, as a living Bishop expresses it, a stall without a manger. The idea took prodigiously: the bishops were glad of small change to pay off some of the claimants on their patronage, and Parliament was so tickled with the notion of a Cathedral dignitary *gratis*, that they extended the privilege to *all* the bishops, by founding 'honorary canonries'—the one ecclesiastical foundation of the nineteenth century—in the Cathedrals which possessed no non-resident prebends.

As it happened, however, this preservation of the non-resident stalls was something more than a feather in clerical caps. The bishops, it is true, forgot to restore the patronage which, on the notion of the suppression of the prebends, had been transferred to themselves; but all other rights and duties, according to the existing statutes of the Cathedral, were preserved by the act of Parliament. Hence the corporate bodies have remained unmutilated, and, the power of repealing whatever did not accord with this crude legislation having been but sparingly exercised, the means are still providentially retained for effecting a more genuine measure of Cathedral reform.

To this inquiry attention has at last been directed, in a manner commensurate with its importance. One of the few instances in which Lord Derby's short-lived administration fulfilled the expectations it had excited in the minds of many Churchmen, was the issue of the Royal Commission, whose First Report is now lying before us: and we cannot forbear from noting, as a proof how such measures are appreciated by the clergy, that the Address to the Throne which the Archbishop of York prevented his Convocation from adopting in Synod, and which they were consequently compelled to submit to Her Majesty as individuals, selected this act of her royal authority for grateful acknowledgment.[1]

The Cathedral Commission, avoiding the fatal mistake of their predecessors, began by seeking to acquire a true conception of the actual constitution of the several capitular bodies, with the objects had in view by their founders, the modifications subsequently introduced, and the practice at the present time. For this purpose they addressed a series of questions to

[1] 'We recognise the same pious and affectionate care for the practical efficiency of the Church, in the desire, which your Majesty has ever evinced, to render our ecclesiastical establishments more conducive to the purposes for which they have been founded—the glory of God, and the edification of his people.' The first signature to this Address is '*Charles Thorpe*, Archdeacon of Durham;' and among those which follow, are those of the proctor for the Chapter of Carlisle, a canon-residentiary of Ripon, and three non-resident canons of York.

the several chapters, precentors, and organists; applied themselves to an analysis of their statutes, and also to the study of other authorities calculated to throw light upon the objects of their search. The First Report, which is now before us, states the course and general results of these judicious inquiries, and furnishes an analysis of the information and suggestions obtained from the Chapters, under the seven heads of, *Public Worship, Religious Education, Discipline, Erection of New Sees, Other Arrangements for the Discharge of Episcopal Duties, Fabric*, and *Revenue*. On all these topics a mass of information is collected in the Report and its voluminous Appendix, on which the Commissioners reserve their recommendations, till the evidence has been completely collected, digested, and weighed.

Here, then, we have the opening, at least, for such a reform as has never yet been attempted. The operations of the Ecclesiastical Commission, it may be feared, will already have diverted from many of the Cathedral establishments so large a portion of their revenues, as seriously to cripple any scheme of adequate efficiency; but it may at least be hoped that the endowments still remaining, to which the eye of spoliation has already been directed, will be honestly applied to the purposes to which the whole was solemnly devoted at the altars of the respective Cathedrals.

Our Cathedrals are generally distinguished into two classes, called the *Old* and the *New* Foundations: the former comprehending the churches originally founded for canons secular; the latter, such as were transferred from the regular orders at the Reformation, with the new Cathedrals then and subsequently founded. The churches of the Old Foundation are thirteen:—York, S. Paul's, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells; and the Welsh Cathedrals, S. Asaph, Bangor, Llandaff, and S. David's. The *conventual* churches are Canterbury, Durham, Carlisle, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester; which, though dignified with episcopal sees before the Reformation, were administered by *monastic* Chapters. The Cathedrals founded with new sees by Henry VIII. are Bristol, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, and Chester. And to these are to be added the two collegiate churches of Ripon and Manchester, which have been converted into Cathedrals in our own day. A general uniformity prevails throughout the charters and statutes of each class: and to give a proper idea of each, the Commissioners have printed extracts from the statutes of some one or more, including the statutes in full of Lichfield, Ely, Chester, and Westminster.

The Cathedrals of the Old Foundation are assigned to a period extending from the Conquest to the Reformation. In these the bishop was the pre-eminent authority, being usually the founder, and always the visitor and chief legislator. The following is a general description of these foundations:—

'The Dean and Chapter are only amenable to the Bishop's jurisdiction as a body, in chapter assembled. All offences of individual members are corrected by the authority of the Dean, according to the capitular Statutes.

'The four first members next after the Bishop, are called "Personæ Principales," and are bound to continual residence, each having his distinct sphere of duty.

'The DEAN, elected by the Chapter, summoned for that purpose, was next to the Bishop in honour and authority, to be reverenced and obeyed by all the members of the Church. To him was assigned a part of the daily divine offices, the cure of souls in the precinct, the chief care of discipline and morals, and archidiaconal authority over all the churches in the cathedral city. He also exercised the same authority, either alone, or conjointly with the Chapter, over the churches annexed to prebends and those appropriated to the Chapter. (In some Cathedrals there was a Sub-Dean, to act for the Dean in his absence;[1] in others, the duty of the Dean devolved on the Precentor.)

'The PRECENTOR, next in rank to the Dean, was charged with the regulation and direction of the divine services, assigning to each person his proper part, and leading the choir, either personally or by his *Succentor*. He was answerable for the instruction and discipline of the choristers, and for the selection of fit candidates to supply vacancies. To him belonged the care of providing and correcting the manuscript music for the service of the church, and keeping the books in proper condition.

'To the CHANCELLOR was committed the department of theology, and learning in general. It was his duty to superintend the reading of the Scriptures in the Choir, and to see that they were well and distinctly read; to preach, and to arrange the cycle of preachers, both in the Cathedral Church and elsewhere; to deliver theological lectures; to nominate schoolmasters in the city, and in other places; to preserve the sacred books used in the choir, and the library of the church; to keep the chapter seal (in conjunction with the Treasurer); to write the letters of the Chapter, and a record of all proceedings. This office is quite distinct from that of the Chancellor of the diocese. He was assisted in these duties by the *Vice-Chancellor*, or *Scribe*.

'The TREASURER was the guardian of the fabric and all the furniture and ornaments of the Church; he was bound to furnish at his own expense some of the requisites for the divine services; to him belonged the superintendence of the inferior ministers of the church. His assistant was the *Sacrist* or *Sub-Sacrist*.

'The ARCHDEACONS, who in the former period seem to have been attached to the Bishop, as his assistants at home and abroad, without any distinct sphere of jurisdiction, began soon after the Conquest to have each a certain province, with duties similar to those which they exercise at this time. Being much occupied with the visitation of churches in their several districts, they were allowed to keep a shorter term of residence than

[1] This *Sub-Dean* is not however to be confounded with the *Vice-Dean* in Cathedrals of the New Foundation, who is always one of the Canons, and next in rank to the Dean.—See p. 352.

the other Canons, but were obliged to maintain a Vicar. In the Church of St. Paul's, London, they appear to have had precedence next to the Dean, in other churches after the Four Principal Persons. They were enjoined to hold rural Chapters in the several deaneries of their districts, and there to deliver to the rural Deans and parochial Clergy the injunctions issued by the General Council.

'The CANONS consisted of Presbyters, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, each prebendal stall being annexed to one of those three orders of ministry; and a certain number of each order, as the services of the Church then required, were enjoined to be always resident together. It appears to have been a general rule, that a certain part of the whole body of Canons should be always in residence.

'Each Canon was bound to maintain a *Vicar* skilled in music, to supply his place when absent, in the ministrations of the Church. This seems to be the origin of the Minor Canons.

'The ancient Statutes are full of regulations for the solemn worship of Almighty God, especially on Sundays and high festivals, and other important occasions, assigning certain portions of the divine offices to the Bishop, Dean, and other members. Sermons are to be preached, either by the Bishop or some other member of the Church, especially the Chancellor, to the people on every Lord's day; to the Clergy in Chapter assembled on week days, (at particular seasons,) and on certain festivals. The cycle of sermons is arranged by the Chancellor, with the sanction of the Bishop.

'The Four Principal Persons, and the Archdeacons, had each a separate endowment either of land or tithes; they were also sometimes (not always) endowed with one of the prebends of the church. The prebends varied much in number, the Cathedral of Lincoln having the largest number, fifty-two. The Canons had each a prebend,[1] the endowment of which generally consisted of the tithes of some parish.

'There was, besides, a common property of the Church, called *Communa*, from the revenues of which the several members received a daily distribution, when resident and taking their part in the divine offices. The Bishop sometimes had a portion of this *Communa;* the share of the Dean was double that of a Canon.'—*Report*, pp. vi. vii.

In addition to their duties of daily recurrence, the Chapter formed the council of the bishop in the administration of the diocese, especially *contra hæreses et schismata*. Frequent notices of such councils, as well as of the diocesan synod, are to be found in Wilkins's 'Concilia,' and meetings appear to have been held at Salisbury, under the presidency of the bishop, on several occasions since the Reformation. This council consisted of course of the *whole* Chapter; the distinction of residentiary and non-residentiary canons being of later date, and never affecting this part of the capitular functions.

The Chapters were also anciently guardians both of the temporalties and spiritualties of the see during a vacancy; and by the provisions of Magna Charta, were to elect their bishop free from external dictation. This privilege, however, as is well

[1] It should be remembered the *canon* was a name of office and ministry; *prebenda* signified an endowment or revenue, the person enjoying which was called *prebendarius*.

known, was perpetually interfered with, both by the pope and the monarch.

In these Chapters (it has been observed) there was originally no distinction between resident and non-resident canons. All were alike designed to keep residence, serve the church, and live at the common table; and none were to be absent from the Cathedral, but with leave of the body or the bishop. In process of time, however, this rule was modified. 'As early as 'A.D. 1319, (say the Chapter of Salisbury,) irregularities had 'crept into the body, and residence was ill kept.' Orders were then issued for *one-fourth* of the whole body to reside in rotation each quarter of the year. In another century, this grew to be the same individuals (in number one-fourth of the whole), residing all the year round, while the other three-fourths were permanently absent. The causes of these changes are said to be, the expense of keeping hospitality while in residence, and the desire of the canons to look after their separate prebends. A contribution was not unfrequently levied from the non-residents of one-fifth, one-sixth, or one-seventh of these prebends, for the benefit of the common estate. In this manner *canons-residentiary* came to be established in all the Cathedrals, and (though at first it was otherwise) they gradually excluded the non-resident members from their voice in the chapter, which managed the common estate and directed the service of the church. This continued for the most part down to the beginning of the Reformation. A remarkable statute was then issued by Henry VIII. to the Cathedral of York, which forms part of its governing laws at the present day. After severely rebuking the luxury and idleness of the canons in residence, the royal reformer proceeds as follows;—

'Statuimus quod omnes et singuli canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ, etiam non residentiarii, quos tunc in civitate nostrâ Eborum adesse contigerit, ad omnia acta capitularia, seu alias ipsam ecclesiam vel capitulum tangentia, vocentur; et de eorundem canonicorum tunc presentium seu majoris partis consensu, omnia acta predicta tractentur et expediantur, aliorum absentium et monitorum contumatiis non obstantibus, cum constat eosdem canonicos etiam non residentiarios fratres et membra ejusdem ecclesiæ esse, ac capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ cum cæteris canonicis facere.'—*Appendix*, p. (18).

By this opportune enactment, the non-resident canons of York enjoy their seats in chapter to the present day;—being, we believe, the only Cathedral in which that privilege is retained. Even here, however, the residentiary influence seems to have been exerted after the old spirit; for one of the Injunctions issued by the late Archbishop of York on the occasion of his celebrated visitation, A.D. 1841, enforces the observance of this very statute, which it had been attempted

to set aside. And still, we are told, the common mode of obeying it is to place a citation on the chapter-house door, where the canons can but seldom know of its existence: so that not only are the non-resident members not offered the opportunity of coming to York, but when actually in the city and even attending the church, Chapters have been held on important matters without their knowledge. There is no question, however, of the *right;* and as the other Cathedrals of the Old Foundation are similarly constituted, it may be concluded that, at the time of the Reformation, all the canons possessed *de jure* an equal voice in the chapter, while a certain number, (ordinarily a fourth of the whole,) together with one of the *quatuor personæ*, were expected to be in *constant* residence.

The Cathedrals of Winchester, Worcester, Canterbury, Durham, and Rochester, were also originally founded for canons secular; but in the two former, by the influence of Dunstan, and in the others by that of Lanfranc, these were replaced by monks. Norwich was founded as a Benedictine convent; and became a Cathedral by the translation of the see from Thetford; while the sees of Ely and Carlisle were founded (*temp.* Hen. I.) in monasteries already existing in those cities. In these eight churches, then, the prior and his monks formed the cathedral chapter, retaining, of course, the rule of their order. In this capacity they acted as the bishop's council, and discharged the other functions of a dean and chapter much as in the old Cathedrals.

On the abolition of the regular Orders under Henry VIII. new statutes were framed by royal authority for the government of these churches, which, together with those of the bishoprics then founded, constitute what are called the Cathedrals of the New Foundation. They are distinguished from the Old Foundation by containing a much smaller body of canons; the highest number being twelve, the lowest four; corresponding to the number of *residentiaries* in the other Cathedrals. Of the *quatuor personæ*, who filled so high a dignity in the older scheme, they retain only the dean, who is appointed immediately by the Crown, instead of being elected, as in the others, under a *congé d'élire*. In some cases, also, the Crown or the Lord Chancellor has the nomination of the canons in these Cathedrals. The dean has no longer the jurisdiction over the city churches, the archdeacons are not members of the chapter, and the precentor, (like the succentor vicariorum in the other churches,) subsides into a minor canon.

In the churches of the New Foundation there are no separate endowments of particular stalls, but the whole is common property. All the canons were bound to perpetual residence, with

an allowance of 100 days' absence to the dean, and eighty to a canon, provided that one-third or one-fourth part of the number were always present. In other respects, the Chapters of the New Foundation are enjoined to the same duties with the Old; the daily offering of prayer and praise, with hymns and chanting, and diligent preaching, being particularly mentioned. The principal distinction appears to be, that no express provision is made for the bishop taking part in divine service, nor is he invariably the visitor.

We may infer from these features in the New Foundations what was now the standard idea of Cathedral establishments. The bishop had greatly loosened the intimate union formerly subsisting between himself and the Chapter, and through the Chapter with the diocese. The dean had absorbed into his own office the duties and influence anciently shared by the precentor, chancellor, and treasurer; the non-resident canons were practically excluded from the Chapter, and the resident body had assumed more the air of a distinct order in the Church, independent to some extent both of the bishop and the diocese, and possibly intended to sustain the influence of the Crown, as the monks had supported that of the pope. Still *collective* residence was enjoined; the duty of hospitality, and the relief of the poor, were enforced; and the Chapter was declared to be, after the example of the primitive Church, 'assistant to the bishop, as 'his presbytery in all weightier matters, and specially that 'heresies and false doctrines may be checked and expelled.'

Cranmer, it is well known, laboured hard to invest the Cathedrals with some of that care for sacred learning which, amid many faults, had ever distinguished the religious orders. He would have attached to them diocesan colleges of theology, and grammar-schools; and to such objects, as well as to the augmentation of poor benefices, and the extension of the episcopate, he proposed to devote a large proportion of the spoil of the monasteries. But these proposals were only very partially complied with. Provision is made in some statutes for the maintenance of a small number of students at the universities, but it does not appear to have generally taken effect.

Such, then, were our Cathedrals at the beginning of the Reformation, when the Church Ritual was as yet but little altered, and the celibacy of the clergy was still largely maintained. From this time to the reign of Charles II. a variety of amendments were introduced by royal and episcopal ordinances, which gradually changed the whole aspect of affairs.

'What had been the exception before, now becomes the rule. What had been the term allowed for necessary absence during the year, becomes now the term of residence at the Cathedral Church—ninety, sixty, and

even so little as fifty days; and in many cases the provision for the constant presence of one-third or one-fourth part of the Canons, appears to have been abandoned.'—*Report*, p. xii.

Thus, in the Statutes of Canterbury, as framed by Henry VIII., the chapter *De Residentia Decani* begins in this way:—

'Quia vigilanti rectoris oculo nihil est utilius ut omnia recte gubernentur, statuimus et volumus ut decanus *semper* domi apud ecclesiam suam resideat, nisi illum removetur impedimentum legitimum.'—*Appendix*, p. (57).

But in Charles I.'s statute, after the same preamble, on the necessity for the watchful eye of the ruler, follows this 'lame and impotent conclusion':—

'Ut decanus per *nonaginta ad minus dies* in singulis annis domi apud ecclesiam hanc nostram resideat, quorum viginti unum continuos esse volumus.'—*Ibid.*

In like manner, the chapter *De Residentia Canonicorum* commences in both statutes with the preamble, '*quandoquidem membra a capito procul sejungi non convenit*,' and so ordains equal residence on the canons with the dean: but this is first reduced from '*semper*' to the same period of ninety days, and then ordained to be so parted among them, that a fourth part at least of the prebendaries (*i. e.* three) be always personally resident.

So, again, in the other metropolitical church of York. At the Reformation the number of canons in residence is said to have been 'left uncertain:' *i. e.* probably, that it was not to fall below *nine*, (the fourth part of the canons,) exclusive of the dean; and any or all of the whole number might come into residence when they pleased, by protesting in the form prescribed by a statute of Henry VIII. This continued the law till after the Revolution, when by a statute of William III. the number of residentiaries was reduced to *five*, including the dean. Still the ancient method of 'protesting residence' continued, so that on a vacancy among the four, any other canon who first notified his intention to the dean became *ipso facto* the new residentiary. It was not till the reign of George III. that the non-resident members were deprived of this opportunity, by a statute which gives the dean a power of *selection* from among their number: and thus we are landed again in the period of modern legislation.

The Ecclesiastical Commission of 1835 was directed to consider 'the several Cathedral and collegiate churches in Eng-'land and Wales, with a view to the suggestion of such mea-'sures as might render them conducive to the efficiency of the 'Established Church.' These last words they seem to have interpreted to mean, 'the diversion of the largest amount of Cathedral endowments to more important uses.' For in regard

to the efficiency of the Cathedrals themselves, the chief reform they accomplished was restoring the residence of the dean to eight months in the year, with a restriction from holding any other benefice, save in the Cathedral city and not exceeding 500*l.* per annum. Even this reform was accompanied with so great a reduction of the emoluments of the deanery, as in some cases to cripple the efficiency of the office.[1] In other respects, the evils that had crept in were retained and sanctioned, and many additional ones introduced.

i. The endowments of the non-resident canonries were altogether alienated from Cathedral uses.

ii. A number of residentiary canonries were suspended, and their endowments in like manner confiscated to other purposes.

iii. The residence of canons, which ought to be equal to the dean's, was everywhere reduced to the corrupt usage of three months, one only of the whole number being actually 'in residence.' This arrangement introduced for the first time the anomaly of a dean permanently resident at 1,000*l.* a-year, and twice that amount allotted to secure a single canon, or rather four revolving quarters of a canon, by his side.

iv. The canons-residentiary were still allowed to hold benefices, though only one each, in distant parts of the country; so perpetuating the practice of pluralities, with the scandal of withdrawing the pastor of a parish church from his proper duties to idle away his time at a Cathedral.

v. For no attempt was made to remove the reproach under which the Cathedrals had laboured, by attaching any more definite duties either to deans or canons.

vi. Some canonries were annexed to professorships, and some to parishes,—a measure, which, instead of helping to reform the Cathedral, operated as another form of alienating its revenues.

vii. The minor canons also were reduced in number, without in any way being rendered more efficient; on the contrary, these also were permitted to retain parochial charges, and to that extent withdraw themselves from Cathedral duty.

In all these respects the legislation of the Ecclesiastical Commission inflicted a series of heavy blows on the already enervated frames of our capitular bodies. A trifling improvement was aimed at by the enactment which provided that no person who had not been six years in priest's orders should be appointed

[1] The deanery of York, for instance, worth 3,000*l.* a-year, was reduced to 1,000*l.*, a sum so inadequate, that in a bill subsequently introduced, but never passed, it was attempted to raise it to 2,000*l.* A Dean of York or Wells, with a palace to keep up, on a single 1,000*l.* a-year, after the calls of his station are considered, is probably no better off than a country vicar of 300*l* a-year.

a dean, archdeacon, or canon: and some useful limitations were placed on the exercise of the patronage left with the Chapter, which were *not* imposed on the portion which the bishops transferred to themselves. But not a single regulation was introduced to improve the Cathedral service;—not an additional sermon was provided for, though in half our Cathedrals there is only one on the Sunday;—nothing was done for the improvement of the fabrics; nothing for the management of the Chapter property; nothing, above all, for the revival of its functions as the bishop's council, or for restoring in any shape its ancient connexion with diocesan administration. On all these important points, which might certainly have been considered 'conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church,' the Ecclesiastical Commission and our episcopal legislators were as silent as if capitular action were an acknowledged impossibility, and bishops the infallible all-sufficient administrators of ecclesiastical patronage and discipline.

We submit that we have fully established our assertion, that the measures connected with this Commission were measures of Cathedral spoliation, not of Cathedral reform. The friends of these institutions complain with justice, that instead of using the opportunity to remove abuses and increase their efficiency, Parliament took away their funds, sanctioned all the practices that had brought reproach upon their name, and left them helpless and crippled, as mere pieces of royal or episcopal patronage, till another reform should consign their mutilated trunks to the flames. We have surely a right to demand from the present Commission that the poor remnant of these estates be devoted to the realization of Cathedral efficiency before and exclusive of all other objects whatsoever. Important, nay vital, as is the question of *episcopal extension* we are jealous of even this good being attempted at the expense of the Cathedrals. The large amount of property already alienated to the Ecclesiastical Commission ought to suffice as their contribution to *all* other purposes till their own requirements are fairly satisfied: and so far from expecting any surplus when this is accomplished, our fear is that sufficient revenues do not remain for the moderate supply of imperative wants.

People in general are little aware of the actual cost of Cathedral services. The fabrics alone demand an annual outlay which may startle some of our readers. York Minster has had the large sum of 106,560*l.* spent over it in the last fourteen years, including 71,590*l.* raised by public subscription on the two occasions of fire in 1829 and 1840; besides 5,000*l.* bequeathed for the restoration of the Chapter-house, and another bequest of 2,000*l.* expended on a new peal of bells.

The average annual outlay *from Cathedral funds* was nearly 2,500*l.* a-year in these fourteen years: and though the church will be thought at present one of the most perfect in the kingdom, the ordinary repairs and sustentation of the fabric are returned as still amounting to 1,031*l.* per annum, while it is estimated, that to put every part in complete repair, would require the vast outlay of 50,000*l.*! In fact, the building decays faster than it can be restored, and without a large and continual expenditure, would speedily be reduced to ruins. At Canterbury the expenditure in the same period has amounted to 31,960*l.*, or more than 2,000*l.* a-year. A complete reparation of this church was commenced in 1823, and 25,000*l.* has been borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty to rebuild the north-western tower. The roof is now reported as much decayed, and many years will be required to complete the *necessary* reparations. Durham Cathedral is reported to be 'in very good, substantial repair,' but to have cost in the last fourteen years above 16,000*l.* —a serious sum, remembering that it has mostly been expended in spoiling the church. On Ely has more creditably been expended 28,000*l.*, and 'many parts are still much mutilated 'and defaced.' Wells has cost 12,951*l.*, and 'a very large sum 'still required to put it in proper order: the exterior is, from 'the action of the atmosphere, in a constant state of decompo-'sition, and discharges from its surface heavy fragments of stone.' Lincoln has cost 21,786*l.*, and has a Fabric-fund averaging 1,604*l.* per annum. In short, it seems to be nowhere safe to assign less than 1,200*l.* or 1,500*l.* a-year to the ordinary sustentation of these ancient buildings, while some of the larger and more ornamented fabrics may require still more. The Cathedrals of the Old Foundation (Wells, we observe, is an exception) have usually a Fabric estate, and often a canon's share in the common estate besides; but the proceeds appear to be in general utterly insufficient to meet the demands. S. Paul's enjoys a special fund amounting to 1,500*l.* per annum, vested in trustees, which, in that recently-erected edifice, may be deemed sufficient. In the churches of the New Foundation the repairs are defrayed out of the common fund, and *pro tanto* diminish the dividend payable to the dean and canons. Under this arrangement their liberal outlay must be considered as redounding very greatly to the credit of the deans and chapters.

Another considerable item, which we regret not to find more particularly distinguished in the Report, is the cost of *choral services*. Besides the endowments of the minor canons, and in some churches lay vicars, the organists, songmen, and chorister boys have to be paid from the common estate; and in York, which is far from exhibiting an efficient choir, this

expense is stated at 1,113*l.* per annum. Here, then, is another charge equal to that of the fabric, before we come to the Chapter itself.[1] Then there is the *Library*, and the 'Expenditure for spiritual purposes,' *e.g.*, on chancels, schools, augmentations, &c. of the livings in chapter patronage. On these accounts the outlay has *not* been, in general, such as to do honour to the capitular bodies;[2] and there can be no proper reform unless they are specifically and suitably provided for. When all this indispensable expenditure is duly cared for, we are persuaded there will be no surplus for episcopal extension any further than that object may be subserved by the action of the Chapter itself.

We proceed, then, to the necessities of the capitular body. Here, the first object is, of course, the public worship of Almighty God. On this point we are glad to find the Commissioners speaking with no uncertain sound. They refer to the statutes both of the Old and New Cathedrals, and to the charters of King Henry VIII. to show—

'How carefully provision was made for the great purpose by the Founders and Governors of these Institutions. The members of the several Churches are dedicated for ever to the glory of Almighty God and the perpetual service of His House; *Ecclesia Cathedralis de personis congruis et singulis locis et gradibus suis perimpleatur et decoretur:* it was not a bare sufficiency, but an ample and honourable provision, that was contemplated; so that in each diocese there might be, at least, one place in which the daily Public Worship of God might be maintained in the most solemn manner, in a fabric as worthy of its holy purpose as the highest art of man could frame. In the old Cathedrals, even by the modified form of their later rules, a certain number of the whole body were enjoined to be *always* in residence; and in the new Cathedrals of King Henry VIII., the same rule was laid down by the original statutes. The peculiar manner, also, of the Divine Service is distinctly enjoined—"*singulis diebus laus Dei cantu et jubilatione celebretur.*" '—*Report*, p. xix.

Again,—

'The vast dimensions of the noble fabrics require the services of a *full* and efficient Choir.'—*Ibid.*

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[1] 'It will be found,' say the Commissioners, 'that in very few Cathedrals, *if any*, is the number of the choir sufficient to provide against the casualties of health; and it does not appear that any Cathedral possesses a special fund for retiring pensions.'

[2] The following are instances which we copy with regret. York, in the last fourteen years, *nothing* beyond individual subscriptions. S. Paul's, 584*l.* in the last ten years. Carlisle, since 1844, 178*l.* Gloucester, since 1826, 2,000*l.* Bristol, 'occasional grants;' and too many more exhibit returns equally meagre. On the other hand, there are some to be mentioned with honour. Canterbury, 5,783*l.* in the last fourteen years: Durham, 36,000*l.* in the last eleven years: Winchester, about 800*l.* per annum in augmentations, and 2,097*l.* in donations, within the last seven years: Manchester, in eight years, 2,652*l.*, contributions to Church Building: Salisbury, in ten years, 6,723*l.*, besides annual augmentations to the amount of 393*l.*: Westminster, since 1833, 27,390*l.*

It is hinted that the provisions insisted upon in the statutes of the Reformation, with regard to 'diligent preaching the Word of God,' may not be so important in an age 'when every parish is provided with a minister licensed to preach.' We conceive, however, that Cathedral sermons have still an office and a value of their own; and that at least two on the Lord's day, with others on holy days, and in the Christian seasons, ought to be carefully provided for.[1]

Turning to the actual state of our Cathedrals in regard to Divine service, it appears that morning and afternoon service is celebrated chorally[2] in *all* our Cathedrals on Sundays and holy days, and in *almost* all daily. About half the number have sermons only on the mornings of Sundays and holy days. The Holy Eucharist is celebrated every Sunday and *principal* feast days, in *twelve;* twice in the month, in *one;* and monthly, in *seventeen.* Not a single Cathedral exhibits the practice, which many parish churches have attained to, of Holy Communion *every Sunday and holy day* throughout the year. In seven of the Cathedrals only, are the early matins still observed. Durham has a Sunday evening service with a sermon in the Galilee chapel during the summer. In Winchester the usual morning and afternoon services on Sundays are multiplied into *four*—all choral. The morning service is divided in two at Salisbury and Worcester. Bangor has two Sunday services with sermons in Welsh, in addition to the English choral services; and at Landaff there is a Welsh service with sermon on Wednesday evening. With these exceptions, our Cathedral services are confined to the choir and to the old-fashioned hours, morning and afternoon, at which, on week days at least, there is in the present day the smallest chance of collecting a congregation. The Commissioners ask, with much propriety,—

'Whether a Sunday Evening Service with Sermon in the Nave, would be generally beneficial? whether the division of Services would tend to promote an increase of worshippers? and whether additional Services, not choral, might be instituted with advantage to the inhabitants of Cathedral cities.'—*Report*, p. xx.

They also 'draw attention to the fact that a great part of 'the fabrics of our Cathedrals is at present unused for public 'worship.' And again,—

'To the remarkable difference in the position occupied by the *Precentor* in the Cathedrals of the Old and of the New Foundation: in the former,

[1] An important suggestion is made by the Bishop of Hereford (App. p. 579), that 'A course of lectures might be delivered in the Cathedral to the candidates for Holy Orders, assembled for that purpose some time previous to their examination.'

[2] Llandaff is the only exception.

he is one of the principal persons, generally next in rank to the Dean; in the latter, he is one of the Minor Canons, with a very small stipend as Precentor.'—*Ibid.* p. xxi.

These suggestions and remarks point to improvements in the Cathedral services (both as to quantity and quality) which manifestly cannot be effected under the present system of *residence.*

Another object closely connected with the Cathedral services, is the effect that ought to be produced on the parochial churches of the city.

'One of the chief objects in any measure of improvement should be the effective spiritual care of the Cathedral cities. The daily sacrifice of prayer and praise, the holy hymns and anthems of the Cathedral choir, lose much of their value and effect, if they are not, as they were designed to be, the centre and crown of a vigorous and comprehensive church system, diffusing Christian light and joy on all around.'—*Report,* p. xxii.

Nothing could be more truly or nobly said. We need not show how completely this object has been lost sight of in our modern system. The Church is nowhere so little appreciated, Dissent nowhere so rampant,—no, not in the large neglected population of our manufacturing towns,—as in the cities which nestle under the towers of our magnificent Cathedrals, and over whose tranquil streets the clear voice of the prayer-bell is heard twice in every day. One of the greatest blots in the Ecclesiastical Commission is its strange neglect of these cities. The vicarages connected with the Cathedral *endowments,* though at a distance, are recognised as possessing a local claim on its revenues, while the Cathedral city itself has none! This extraordinary conclusion is arrived at, by keeping the eye fixed on the place whence the revenue *arises,* to the exclusion of that for whose benefit it was settled on the Cathedral. Yet, surely, *both* might have been considered as falling under the category of local claims: the city could hardly have been relegated to the same class with all other 'populous places,' had the Cathedral not ceased to be regarded as a spiritual advantage to the locality in which it is situate.

This is, therefore, another result of the low views by which the path of true reform is so frequently crossed. Their operation is in this case peculiarly unfortunate; for the Ecclesiastical Commission, after meeting local claims, deal with other poor benefices in proportion to their *population;* and as Cathedral cities are mostly subdivided into many parishes, though all are in need of augmentation, the population *taken parochially* cannot compare with the great manufacturing towns, which are often comprised in a single 'parish.' Hence, in effect, scarcely any

recompense is made to the Cathedral cities under the head of parochial augmentation, for the large revenues abstracted from their capitular establishments.

To meet this palpable defect, it has been proposed to annex some of the canonries to parochial charges in the city, a step already taken at Westminster and Manchester. It may be questioned, however, if this practice could be generally made consistent with the efficiency of the Cathedral itself. Westminster is not a Cathedral church, though the time has long arrived in which it ought to be made one, by the subdivision of the unwieldy diocese of London. Manchester is a parish church, only lately and but imperfectly turned into a Cathedral. We do not see how it is possible to have a Chapter really efficient, both for Cathedral services and diocesan administration, if its members are to be burdened with the additional and all-engrossing labours of extensive parochial cures. How, for instance, can the canons of S. Paul's be expected to satisfy the genuine requirements of their office, while the practice is continued, of filling the stalls with incumbents of parishes, which of themselves demand a college rather than a single pastor for their spiritual oversight. By such appointments the Cathedral is made a mere appendage, at best, to the parish, often only to the personal importance or family aggrandisement of the individual dignitary.

In some cities, where the parishes are not of the same overwhelming population, it is not impossible that partial annexations may be attended with good results: but we should be sorry to see this made the rule. It seems quite enough to keep the *power* of uniting a stall and a parish in the same person when advisable, without permanently annexing the one to the other. The distinguished success which attended the experiment made at Salisbury in the case of the present bishop, is sufficient to show how much may be achieved, even for the city, by canons permanently resident, and devoted exclusively to the proper duties of their Cathedral dignity.

A suggestion, every way more promising for the benefit of the city, is contained in the observation, that—

'By the Statutes of the Old Cathedrals, the Dean had Archidiaconal authority over the parishes of the city, and the rural parishes connected with the Cathedral; and the Archdeacons, besides their duty of general superintendence, were charged to provide for the ministrations of the Church, during the vacancy of a benefice.'—*Report*, p. xxi.

It was to assist in the exercise of this authority that the *subdean* was appointed; not to represent the dean in chapter or in the choir, for of the former he is not always a member,

and his duty in the latter is confined to preaching in his turn.[1]

No one desires the system of 'peculiars' to be revived. But to transfer the city, and in some cases, suburban districts from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon to that of the dean, would appear to us one of the best possible methods of at once sustaining and extending the Cathedral influence for good. It is just the measure required to fill up the gulf which in many places yawns so disastrously between the cathedral and the parochial clergy; breeding ostentation in the one, in the other, mortification and envy. We know no one cause to which the prevalence of dissent in Cathedral cities can be attributed with so much probability, as the contrast between the dinner-giving dignitaries and the dinner-needing incumbents. Nothing would more tend to obliterate this unchristian demarcation, than to restore the ancient connexion of the parochial clergy with the dean. At present the rectors and vicars of a Cathedral city, each absolute and neglected in his own little sphere, *totus teres atque rotundus*, may be compared to a bag of marbles emptied on a mahogany table, every one running his course with a supreme indifference towards the rest. And if occasionally collected at some rare and formal banquet in the episcopal palace, they are only the same marbles *put into the bag*. We do not ourselves know a single instance of the bishop exercising that amalgamating influence among the city clergy which might be expected by the uninitiated; and if there are any, the union is in all probability wholly extraneous, perhaps antagonistic, to the *Cathedral*. In general we fear the supervision of the clergy, both episcopal and archidiaconal, is much laxer at the seat of the see than in any other part of the diocese.

It would be every way, then, a most beneficial reform, to restore the ancient decanal jurisdiction. The bishop would gain another 'eye' in the important but neglected centre of his authority; and if only the right men were selected for deaneries, the city clergy would obtain a real friend, adviser and leader, round whom they would quickly gather, and make his Cathedral again the centre and model of their parochial worship.

The remarks already offered go a long way to prove the necessity and advantage of a really resident capitular body. It is further to be remembered, that a variety of other necessary duties cluster round the great centre of Cathedral worship, and put in their several demands on its establishments. The chapter *libraries*, anciently a great portion of the chan-

[1] 'Sub-decani officium est, si decanus abfuerit ecclesiæ vices ejus supplere, *curam archidiaconatus in urbe et suburbis gerere*.'—*Salisbury Statutes.*

cellor's charge, obviously need some better superintendence and management than at present exist, to render the treasures they contain as accessible as they might be made, to the city and diocese at large. The department of *education*, again, whether theological, classical, or elementary, should in all reason and principle, be preserved and developed in every Cathedral establishment; and whatever be the subordinate arrangements, a principal residentiary member, at the least, is required for its superintendence.

Then there is the Fabric itself, each with its particular style of architecture, and all with their glorious array of pillar and arch, and storied windows, and cunning carving of wood and stone, demanding, even for the ordinary repairs, the continual attention of a mind imbued with the principles of their construction, and furnished with some knowledge of the practical appliances required for their sustentation. How is it possible that all these various duties should be adequately cared for by a single residentiary canon, selected for no special aptitude for any one of them, and whirling quickly round in the kaleidoscope of a rotatory residence? The framers of our Cathedral establishments, we have seen, provided a resident dignitary, assisted by a staff of canons, for *each* of these departments. Such were the *quatuor personæ*. 1. The *dean* presiding over the whole establishment, with the spiritual cure of its members, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout the city. 2. The *precentor*, directing the choir with the whole department of Cathedral worship. 3. The *chancellor*, having special charge (along with the corporate seal) of the theological, literary, and educational departments: and 4. The *treasurer*, entrusted with the fabric and sacred utensils, and administering what may be termed the department of *ecclesiastical architecture and art*. With *less* than these four dignitaries, or their equivalents, *permanently* resident, it is impossible to carry out the idea of a Cathedral at all. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, however, with their customary misapprehension of Cathedral requisites, have swept away the endowments of precentor, chancellor, and treasurer altogether; and a proposition is now broached to abolish the dean, and transfer his duties to the bishop. We are surprised that the Cathedral Commissioners should have entertained this suggestion, even so far as to refer it for the consideration of the several bishops. The Bishop of Lichfield disposes of it with this brief common-sense observation:—

'I am not aware of any advantage likely to result from "uniting the offices of Bishop and Dean." I am sure the Bishops, at least generally, have enough to do in their proper sphere, without having the burden of another office laid upon them.'—*Appendix*, p. 582.

The Bishop of Exeter more elaborately meets it in this way:—

'If it be meant to *destroy the corporate character* of the Chapter, and to substitute a *collegium presbyterorum cui præsit episcopus*, it would be simply a return to primitive practice, on the adaptation of which to the existing state of things in our own Church, I would crave permission to decline at present offering an opinion. I am very far from wishing to imply any condemnation of *such* a proposal. I only presume to suggest that it involves considerations too many and too grave to be dealt with in a cursory paper like this. On the other hand, if it be intended to make the Bishop the head of the capitular corporation, the proposal would seem to me to be open to very serious objections; one only of which it may be deemed sufficient to mention,—namely, that the effect of such a measure would manifestly be to heap another class of onerous duties and occupations on the already overladen shoulders of the Bishop.'—*Appendix*, p. 572.

It must be obvious indeed, as the Bishop of Llandaff observes:—'That the union of the two offices would be impossible,' if the residence and other functions of the dean are to be retained on the footing already admitted to be essential to Cathedral efficiency. We may, therefore, dismiss this suggestion as one of revolution rather than reform.[1]

The time is now come when the Church and the country must decide once for all, whether they choose to retain their Cathedrals or not. If we make up our minds to sacrifice these precious legacies to considerations of economy, or the demands of other portions of the Church's system, we had better be consistent and suppress the Chapters altogether. It would be preferable to pull down the edifices, rather than shame their magnificent proportions, and expose our own hollowness, by keeping up a melancholy, mutilated, fragment of establishments, that once had a meaning and a place in the service of God. A scanty, scrambling band of choristers and songmen, dotting rather than occupying the spacious choir, and with ill-sustained efforts startling, not wakening, the echoes of the majestic pile,—a single minor canon, drearily plodding through matins, and lessons, and litany,—a long row of empty stalls, finished off at the curtained extremity by a solitary dignitary trying to present the majesty of an absent Chapter in the pomp of his personal bearing, or *acting* the precentor by beating time to the anthem,—these are really not worth preserving at any price. Better give up a struggle that neither honours God nor benefits mankind, and subside into a form of worship which we can more honestly

[1] The proposal is countenanced by the Bishops of Ripon, S. David's, and Manchester; but the first refers only to his own Cathedral, which is a parish church, and suffering under a *plethora* of newly-erected, and little-valued Cathedral dignitaries. The second leans to the idea of a *suffragan* bishop as dean; and the last is hardly an authority on this, or any other, point. Perhaps the *Dean* of Manchester might be equally sceptical on the value of the bishop!

appreciate. If, on the other hand, these homes of ancient piety are still to be upheld, let them be rendered in some degree worthy of their purpose, and of Him to whose service they are consecrated. Let the Church of England be no longer saddled with the reproach of not understanding the distinguishing features of her own polity. We ask for no 'meretricious display,' no decorative arts, no intricate music, no unusual gestures, ceremonies, or processions; we only want the English worship solemnized in harmony with its own standard, and our Cathedral establishments made what they profess to be.

We will proceed to indicate some of the details in which we conceive this object may yet, to a great extent, be accomplished.

The primary consideration is the *constitution of the residentiary body;* for a *body* is clearly indispensable; and here we would begin (as already suggested) by recalling the *quatuor personæ* into *joint and continuous residence.* If no other residentiaries were added, a precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, permanently administering their respective departments, would be a very happy exchange for the four partially residentiary canons, who constitute the present establishment. But in the larger Cathedrals, at least three canons should be in continuous residence along with the dignitaries, making seven in all. Crippled as we now are for pecuniary means, it might not be necessary to insist on this establishment in the smaller churches, where the *quatuor personæ*, together with the minor canons, might probably suffice. It is essential, however, that in the metropolitical churches of Canterbury and York, in S. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, Durham, Ely, Manchester, and wherever else the funds are still available, the establishments should be placed on a scale which we need not blush to exhibit to the foreigners who now visit us from so many parts of the world. Considering the limited musical capacities of our nation, it might be wiser to select some seven or eight of the largest Cathedrals for the more complete constitution, and let the others be content with a secondary, though consistent and effective, scale of establishments.

Whether any of the residentiary body should be permitted to hold a benefice *in the city*, would depend entirely on local circumstances. One of the greatest mistakes of our Cathedral reformers hitherto, has been to impose a Procrustean standard on churches and cities of widely different dimensions. We regard the Four we have named as the minimum requisite in *every* see, in order to realize the true idea of a Cathedral church; but we would leave other points to be determined by local requisites, and personal qualifications. It might be left open, then, so far as legislation is concerned, to the precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, as it is at present to the dean, to hold a benefice *in the Cathedral city;*

and the whole Chapter, together with the visitor, might determine in each particular instance, whether such an arrangement be desirable; in other words, the dignitary should be required to obtain the consent of the bishop and the Chapter before institution to a benefice.

Having thus settled the residentiary body, all the other canons might be placed in the position belonging of ancient right to the non-resident members of the Old Foundations; that is, all should be members of the Chapter, with the right of officiating in the services of the Cathedral as often as they find opportunity, and *bound* also, as at present, to take their turns in the preaching. We should further propose, that while the residentiaries might hold intermediate Chapters (with due notice) for the transaction of pressing affairs, all the ordinary business, *including the exercise of patronage*, the management of the property, and the regulations for Divine service, should be transacted only at *Quarterly* Chapters, which the non-resident canons should be bound to attend, unless prevented by illness, or other cause to be approved by the dean. By this means the Cathedral would enjoy the counsel of all its members, and be enabled to assemble them on every occasion of more than ordinary solemnity. Some of these canons might be accidentally, though not necessarily, resident in the Cathedral city, as parochial clergymen or otherwise. The archdeacons of the diocese should always be among their number; so might diocesan inspectors and rural deans, at the discretion of the bishop, and according to the materials at his disposal. The number of such stalls, therefore, should be considerable, though not of necessity uniform in every church. In the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation, the existing number might remain. In those of the New, the 'honorary canons,' who have now no proper Cathedral function, should be taken into the Chapter on the same footing with the non-resident members in the others. The chief difficulty, with regard to such members of Chapters, is the *financial one*. We agree with the Bishop of Hereford in the importance of restoring—

'The Prebendaries (or Honorary Canons as they now are, even where the name of Prebendary is still preserved, as at Hereford,[1]) to some portion at least of that interest which they formerly possessed in the Cathedral funds, and of which recent legislation has deprived them.'—*Appendix*, p. 579.

[1] As some confusion seems to exist with regard to these names, it may be well to remind the reader, that 'honorary canons,' properly speaking, exist only in the Cathedrals of the *New* Foundation; where they were established by the 3 and 4 Vic. c. 113. In the old Cathedrals the non-resident stalls are retained without emoluments, and so far are 'honorary,' but the Act reserves to them all the other rights and privileges of their predecessors. Such members were no doubt originally all

It is certainly unjust to require clergymen to travel to the Cathedral in order to preach, and *à fortiori* to attend the Chapter, without at least reimbursing their expenses. Bishop Hampden proposes a payment out of the common fund, as in the case of the University preachers at Oxford. A better mode might be a small endowment to each stall, subject to a fine for every occasion of non-attendance. There is no reason why after securing to each stall some moderate endowment, just enough to recognise the position and defray its necessary expenditure, *stipends* should not be paid out of the common fund to particular canons, varying with the offices they might hold (if any) in connexion with the Chapter, such as theological professors, school inspectors, or in some cases, rural deans. This is matter of detail, and must be regulated by the amount of money disposable for the purpose. The archdeacons have already an official endowment, unconnected with residence at the Cathedral; and if the decanal jurisdiction were restored over the city, the argument for their being called into residence would be done away.

Let us now recapitulate the constitution, which a perusal of the mass of information and suggestions contained in the Report and Appendix, together with some personal acquaintance with the details both of Cathedral and parochial work, have led us to suggest as best adapted to present exigencies and the amount of funds still available.

i. The Dean, presiding over the whole Cathedral Establishment and Chapter, with archidiaconal jurisdiction in the city.

ii. The Precentor, charged with the details of the choir, the whole celebration of Cathedral worship, and the religious, moral, and musical training of the chorister boys.

iii. The Chancellor, charged with the departments of theology, literature, and education; including special lectures in the Cathedral pulpit, the care of the library, and the superintendence of the grammar-school. This dignitary might, in some places, be the principal of a theological college.

iv. The Treasurer, specially superintending the architectural and artistic repairs and restoration of the fabric.

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canons; but as that word denotes a *Member of Chapter*, it came in time to be applied to the residentiaries only, while the others were distinguished by the appellation of Prebendaries, *i. e.* persons enjoying a *præbenda* in the Church. In the official documents both terms are employed, and strictly speaking, the dignitary is a canon of the Cathedral and prebendary of the particular stall; but when the seat in chapter had been lost, Prebendary became the most usual designation. At York, where the place in Chapter was retained, they were called indifferently by either appellation, but now, since the *præbenda* has been lost, the title of *Canon*, we observe, is usually and most properly borne.

The above to be permanently resident, (*i. e.* for nine months yearly,) and to be disqualified from holding any other preferment save within the Cathedral city, and then only by consent of the bishop and chapter.

v. The Archdeacons of the diocese.

vi. The Canons, according to the present number of stalls (non-resident or honorary), in each Cathedral.

The archdeacons and canons not to be obliged to residence, but to preach in their turns, and to attend the Quarterly Chapters, for the despatch of business, and the exercise of patronage. Endowments to be provided sufficient to cover the necessary expenses thus entailed, and so secure a full attendance. In the larger churches, where three of the canons are to be called into permanent residence, provision must also be made accordingly.

We have now to estimate the means available for the support of such Chapters. By the provisions of the recent Acts of Parliament, all the *separate* estates belonging to the several dignities and stalls in the Cathedrals of the Old Foundation are alienated to the Ecclesiastical Commission, subject to a fixed provision of 1000*l.* per annum for the dean, and 2,000*l.* at S. Paul's. There remains, therefore, only the *common* estate of the Cathedrals to supply the Chapters. Moreover, the surplus of all common estates is already sentenced to a similar doom, after furnishing stipends on the following scale.

Dean of Durham	£3,000	
Dean of Westminster	2,000	
Dean of Manchester	1,500	
Other deans of New Foundation	1,000	
Or in some cases between	1,000	and £2,000
Canons of Durham, S. Paul's, and Westminster	1,000	
Canons of Manchester	600	
Other Canons (residentiary)	500	
Or in some cases from	500	to £1,000
Deans in Wales	700	
Canons in Wales	350	

As the deans were required by these enactments to reside permanently at their Cathedrals, it may be presumed that the above provision was deemed sufficient for their honourable maintenance. We certainly desire, however, to see the deaneries of the Metropolitical churches of Canterbury and York restored, at least, to a par with their youngest sister, Manchester. The magnitude of the city of York, and the permanent absence of the archbishop from Canterbury, are additional and all-sufficient reasons for this augmentation; or, to speak more properly, for retaining so much of their own endowments to their proper use. The canons were not intended to be resident all the year, and

the sum of 500*l.* would, in most Cathedral cities, be quite insufficient to support their position: but if, instead of the present wasteful, as well as otherwise faulty system, we exchange the four quarter-residentiaries for three *whole* dignitaries, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, there would be 2,000*l.* per annum, at the least, for their endowment.

But the common estates are known to yield a much larger revenue;[1] and there can be no difficulty in providing from this quarter endowments of from 600*l.* to 900*l.* per annum for the dignities we have named, as well as proportionate incomes for the residentiary canons proposed in the larger churches, and the smaller payments to non-resident members. Only let the principle of Cathedral efficiency be honestly recognised, and all the requirements we suggest can be met without recalling any of the funds already appropriated to parochial purposes by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

On this part of the subject the Report before us refers to two rather extraordinary transactions.

'The Chapters of York and Carlisle have recently transferred the *whole* of their corporate property to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, receiving in exchange an annual payment, equal to the amount of their average incomes and ordinary expenditure, until such time as the Commissioners shall convey to the Chapters landed property sufficient to produce an equivalent revenue. We have not been able as yet to obtain sufficient information on the reasons which led to these entire transfers of the capitular property. We are anxious that this subject should be fully investigated, because by these transactions the Chapters, while they secure a more steady average revenue, appear to divest themselves of some very important capitular functions, recognised by the statutes, and having a direct bearing upon their position and influence in the diocese.'—*Report*, p. xlix.

We cannot say we like the manner of this rebuke. It seems to 'hint a fault and hesitate dislike,' instead of boldly announcing the principle, and affixing the proper measure of reproof. Why did not the Commissioners themselves proceed in the investigation they so vaguely suggest to others? What should hinder their obtaining any information they might need? How came those members of their body, who are also Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to be implicated in such suspicious bargains? And, above all, how can the Archbishop of York, whose signature is attached to this censure, reconcile it with his duty as *visitor*, to *allow* his Chapter thus to divest themselves of 'important capitular functions, recognised by the statutes?' There is use, and there may be much injustice, in trying to fasten upon individuals a fault which they share in common with their superiors and the Legislature itself. The Chapters of York and Carlisle have simply carried out the views pro-

[1] In York, for example, 4,410*l.* per annum.—See *Appendix*, p. 28.

pounded by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, acquiesced in by the episcopal bench, and sanctioned by Parliament. They have accepted, as a *fait accompli*, the disgraceful mutilation of Cathedral institutions effected by superior authority, and tried to patch up the remnants for their own advantage. Finding both the property and the trusts, 'recognised by their statutes,' forcibly interfered with, and the remnants spared only as 'prizes' for the benefits of the individual residentiaries, they have turned them to the best account, by making over their encumbered estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in return for an arrangement more beneficial to themselves and their successors. Several of the bishops have done the same, and in each case the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, including the whole episcopal bench, have been the other party to the bargain. In all such transfers of property, both bishops and Chapters shift from their own shoulders and those of their successors many most 'important functions,' originally annexed to their endowments. But when these functions have been long neglected by common consent, and Church reformers, instead of seeking to revive them, set up the Ecclesiastical Commission to complete their legal extinction, why are these two Chapters to be blamed for not being wiser or more virtuous than the rest of their generation?

In a higher point of view these transactions are in every case ruinous and indefensible. If the Cathedral Commissioners would assume the office of exposing and reforming them with an impartial hand, we should be the last to deprecate their censures, however weighty.

On turning to the account given by the Chapter of York in the Appendix, we find it stated that the sum for which their common estate has been thus 'commuted' is 4,410*l.* per annum, and that the property made over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in return is '*probably three-fold*' *the value*. So that here we have a corporate body, in order to 'secure a more steady average revenue,' *sacrificing two-thirds of the trust estate,* to the pecuniary advantage of the trustees! But this is not all. The Chapter proceeds, with a candour perfectly suicidal, to represent,—

> 'That the alienation of so great a mass of property, lying chiefly in the county of York, and connected with a great number of poor livings now left without claims on the bounty of the members of the capitular body, appears to form a just ground of expectation that *special* consideration should be paid by those who now hold the property to *the wants of the cures immediately connected therewith.*'—*Appendix*, p. 28.

Now this is too bad. In answer to the question, 'What is the 'amount of aid afforded by the Chapter from its corporate reve-

'nues for spiritual objects in the diocese, or in parishes connected 'with the capitular body, or for religious purposes generally?' the Chapter of York reply, 'Members of Chapter have individually contributed as they thought proper to these purposes.' That is to say, they have done as all other clergymen and Christians do—bestowed their individual and personal bounty 'as they thought proper;' but *nothing* has been given out of the corporate revenue;—*nothing* to meet the claim of right, which they wish to establish against the Commissioners who now hold the property. The Dean and Chapter of Durham answer the same question by exhibiting a schedule of augmentations, occupying two folio pages, and amounting in fee to nearly 150,000*l.* At York it is thought enough for individuals to contribute 'as they think proper,' and as a matter of personal '*bounty*.' We have not yet, however, reached the worst. The Dean and Chapter proceed to argue that these lands and livings involve a solemn trust. 'A bar,' they say, 'ought to be put to the '*diversion of any funds anciently and legally appropriated* to 'maintaining' the fabrics and services of the several parishes. Yet they have themselves voluntarily, and for their own pecuniary advantage, 'diverted' this whole property to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners! They insist, again, on the right of their fabric to retain its sixth share in the future improvement of this estate, as it would, unquestionably, have done had it remained with themselves. These are their words:—

'The Dean and Chapter of York *endeavoured* to insist that the trust funds here referred to should be as scrupulously respected by those into whose hands it has passed, as it would have been by the Court of Chancery; but the commutation, as above described, of their common estates, WHICH INCLUDE THE TRUST FUND, *has taken place without a guarantee on this point!*'—*Appendix*, p. 28.

Taken place, indeed! By what means? By the voluntary act of the Chapter, who, finding that the Commissioners would not, or could not, give the guarantee they asked for, handed over their estate (*trust fund included*) without it, being solely intent on the advantage or convenience to *themselves* of 'a more steady average income.' And then they come with an appeal to the Cathedral Commissioners, 'to show the importance of rigorously 'retaining such funds in a just application to their original 'purposes!!'

We are as anxious as the Cathedral Commissioners can be to have all such matters thoroughly investigated; but they indicate no channel for conducting the inquiry which they have declined for themselves, and we can only hope that Parliament will interpose to cancel these transactions, or if it be too late for that, to prevent any more such 'commutations.'

We have now endeavoured to trace the leading features, and to show the feasibility of a genuine measure of Cathedral reform. We have laid down distinctly, we hope, but of course only in general terms, some outlines of what a Cathedral establishment may yet be made. To fill in the sketch with the several important functions it might discharge, both in the city and the diocese, is more than can be attempted in a single review.

But our task would be too imperfectly executed, if we did not offer some remarks on the mode of selecting the individuals to be entrusted with capitular duties. This has hitherto been treated as a matter of mere *patronage;* exercised in most Cathedrals by the bishop of the diocese, in some few by the Crown or the Lord Chancellor, and in others by the majority of the Chapter. At York the appointment of the *canons* was with the Archbishop; while the Dean, as we have seen, had obtained the privilege of nominating out of their number the four who were to be joined with himself as *residentiaries.* The recent legislation abrogates all these privileges on the part of deans and chapters, and vests the patronage in all cases, saving the rights of the Crown, in the bishop of the diocese. It is now suggested that the Crown and the Lord Chancellor, instead of appointing to all the stalls in particular Cathedrals, should present to one or two in several churches, and let the diocesan fill the remainder. This suggestion obviously and naturally proceeds from the bishops whose Cathedrals are at present *wholly* in State patronage, and it would doubtless be well to adopt it; but there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that any real improvement will ensue from a mere change of patrons, unaccompanied by new guarantees for the right exercise of the trust. Regarded simply as patrons, we know no reason for preferring bishops to deans and chapters, or ecclesiastics to laymen. Either class are perfectly competent to make fit appointments if they choose; and we fear that all have pretty equally exhibited their liability to be influenced otherwise through nepotism, private favour, or political interest. In theory, perhaps, the system still obtaining at York is as good as any, and certainly is not likely to be improved by centring the patronage absolutely in the archbishop. Again, the clergy certainly have little reason for wishing to abolish the patronage of the Crown; since Premiers and Chancellors are not all to be measured by the standards of Lord John Russell and Lord Cranworth; and by vesting some appointments in Ministers of State, a door is opened to many good men, who have not the fortune to occupy the first place in the episcopal favour. The main thing is to induce patrons, whoever they may be, to select

the right men, or at all events to restrain them from selecting those who are notoriously the wrong men, for Cathedral preferment.

The course of late pursued with this object in view has been to reduce the emoluments below the acceptance of the *very* influential class, and we are far from denying that some advantage may have attended this ingenious device. In the affairs of the world it is considered the best policy, when work is required to be well done, to pay for it accordingly. In the Church it has been found, that duty is more carefully attended to in proportion as its just remuneration is withdrawn.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the residentiary body is not *all* that is required for the service of the Cathedral. We can hardly expect, that even with three canons in addition to the dignitaries, the aid of *vicars choral* can be dispensed with; while in the Cathedrals of the second class, where none but the dignitaries would be left in residence, this lower order must supply assistance of a more general kind. It would be necessary, therefore, to retain perhaps *three* minor canons in every Cathedral, who must have residences and suitable incomes provided from their own, or the superior, foundation, so as to be under no necessity of eking out a subsistence by parochial or scholastic labours. Their time must be devoted exclusively to the Cathedral; and genuine skill, both in the science and practice of chanting, with superior voices, should be strictly insisted upon. For these requirements, a less remuneration than 250*l.* per annum cannot well be offered.

The *lay* members of the Foundation also are to be considered. These are almost everywhere reduced below the number essential to the efficiency of a choral service, besides being often wretchedly paid, and, as the necessary consequence, miserably qualified for their important function. At Durham, the lay-vicars are ten in number, and share 1,147*l.* amongst them. At York, they have fourteen songmen, but only *six* bound to *daily* attendance, and these *six* have but 45*l.* a-year each. Both of these Cathedrals have ten choristers, six of whom at York get but 8*l.* a-year, and the others 12*l.* and 14*l.*; while at Durham all under twelve years of age receive 17*l.* a-year, and the older boys 27*l.* A first-class Cathedral ought to have *twelve* men and sixteen or twenty boys, at the Durham rate of allowance; and about 200*l.* per annum should be set aside as a *superannuation* fund. Cathedrals of the second class might be content with half this establishment; and both classes might be able, when their establishments were settled on a respectable and remunerative scale, to increase their force by the employment of unpaid *probationers*. The idea of relying on

voluntary assistance further than this, is considered by almost all the precentors and organists perfectly visionary.

The daily service, the schools, the fabric, and other objects more immediately connected with the Cathedral locality, being thus attended to, it remains to consider the capitular body in its *corporate* character, and more particularly in its relations to the bishop and the diocese.

Supposing then a Chapter thus constituted of a residentiary body, duly qualified for Cathedral duties, and exclusively devoted to their performance, with a number of non-residentiary canons variously occupied in the diocese, and all assembled together at quarterly meetings, we might hope to restore with some effect its ancient character as the council of the Bishop in the administration of the diocese. *Legislative* acts demand the authority of a diocesan or provincial synod; but it is the *executive,* more than the legislative, function that needs to be organized and strengthened among ourselves. To this end the capitular council might prove an organ of inestimable advantage. The non-resident canons would often comprehend the majority of the rural deans, or the latter might be associated with the Chapter at its conciliary meetings. Though the Cathedral would require its Quarterly Chapters, it might suffice to hold the council *half-yearly.* On these occasions the bishop should always preside in person; and the rural deans should invariably assemble their local Chapters a month before, so as to enable any question that may arise among the clergy to be referred for the consideration of the capitular council. Such an organization, reaching direct from the centre to every part of the diocese, would at once infuse a new life into all its members. By thus simply putting 'into gear' the existing machinery of the Church, we should again unite the bishop, the Cathedral chapter, and the parochial clergy in one harmonious whole; and we must defy the experience of all mankind, in all affairs, to suppose that such a concentration of purpose would not be attended with the most beneficial and practical results.

Certain it is that relations such as these formed a prominent feature in the original constitution of our Cathedral institutions, and were foremost among the objects contemplated in their retention at the Reformation. The Report we are reviewing furnishes some valuable extracts to this effect from the writings both of ancient and modern canonists—of foreign as well as English divines. Thus Binterim, in his *Christ Katholische Kirche,*—

'During the lifetime, and still more on the death of the bishop, the Cathedral chapter must take a part in the administration of affairs in the diocese. The most important concerns (according to the rules of the canon

law) shall not be undertaken by the bishop without consultation with the Chapter. The whole Chapter has, consequently, relations with the diocese. From this Chapter certain members must be chosen to examine the clerks applying for ordination, and the priests as to their care for the souls under their charge. Others must have different offices, which may have an influence either on the clergy or laity of the diocese. Every member shall, by virtue of his office, be to the diocese as a shining light and a strengthening salt.'—*Report*, p. lv.

Our own bishop Scambler (of Peterborough and Norwich), who himself had been prebendary both of York and Westminster, writes to Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1582:—

'That kind of foundation implieth alway a society of learned men, staied and grounded in all parts of religion, apt to preach the Gospel and convince errors and heresies, which in the singleness of opinion, where particular men over particular churches as pastors are set within the diocese where it is chief, may happen to arise: and *further, to assist the bishop, the head of the diocese, in all godly and wholesome consultations*, inasmuch that the Cathedral church ought to be, as it were, the oracle of the whole diocese, and a light unto all places lying near it.'—*Ibid.*

Bishop Stillingfleet, again, (in his 'Ecclesiastical Cases,' vol. ii. p. 564—8) asserts the same, both from the history of our Church and 'that which is far more material, our common *law*; it is 'said that the dean and chapter were appointed as a council to 'the bishop, with whom he is to consult in cases of difficulty.' And Lord Bacon reckons, 'the sole exercise of authority, one of 'the two circumstances in the administration of bishops wherein 'he could never be satisfied.' 'The greatest kings and mo-'narchs,' (he says) 'have their councils. There is no temporal 'court in England where the authority rests in one person. 'Surely, one may suppose, that from the beginning it was not 'thus, and that the deans and chapters were councils about 'the sees and chairs of bishops at the first, and were to them 'a presbytery or consistory, and intermeddled, not only in the 'disposing of their revenues and endowments, but much more 'in ecclesiastical jurisdiction.'—P. lvii.

When statements of this kind are submitted to Her Most Gracious Majesty under the hands and seals of the two archbishops, the dean of the arches, and a vice-chancellor,[1] we may hope that we have outlived that unreasoning jealousy of synodical action, which, natural as it was in the Hanoverian prelates, who knew themselves to be odious to the bulk of the clergy and the Church, is now the most cruel injustice a bishop can perpetrate against himself and his diocese. No prelacy in the world (save, *perhaps*, the pope's) has become so autocratical as the English episcopate; consequently, no office in Church or

[1] The signatures to the Report are:—J. B. Cantuar., T. Ebor., Blandford, Harrowby, C. J. London, S. Oxon., H. Montagu Villiers, J. Dodson, J. Patteson, William Page Wood, Chr. Wordsworth, W. F. Hook, and William Selwyn.

State is more exposed to the perils of *isolation*, which—at all times the Nemesis of arbitrary power—is to a *Church* the angel of death. It is through having been involved in the cold shadow of this terrible cloud, that our Cathedrals have suffered, and still suffer, both from without and within. To be safe themselves, they must vindicate their rightful share in the general sympathies;—they must insist on discharging their proper function in the circulation of the living tide that animates the Church's heart. And if in the honourable struggle for a redintegration of their relations with the Church and the diocese, they draw back the bishops with them, rendering them, in spite of their fears, the centres of a mighty but well-ordered action, they will return good for evil, and prove the deep practical wisdom of those who planted the English episcopate on a Cathedral platform.

We have now only to express our hope, that the Cathedral Commissioners will not be diverted from the great and practical objects of capitular endowments by any pedantic or *amateur* propositions. To accomplish a great practical reform, they must consider present feelings, wants, and habits, in conjunction with ancient immoveable principles. Any attempt to reduce Cathedral dignitaries to 'primitive poverty,'—to saddle them with conflicting duties,—or to require a mode of life which is foreign to the national habits of English society, would only serve to increase their *isolation*, and so precipitate their suppression. We believe that a sound thorough reform is now feasible, if the recommendations we are awaiting shall be found simple, bold, and consistent. But if the Commissioners should unhappily resort to petty half-measures, or lose themselves in speculative eccentric innovations, their labours will be thrown away, and reformers of another spirit will quickly assume the lead. We comfort ourselves with the hope, that the former of these courses will be adopted, and, for which object, the Commissioners desire the prayers of Her Majesty and the whole Church, that they may be enabled to suggest a noble scheme, which 'may 'tend to make our Cathedral churches once more, *as they were* '*originally*, integral and effective parts of our ecclesiastical orga-'nization, fitted to promote to the utmost the public worship of 'ALMIGHTY GOD, and to maintain and extend that holy faith of 'CHRIST our Saviour, which by their means was first propagated 'and established in this country.'

Since the foregoing pages were in type, we have perused the publication by the Bishop of Salisbury, the title of which is prefixed to this article. Perhaps there is no individual now living better qualified than his Lordship to suggest a sound

practical measure of Cathedral Reform, and it is much to be regretted he was not included in the Capitular Commission. We are strongly confirmed in the views arrived at from our acquaintance with Cathedrals, in many respects differently circumstanced from that of Salisbury, to find so great an authority substantially agreed with ourselves. The Bishop states the two great principles on which the work of a Cathedral system depends, to be

'*The constant residence of the dean and canons*, and *the discharge of their proper functions by the members of the large Chapter*.'—P. 5.

Like us he would restore that distribution of definite duties among the residentiary body which the founders had in view in the establishment of the *quatuor personæ*, while he suggests a variety of modern duties which might (in his own city) be similarly assigned in addition:—such as the head-mastership of the Grammar-school to the chancellor; the secretaryship of the Board of Education and the chaplaincy to the Training-school, to the treasurer; the parochial charge of a district to be annexed to the Cathedral, to the precentor; and a vicarage in the city, to a residentiary canon. These are matters of detail to be settled by the Deans and Chapters themselves with the approval of the bishop. All that legislation can accomplish is the right constitution of the corporate body, with the powers and restrictions requisite to its efficiency.

The Bishop of Salisbury thinks that in his Cathedral the establishment might consist of *one* residentiary canon in addition to the four dignitaries, and *four* vicars-choral always resident; one of whom should act as curate of the Cathedral district under the precentor, another as lecturer at the Grammar and Training-schools, a third, as chaplain to the city workhouse, and secretary of the elementary and Infant-schools, and the fourth as librarian. The vicars, he thinks, should not form, as at present, a distinct corporation, but surrender their property and receive fixed incomes regularly paid by the Dean and Chapter. Of lay-vicars he recommends twelve in place of six, and sixteen choristers instead of eight; the former with respectable stipends, the latter, as at present, *boarded*, *educated*, and *apprenticed* by the Chapter.

These suggestions, with a number of other details, having been embodied in a regular plan, were *unanimously* approved by the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and submitted, with the full concurrence of the late Bishop Denison, to the Cathedral Commissioners. If any doubt could exist of the great advantages to be derived to the Church at large from the adoption of

such a reform, it must be dispelled by a simple perusal of the Bishop's List of 'principles attempted to be realized.'

'1. The furtherance of education in all its branches.
'2. The worthy celebration of Divine Worship.
'3. The constant residence of the Dean and Canons at their Cathedral.
'4. Justice to those vicarages of which the Dean and Chapter are Rectors.
'5. Liberal contributions to charities in those parishes where the Dean and Chapter have any property.
'6. The proper endowment of parochial cures in Cathedral cities.
'7. The payment of proper stipends to all persons connected with the Cathedrals, and so the abolition of the system of fees.
'8. The restoration of the dignitaries and prebendaries to their legitimate functions.
'9. The connexion of districts with Cathedrals.
'10. The greater frequency of more varied and popular services.
'11. The revival of discipline in the Cathedral body, by removing the trammels which fetter both the relation of the visitor to the Dean and Chapter, and all the other relations of authority statutably and necessarily existing in such a society.'—P. 4.

In this list—indeed in the whole scheme suggested in the pamphlet—there is one important omission. No reference whatever is made to the functions of the Chapter *as council to the Bishop*. His Lordship states with great force the importance of preserving the non-residentiary canons to supply the requisite connexion between the residentiary body and the diocese at large. He proposes to summon this large Chapter annually at Pentecost (according to a former custom at Salisbury) to audit the Cathedral accounts, and hear appeals on all matters connected with the Chapter, its officers and schools; but he is unaccountably silent with respect to any duties of a conciliatory character. On this point, therefore, we must decidedly prefer the more extended action suggested in our previous remarks.

It is satisfactory to find that no question is made in this pamphlet, that all the important objects in view may be achieved by an improved management of the property still remaining in the Cathedral corporations. The suggestions of Bishop Denison, concurred in by his successor, is that these estates should be transferred *for a time* to a central Commission constituted for this express purpose. By such an arrangement all the advantage would be derived which the Chapters of York and Carlisle proposed to secure in their recent commutation with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, while the improved value of the property, when disencumbered of its leases, would be reserved to accomplish the noble reforms we have endeavoured to indicate, instead of being melted down in the voracious crucible of that very unsatisfactory Commission.

ART. IV.—1. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church-authority; or, Reasons for recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy. By* R. I. WILBERFORCE, M.A. London: Longmans. 1854. Pp. 284.

2. *Papal Supremacy tested by Antiquity. By the late* Rev. JAMES MEYRICK, M.A. London: Longmans. 1855. Pp. 84.

THESE two books were being written, it appears, by their respective authors about the same time. They go over the same ground, so far as the main subject in hand is concerned, and arrive at very different conclusions. We have placed them together at the head of our article, because we shall have to contrast the statements made by the two writers on several points. But our present work is with Mr. Wilberforce.

There is nothing new in the 'Inquiry' before us except its name. We doubt if there is a single fact or a single thought contained in its pages which has not previously appeared in one or the other of Mr. Allies' two works on the same subject. Indeed the whole book may be said to be an expansion of the Preface to Mr. Allies' 'See of St. Peter.' At the same time, though Mr. Wilberforce has brought forward no new facts, and has discovered no new principle to give an altered complexion to facts previously known, his present book is by no means deficient in merits of its own. It is excellently arranged. A theory is put forward, and facts are marshalled in such a way as to fit in with the theory as well as is possible. Whether this has been done fairly or unfairly, whether counterbalancing facts have been duly noticed or omitted, whether the facts which are selected have been stated with all their qualifying circumstances, or whether they have been so strung together as to lead a reader to draw a conclusion from them different from that which in themselves they would naturally suggest, are points which we propose presently to consider.

Besides the merit of arrangement, Mr. Wilberforce has also the advantage over Mr. Allies in good-temper. Mr. Allies was full of his feelings as 'a free man,' of the 'infamy,' 'degradation,' 'naked infidelity' of Anglicanism; the 'virus of the Reformation' was 'flagrant;' and the English Church was a 'hideous phantom.' Nothing of this sort is found in Mr. Wilberforce. There is one quiet hit at Dr. Wordsworth (p. 17) and another at the Queen (p. 279): otherwise personalities are avoided. Again, Mr. Allies began by showing his teeth in the first page, and by setting his reader as 'a Protestant' at the extremest point of opposition to himself the 'Catholic.' More wisely Mr. Wilberforce begins with what his reader is likely to hold with himself,—'You 'believe in the Church—you believe that the Church hath

'authority in controversies of faith—you believe the Episcopate 'to be the medium of Church authority—you think a Hierarchy 'useful—you don't object to acknowledging a certain kind of 'Primacy—won't you hold the Supremacy?' This is more telling than Mr. Allies' fashion; not that one way or the other way ought in reason to have influence with a man of clear thought; but we know that we are all more disposed to go along with one who takes us for a part of the journey in the direction in which we are desirous of travelling, and we are less likely to mark the slight divergence of his and our path at the outset than when it is prominently brought before us, that the spots to which they lead are thousands of miles apart.

Setting out on this principle, Mr. Wilberforce avoids startling his reader in his first chapters. His weapon here is exaggeration. For example, it is true that the Church is not 'a mere congeries of individuals,' and that it does 'possess a collective character;' but to illustrate this Mr. Wilberforce uses a metaphor which will naturally lead the mind to accept the doctrine of development: 'By a wall is meant a certain arrangement of 'bricks, which, when united, are nothing more than bricks still, 'but a tree is not merely a congeries of ligneous particles, but 'implies the presence of a certain principle of life which com-'bines them into a collective whole' (p. 2). Mr. Wilberforce's first proposition should not be established on a metaphor which does not only suggest the idea which is needed, but adds to it another idea to which Mr. Wilberforce finds it necessary to have recourse in his after pages (p. 99, &c.). Again—as specimens of the same method—in the second, third, and fourth chapters we find propositions laid down and elaborately proved, with which we heartily agree, but before Mr. Wilberforce leaves them he pushes them on into being something quite different from what they were when he started with them. For example, because we hold with Mr. Wilberforce that 'the Church hath authority in controversies of faith' (p. 7), and that 'the Church is a witness to truth, and also that in matters of conscience its authorities have a claim to attention' (p. 8), we are not therefore bound to cast aside all those other means of arriving at truth which a greater than Mr. Wilberforce has enumerated, viz. Holy Scripture, the existing Church, Tradition, Catholicity, Learning, Antiquity, the National faith, Common sense, natural Perception of right and wrong, the Affections, the Imagination, Reason, and the like[1]. Yet this is involved in the assertion which we

[1] Prophetical Office of the Church, p. 158. 'Most men try to dispense with one or other of these divine informants; and for this reason,—because it is difficult to combine them. The lights they furnish, coming from various quarters, cast separate shadows, and partially intercept each other; and it is pleasanter to walk without doubt and without shade, than to have to choose what is best and safest. The Romanist would simplify matters by removing Reason, Scripture, and Anti-

arrive at in p. 37, that the principle on which the belief in Church authority depends is 'that the Divine Spirit, which has its dwelling in the collective body,' (he means, as the context shows, '*qua* dwelling in the collective body') 'is our *sole* guide in the things of God.' We can contemplate the union in one person of the two characters of a reasonable and reasoning individual Christian and a deferential Churchman.

Again, we can believe that it is to the early Church that we owe the settlement of the canon of Holy Scripture, and we can feel assured, upon that evidence of probability which is by God's dispensation our only guide except in matters of science and revelation, that the canon there fixed, as distinct from that accepted at Trent or elsewhere, is the true canon, and yet we need not see in this act a proof of the inspiration of the Church, and then upon the inspiration thus proved, build up the theory of infallibility, 'that gift of spiritual discernment which had 'dwelt originally in the person of our Lord, and had been 'bestowed upon the Apostles' (p. 98). The account left us by Eusebius is entirely inconsistent with the theory that the Church settled the canon by a spiritual discernment and distinctly inspired judgment, rather than because it was 'nearer to the age of the Apostles than ourselves' (p. 28). Mr. Wilberforce builds a great deal on this act of the Church, but there are two objections to his view. The first is the historical evidence, which is to be found throughout the pages of Eusebius, that the early Christians used the ordinary rules of criticism and inquiry in making up their minds as to what were and what were not inspired books. And the second difficulty is that, supposing Mr. Wilberforce's foundation true, still he could not build upon it the doctrine of infallible discrimination *in dogma*, but *in matters of fact*, which proves too much, for he rejects the opinion 'that the Holy Ghost has been given to the Church to enable 'her to judge about matters of fact' (p. 33).

Once more, we can believe that it was quite right that eating of blood should be allowed, and that the observance of the Jewish law should be prohibited, in the time of S. Augustine, without being driven to the conclusion, that the Church had power to abrogate Apostolic decrees handed down in Scripture, and that the

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quity, and depending mainly upon Church authority; the Calvinist relies on Reason, Scripture, and Criticism, to the disparagement of the Moral sense, the Church, Tradition, and Antiquity; the Latitudinarian relies on Reason, with Scripture in subordination; the Mystic on the feelings and affections, or what is commonly called the heart; the Politician takes the national faith as sufficient, and cares for little else; the man of the world acts by common sense, which is the oracle of the careless; the Popular Religionist considers the authorized version of Scripture to be all in all. But the true Catholic Christian is he who takes what God has given him, be it greater or less; despises not the lesser because he has received the greater, yet puts it not before the greater, but uses all duly and to God's glory.'—P. 160.

principle on which she possessed this power was, that her authority was equal to that of the Apostles. We can believe that such decrees were intended to be temporary, and that when the necessity for them ceased they thereupon ceased, without equalizing the power of those who determined that the necessity for them was now passed with that of the holy Apostles who instituted them (p. 25).

This method of exaggeration is the peculiar vice of Mr. Wilberforce's mind. He lays down one principle, traces it out to its conclusion, and becomes enslaved to it. He cannot see the force of a counteracting principle: he does not make allowance for the limiting and controlling power of other truths equally certain with that which he is pursuing to its consequences.

This is shown in his doctrine concerning Councils. We believe that the Holy Spirit's guidance is present in the Councils of the Church. We also believe that these Councils are constituted by fallible men. Mr. Wilberforce can see no way of reconciling these two doctrines, except by regarding the Council as a mere mouth-piece of the Holy Ghost, in the same way that the prophets of old were His penmen—having 'that peculiar 'authority which belongs to them through the promises and 'indwelling of the Holy Ghost' (p. 79); 'possessed of a living 'power through the presence of the Holy Ghost, who was 'believed to dwell in them' (p. 76); like the Church itself, 'possessed of a being and action which was irrespective of the 'will of its individual members, and was impressed upon it by 'some higher authority' (p. 2); 'guided in interpretation, not 'by logical argumentation, but by the Spirit of God' (p. 36). This theory, and more than this, is, of course, necessary for a Church which presumes to coin a new doctrine in the nineteenth century of the Christian era. But nothing can be well more opposed to the teaching of Vincentius Lirinensis[1] (an author of whom Mr. Wilberforce carefully avoids mention, though dealing often with the same subject, which he discussed at the beginning of the fifth century), and of S. Augustine[2]: nor does it account for facts. A different view may perhaps be less

[1] 'The sacred Council held almost three years since at Ephesus . . . in which disputation being had of authorizing rules of faith, lest there might, by chance, some profane novelty creep in, as happened at that perfidious meeting of Ariminum, this was thought the most Catholic, faithful, and best course to be taken, by all the Priests there present, which were about 200 in number, that the opinion of these holy Fathers should be brought forth, of whom it was certain that some of them had been martyrs, some confessors, and that all had lived and died Catholic Priests, that by their consent and verdict, the true religion of ancient doctrine might be duly and solemnly confirmed, and the blasphemy of profane novelty condemned: which being so done, that impious Nestorius was worthily and justly judged to have taught contrary to the old Catholic Faith, and blessed Cyril to have agreed with holy and sacred antiquity.'—Common. c. 29.

[2] 'Even as respects plenary Councils themselves, earlier ones are often improved upon by later, when experience lays open that which was hidden, and makes

striking, and less simple, but not therefore the less true. But we hasten over these points, and similar exaggerations of truths spread through the early chapters—not even tempted to linger for the purpose of throwing back the parallel of the Donatists (p. 81), which Bishop Andrewes has long since shown to be applicable not to ourselves, but to the *exclusive* Roman Church.[1] We are anxious, without further delay, to reach ground where we can meet Mr. Wilberforce front to front.

There are four propositions, which, when we have removed all that is extraneous and ornamental, stand out conspicuous as directed against the position of the English Church:—

1. That after the ascension of the Lord, S. Peter was, by Divine appointment, the head and centre of unity to the Apostles and Disciples, as specially representing Christ.

2. That after the death of S. Peter, the Bishops of Rome were, by like appointment, as inheriting S. Peter's privileges, the head and centre of unity to the Christian Church.

3. That the Bishops of Rome filled this position at first as Primates, afterwards as Monarchs; the Primacy and Supremacy being 'the same power under a different name, and in altered circumstances.'

4. That in the sixteenth century the English Church rejected this divinely-constituted head and centre of Christendom, and assumed the King or Queen of England as the head and centre of unity, thereby cutting herself off from the Church Catholic.

These are the fewest propositions to which Mr. Wilberforce's argument can be reduced, and it is clear that every one of them is necessary for its validity. If he fails in his proof of the first, the

known that which was concealed.'—De Baptism. c. Don. 4. Were a Council simply the mouth-piece of the Holy Spirit, no 'experience' of its members could have any effect on its decisions.

[1] 'We plainly acknowledge the Catholic Church, as spread everywhere through all lands, nor will we allow that it is bound down to any spot nor circumscribed by any boundaries. But your Pope dares not thus speak—he dares not even use the word *Catholic* without adding *Roman* to it; but by adding *Roman* he overthrows *Catholic*, as though belief were expressed in what is not confined to any spot, and yet was confined to a certain spot. *Roman-Catholic* is the same as saying *particular-universal* or *part-whole*,—it is shutting up the world in a city. A man who believes this is no Catholic,—he is a Donatist, for as they used to believe in an *African-Catholic* Church, so you, who are in every respect similar to them, believe in a *Roman-Catholic* Church. And, as theirs was not the Catholic Church, because it was African, but only Donatus's party, so yours is not the Catholic Church, because it is Roman, but only the Pope's party.'—Tortura Torti, p. 369.

'"The Roman Church," says the Cardinal, "has got the name of Catholic." What! a part got the name of the whole, an individual got the name of its species! Let him tell that to his own ἰδιῶται! for any one who has the least smattering of learning recognises this claim at once as having a sound of Donatus, who said that Christ had deserted the rest of the world, *et in meridie cubare et pascere*, and was not to be found anywhere else except in Donatus's party. Donatus's assertion, however, is the least objectionable of the two, for he did leave a whole quarter of the globe to Christ, and did not thrust Him into one ruined city. The Cardinal is the worst, in so far as Rome is smaller than Africa.'—Responsio ad Bellarminum, p. 164.

three others fall to the ground; and in like manner the second is necessary for the third and fourth—the third for the fourth; and if he fails in proving the fourth, he has failed in that for which all the rest were but steps. It would be enough, therefore, for us to choose out any one of these propositions, and disprove it. Our purpose, however, is to show, with respect to *each one of them*, these two things—1st, that Mr. Wilberforce has not proved his statement; and 2dly, that the statement is untrue.

I. The first thing, then, that we have to do is, to show that Mr. Wilberforce has not proved that after our Lord's ascension S. Peter was, by Divine appointment, the head and centre of unity to the Apostles and Disciples, as specially representing Christ, but that the statement here adduced is a false statement.

The obvious course of proof on Mr. Wilberforce's part would be to appeal at once to Scripture, and show from the Gospels that S. Peter was to be the centre of unity to his brethren, and from the Acts and the Epistles that the Church did actually revolve round him. But before making this attempt, Mr. Wilberforce goes on for 250 years, and lays the foundations of his theory in a passage of S. Cyprian—then returns and endeavours to show that the theory so discovered can be made good from Scripture. This course does not exhibit much confidence in the testimony of Scripture, but yet, were it fairly done, we should not find fault with it; but we are constrained to say that it is not fairly done.

Having quoted some passages of S. Cyprian, all of which we shall presently give, Mr. Wilberforce comments as follows:—

'Such are the statements of the earliest writer on the unity of the Church. He supposed that the whole body of Christ was intended to be one; that its unity was to be of a practical kind, enabling it to speak with authority on all questions which should arise; that its utterance was to be through the consentient determination of all its Bishops; and, finally, (which is the point immediately before us) that their co-operation was secured by that peculiar commission which St. Peter had received, antecedently to the general commission to all the Apostles. And this Primacy he supposed to be inherited by the Bishop of Rome, as occupying the "seat of St. Peter," "the principal Church," "the root and mother" of all the rest. Here, then, is a principle, by which that arrangement under Metropolitans and Patriarchs, which constituted the original organization of the Church, as it was instituted by the Holy Apostles, might receive its completion. For if the mutual interdependence among these several authorities issued in a relation to a single head, it was possible to obviate those disputes, which must necessarily arise, so long as the various parts were wholly independent.'—P. 105.

There is a strange number of inaccuracies in this passage, and we regret to say not only in this passage. It is stated first, that according to S. Cyprian the cooperation of all the Bishops of the Churches was secured by S. Peter's commission.—

S. Cyprian makes no such statement. It is stated next, that according to S. Cyprian, S. Peter received a peculiar commission antecedently to the general commission to all the Apostles. —S. Cyprian makes no such statement, but denies it. It is stated next, that S. Cyprian supposed that 'this Primacy,' (*i. e.* that by which unity is secured,) is inherited by the Bishops of Rome.—S. Cyprian makes no statement from which such a 'supposition' of his could be gathered. It is stated next, that S. Cyprian calls the Church of Rome 'the root and mother of all the rest.'—S. Cyprian does not use the expression 'the root and mother of all the rest, of the Churches,' at all; and the expression, 'the root and womb of the Catholic Church,' which he does use, he does not apply to the Church of Rome.

It is stated next, that the arrangement under Metropolitans and Patriarchs was the original organization of the Church instituted by the holy Apostles. Mr. Wilberforce has no grounds for stating that Metropolitans or Patriarchs were instituted by the Apostles beyond his private conjecture. The only necessary elements of Church government are Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The hierarchy is an arrangement, and a most useful arrangement for ecclesiastical convenience, but it might be swept away at any moment, not without much inconvenience, yet without any injury to the Church in its essential constitution.

It is stated further, that 'disputes must necessarily arise without a single head,' and a page or two before, Mr. Wilberforce speaks of the 'obvious evil, that the Episcopate had certain inde-'pendent heads who were *as likely* to differ as the worldly leaders 'of different countries.' What! This body of which Mr. Wilberforce has such exalted views that he regards the Holy Ghost as dwelling in it in the same sense as He dwelt in our Lord Himself (p. 52)?—this collective Episcopate which he holds to have been endowed with that *grace and truth* with which the Only-begotten of the Father was full (p. 56)? Were the heads of this body, bound thus together by the internal cohesion of the spirit of love, *as likely* to differ as the heads of different countries? Could not that 'collective body of Bishops, in which the 'authority of the Church resides, as inheriting that gift of 'spiritual discernment which had dwelt originally in the person 'of our Lord, and had been bestowed upon the Apostles— 'bestowed in common and exercised by each as the representa-'tive of all'—could not such a body as this fail to quarrel unless prevented by external coercion? Mr. Wilberforce must either give up his lofty views of the nature of the Church, or he must cease to speak of any such form of constitution as monarchy being *necessary* for the preservation of its harmony. *A priori* assumptions of necessity, frequently as they appear in these pages, are wholly out of place on such a subject.

It is stated lastly, that without 'relation to a single head,' 'the various parts were *wholly independent.*' They were not wholly independent; they were bound together by that spirit of love which Mr. Wilberforce recognises as dwelling in the Church. They were bound together by that 'one episcopate which is extended through the accordant multiplicity of many Bishops'[1] (p. 72), that '*Episcopatus unus, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur*'[2] (*Ibid*); by that system of Metropolitans, Primates, Exarchs, Patriarchs, which Mr. Wilberforce has just declared himself to believe was instituted by the Apostles; and lastly, by their dependence upon the one and only true Head of the Church, the Lord JESUS CHRIST.

We thus find in the compass of fourteen lines one mistranslation, four misstatements, one conjecture asserted as a fact, one *à priori* assumption, one exaggeration, and finally a grave omission of counterbalancing facts and statements. This is not the way for a theologian to gain the confidence of his readers. And we must say here, that before we have done, we shall have other mistranslations, misstatements, conjectures, assumptions, exaggerations, and omissions to point out. We now return to the first of these misstatements, for the purpose of showing that Mr. Wilberforce was not justified in declaring that S. Cyprian teaches, that 'a certain prerogative was bestowed upon S. Peter with a view to *maintaining* the oneness of the body of Christ' (p. 103). This assertion he founds on the passage with which 'S. Cyprian opens his treatise on the Unity of the Church.'

'St. Cyprian opens his treatise on the Unity of the Church by reference to a certain prerogative, which he supposes to have been bestowed upon St. Peter, with a view of maintaining the oneness of the body of Christ. "The Lord saith unto Peter, I say unto thee (saith He) that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven." To him again, after His resurrection, He says, "Feed My sheep." *Upon* [*him being*] *one He builds His Church; and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power,* and says, "As my Father sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesover sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to him, and whosesover sins ye retain, they shall be retained;" *yet in order to manifest unity, He* [*has*] *by His own authority so placed the source of the same authority* [*unity*] *as to begin from one. Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of power and honour; but a commencement is made from unity, that the Church may be set before us as one;* which one Church in the Song of Songs, doth the Holy Spirit design and name in the person of our Lord. My dove, my spotless one, is but one; she is the only one of her mother-elect of her that bare her. He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith?'—P. 103.

Now, in this passage, supposing even that it were rightly

[1] S. Cyprian, Ep. 55, 20. [2] S. Cyp. De Unitate, p. 107. Ed. Fell.

translated, which is not the case,[1] we are unable to see one word about *maintaining* unity. We see two things stated very plainly: 1. That all the other Apostles had equality of power and of honour with S. Peter, so that they were what Peter was; whence it follows that, in the writer's view, S. Peter had no special prerogatives whatever, and no peculiar commission, but all the Apostles were alike that which S. Peter was, all partners with equal shares in respect to power and to honour, *hoc erant ceteri quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.* And we see it stated, 2. That for the purpose of *manifesting* the Church's unity, in order that the Church *might be set before us, or exhibited, as being one Church,*[2] Christ built the Church upon one, and that he established the origin of unity from one. But to do something for the purpose of showing forth the excellence, and give a lesson, of unity, is one thing—to institute an office for maintaining unity is another thing. The first is what S. Cyprian held; the second is what Mr. Wilberforce attributes to him. Our Lord *manifests and sets before* us humility in washing his disciples' feet: he does not institute the office of feet-washing for the purpose of *maintaining and securing* humility.

The truth is that S. Cyprian, with every other doctor of the Catholic Church, before the Decretals of Isidore were forged, and the Church was rent, teaches as plainly as words can teach, that all the Apostles received whatever S. Peter received, and that all Bishops have alike inherited from them. If the Church was built on one, it was built on all; if the keys were given to one, they were given to all. This doctrine being held as an axiom, they further proceeded to inquire, what might have been the reason why it was to *one* especially that our Lord first promised a gift, which promise was to be fulfilled by His bestowing it upon *all* alike. Reverently musing on the subject, they very generally came to the conclusion, that this was done in order to give a lesson that those powers which were delivered to them in common should yet be exercised in unity. This is a subject on which the great African teachers loved to dwell; and S. Augustine, who never passes by the slightest event recorded in Scripture without seeking to find its meaning, brings this point forward again and again. 'When Christ speaks to one, unity is commended;'[3] (that is, Christ speaks to one to show the excellence

[1] Instead of 'Upon him being one he builds His Church' it ought to be 'Upon one He builds His Church.' The idea is changed by the two words gratuitously introduced. And, instead of '*He has* by His own authority *so placed the source of the same authority* as to begin from one,' it ought to be '*He established* by His authority *the origin of the same unity*, beginning from one.' The meaning of 'Doth the Holy Spirit design and name in the person of our Lord' is 'the Holy Spirit speaking in the person of our Lord, designates, and says.'

[2] Ut Ecclesia una monstretur. [3] S. Aug. tom. v. 1196. Ed. Migne.

of unity,) is the thought again and again repeated by him. S. Cyprian's is the same idea, and from S. Cyprian no doubt S. Augustine inherited it. Our own Hammond has a thought very similar, though not identical:—

'The applying the words particularly to S. Peter hath one special energy in it, and concludes that the ecclesiastical powers of economy or stewardship in Christ's house, of which the keys are the token, belongs to single persons, such as S. Peter was, and not only to consistories or assemblies; that whatsoever S. Peter acted by virtue of Christ's power then promised, he should be fully able to act himself, without the conjunction of any other; and that what he then did *clave non errante*, no one or more men on earth could rescind without him, which is a just ground for placing the power ecclesiastical in single persons, and not in communities—in the Prelate of each Church, and not in the Presbyters.'[1]

Thus, in this circumstance, Hammond sees inculcated the authority of the power of the single Bishop; SS. Cyprian and Augustine see the unity of the Episcopate, and of the Church, commended. Both lessons may, we doubt not, be profitably drawn from it, but we cannot find, nor did S. Cyprian teach, that any 'prerogative was bestowed on S. Peter for maintaining the oneness of the body of Christ.'

Having founded his theory upon the passage which has been quoted and considered, Mr. Wilberforce confirms it from S. Cyprian's other writings; and also adduces the passages on which he establishes his two next misstatements, viz. that the Bishops of Rome, according to S. Cyprian, inherited that Primacy by which the cooperation of Bishops was secured, and that the Church of Rome is called by him 'the root and mother of all the rest.'

'This general statement respecting the office of St. Peter, is borne out by the repeated assertions which St. Cyprian makes in his letters, both that St. Peter possessed such a preeminence, and that it had been bestowed upon him for the purpose of preserving the Church's unity. "For to Peter, on whom He built His Church, and from whom He caused the principle of unity to take shape and form, did our Lord first give that power, that what was bound on earth should be bound in heaven." It was Peter, then, "on whom the Church was built by our Lord." He it was "whom our Lord chose as first, and on whom He built His Church," and who "had the Primacy." In another letter he complains that certain malcontents from Africa "dare to sail to the see of Peter, and to the principal Church, whence sacerdotal unity has arisen." But they forget, he adds, that the parties whom they designed to mislead, "were those Romans whose faith was praised by the Apostle, to whom perfidy (*i.e.* faithlessness in doctrine) cannot make its approach." For the Bishop of Rome, according to him, was St. Peter's successor; Cornelius, he says, was chosen to be Pope at a time when "the place of Fabianus, that is, the place of Peter, and the rank of the sacerdotal chair was vacant." He speaks of the Church of Rome as "the root and mother of the Catholic Church," and says that to communicate with its Bishop was "the same thing as to communicate with the Catholic Church." For, "there is one Church, which was founded by Christ

[1] On Schism, p. 243. Oxf. 1849.

our Lord upon Peter, on the principle, and by the law of unity." And during the vacancy of the see of Rome, he appears to recognise the claim to superintendence which was set up by its presbyter, because they say, "it is incumbent upon us, who appear to be put in authority, to guard the flock in place of its pastor." Neither does his correspondent, Firmilian, though exhibiting the utmost hostility against St. Stephen, the existing Bishop of Rome, denying what he states to be St. Stephen's assertion, that "he holds the succession of Peter, on whom was laid the foundations of the Church;" and again, that "he has, by succession, the chair of Peter." '—P. 104.

We have already seen that it is necessary to watch Mr. Wilberforce's extracts with jealousy. This will appear more evident when we have examined the present passage. The first extract is taken from the 73d Epistle of S. Cyprian. We give the passage at greater length, and with greater accuracy:—

'For to Peter, *in the first place*, on whom he built the Church, and from whom he appointed and shewed forth the origin of unity, the Lord gave that power that whatsoever *he should loose* on earth should be loosed in heaven. *He speaks to the Apostles, and* after the resurrection also, saying, As my Father, &c. *Whence we learn* '—what? that S. Peter was the centre of unity? No, but—'that they only who are set over the Church, and are appointed by the law of the Gospel and the ordinance of the Lord, may lawfully baptize and give remission of sins . . . . . that no one can usurp to himself against Bishops and Priests what is not in his own right and power.'[1]

Then S. Cyprian did see an exclusive prerogative granted by the words of our Lord; but was it the prerogative of S. Peter? No, it was the prerogative which was received in common by the one Episcopate and Priesthood, of which S. Peter was at a particular moment the symbol.

The words of the second extract are repeated in the third,—

'They say that herein they follow ancient custom . . . but we must not frame a prescription from custom, but prevail by reason. For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose *first*, and on whom he built his Church, when Paul *afterwards* disputed with him about circumcision, claim or assume anything insolently or arrogantly to himself; so as to say that he held *the primacy*, and should rather be obeyed of *those late and newly come* . . . giving us a lesson of concord and patience, not to love our own opinions obstinately, but rather to count as our own the useful and wholesome suggestions of our brethren and colleagues, if they are true and legitimate.'[2]

We have not the smallest objection to admitting a Primacy in S. Peter. We believe him to have been *primus inter pares* amongst the Apostles. What we object to is the doctrine that he held a Primacy which made him the centre of unity, as being the special representative of our Lord. This passage, however, has probably nothing to do with Primacy of place at all. It seems to refer only to priority of time. In page 130 the passage is again quoted, with the same application. In like manner, we have not the least objection to acknowledging the Church

[1] S. Cyp. Ep. 73, 7, p 201. [2] S. Cyp. Ep. 71, 3, p. 194.

of Rome to have been 'the principal Church.' The Second and Fourth Œcumenical Councils tell us that it was, and why it was, viz. because Rome was the imperial city; but from the use which Tertullian and the translator of S. Irenæus make of the word *principalis*, we know that it probably means 'early-founded.'[1] That S. Cyprian held the Romans to be infallible, as seems to be darkly hinted, because he used the expression, 'to whom faithlessness in doctrine cannot approach,' cannot unfortunately be the case, unless we believe that he intended to assert that Rom. i. 8, 'I thank my God through Jesus Christ 'for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole 'world,' conveys a grant of infallibility from that time forward to the Romans: for it is to that text which he refers when he speaks of 'their faith being praised by the Apostle.' That the Bishop of Rome was considered by S. Cyprian to have succeeded S. Peter in his episcopate of Rome, which we have next paraded, is an undoubted fact. In like manner he considered the Bishop of Alexandria to have succeeded S. Mark in the episcopate of Alexandria, and we consider Archbishop Sumner to have succeeded S. Augustine in the episcopate of Canterbury. But what does it prove? Mr. Wilberforce says, that S. Cyprian, therefore, supposed that the Primacy—the Vicarial Primacy, as we may term it—which made S. Peter the centre of unity, was inherited by the Bishops of Rome. Now, he never once speaks of the Bishop of Rome succeeding even to *that* Primacy of S. Peter which he *did* perhaps acknowledge, but only to his episcopate of the Roman see.[2]

We next come to the declaration that S. Cyprian 'speaks of the Church of Rome as "the root and mother of the Catholic Church,"' *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem;* which is given as root and mother of all the rest,' in the next page. Here we have three things to consider: 1, the meaning of *matrix;* 2, the meaning of *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ matrix;* 3, whether or no it is true that it is the Church of Rome to which S. Cyprian applies that expression. 1. The meaning of the word *matrix* is 'womb;' in a derivative sense it is applied to the 'parent-stem' of a plant, as distinct from suckers; to the 'breeding-mothers' of animals; and by a further extension of the derivative sense, it may mean 'source,' or

[1] S. Cyp. Ep. 59, 19, p. 136. See Tertullian, De Præsc. Hæret. c. 31. 'Ad *principalitatem* veritati et *posteritatem* mendacitati deputandam.' And S. Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 3. § 2. 'propter potentiorem principalitatem'—seemingly a translation of διὰ τὴν ἱκανωτέραν ἀρχαιότητα.

[2] 'Cornelius was made *Bishop* by the judgment of God and his Christ . . . When there had been no one made before him, and the place of Fabian, that is, the place of Peter, and the rank of the episcopal (*sacerdotalis*) chair was vacant.' Ep. 55, 7, p. 104.

'origin.' Tertullian uses the word. He is speaking of the Churches founded by the Apostles, such as Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, Philippi, &c.; and he calls them the '*matrices et originales fidei.*'[1] Mr. Wilberforce quotes this passage, in p. 94, and translates the word correctly, 'Such Churches which the 'Apostles themselves founded were considered to be the *wombs* 'and originals of the faith.' There, where *matrix* was applied to several Churches, Mr. Wilberforce translates it *womb:* here where he represents it to be applied to the Church of Rome, he translates it *mother*. There must be a reason for this difference. Is it because there is an idea of authority conveyed in the title, *mother*, which is not found in the word *matrix?* Or is it that it was desirable to have S. Cyprian's authority for a title which Rome has assumed to herself, although common sense, history, and the canons of the Church, apply it, when it is applied in any special manner at all, to the Church of Jerusalem? As a second step towards assimilating S. Cyprian's expression to the modern assumption, 'mother of the Catholic Church' is changed into 'mother of all the rest,' *i.e.* of all Churches. 2. What is the meaning of *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* matrix? Does it mean the womb from which the Catholic Church issued, or the womb of the Catholic Church, in which Christians are formed? Assuredly the latter. We will take the other metaphor; '*Ecclesiæ Catholicæ radix,*' does not mean the root on which the Catholic Church grew, but the root of the Catholic Church on which Christians grow. 3. Does S. Cyprian then say, that it is the Church of Rome which is the root and womb of the Catholic Church?—No, he says nothing of the kind. The case is this: There was the Novatian Schism breaking out in Rome, and S. Cyprian found it necessary to take every measure for the preservation of the unity of the Church. For this purpose he sent messengers and wrote letters to Rome, urging the Romans to acknowledge Cornelius as their true Bishop, and cease to follow the Novatian schism. 'With every exhortation we can,' he writes to the Roman Confessors, 'we beg and beseech you to return to the Church your mother, and to our brotherhood' (Ep. 46). He tells Cornelius that he had written to them to urge them 'to return to their mother, that is, the Catholic Church' (Ep. 47). And then he assures Cornelius, that he had desired every one who sailed from Africa to Italy to 'acknowledge and hold fast to *the root and womb of the Catholic Church*' (Ep. 48). Is it not clear that 'the root and womb of the Catholic Church' in Ep. 48 is the same thing as 'their mother, that is, the Catholic Church,' in Ep. 47? S. Cyprian warns his

[1] Tertull. De Præsc. Hæret. c. 21.

countrymen, when they sail to Italy, to avoid the Novatian heretics, and hold fast to the Catholic Church, which is the root on which all orthodox Christians grow, and the womb in which they are formed. And this Mr. Wilberforce transforms into, 'He 'speaks of the Church of Rome as "the root and mother of the 'Catholic Church—the root and mother of all the rest."' The same exhortation might be given by the Bishop of London to men sailing to the Cape of Good Hope.

We then find that 'He says that to communicate with the 'Bishop of the Church of Rome, was the same thing as to 'communicate with the Catholic Church.' We would sooner have made a directly false statement—a statement resting on no foundation whatever—than have written and published that sentence. Liguori himself would not justify it. The Epistle referred to is the 55th, written to Antonianus, who was living in Rome. At the time that S. Cyprian wrote, there were existing in Rome the two parties to which we have made allusion; the orthodox, or Catholic party, headed by Cornelius; the heretical and schismatical party, headed by Novatian. Cornelius had been duly consecrated 'by sixteen fellow Bishops;' and yet Novatian was 'endeavouring by intrigue, to be made 'an adulterous and strange Bishop.' 'And whereas there is 'one Church, from Christ throughout the whole world, divided 'into many members, and one Episcopate diffused throughout 'an harmonious multitude of many bishops, he, notwithstanding 'the unity of the Catholic Church, everywhere compacted and 'joined together, attempts to make a human Church, and sends 'his new Apostles through very many cities, that he may 'establish certain recent foundations of his own institution: 'and whereas there have been already ordained through all the 'provinces, and through every city, Bishops, in age venerable, 'in faith sound, in trials proved, in persecution banished, he 'dares to create other false Bishops over them[1].' Thus, we see that there were two parties in Rome; the Catholic Church presided over by Cornelius, and a schismatical body presided over by Novatian. Under these circumstances, S. Cyprian writes his letter to Antonianus.

'Cyprian to Antonianus, his brother, greeting. I received your first letter, dearest brother, firmly upholding the concord of the sacerdotal [*i.e.* episcopal] college, and cleaving to the Catholic Church; wherein you signified that you did not communicate with Novatian, but followed my advice, and held one consent with Cornelius our brother-bishop. You wrote also that I should transmit a copy of the same letter to our colleague Cornelius, in order that he might now lay aside all anxiety, and be sure *that you held communion with him, that is, with the Catholic Church.* But there has since arrived your second letter, sent by Quintus our brother

[1] S. Cyp. p. 131. Oxf. Tr. p. 112. Ed. Fell.

presbyter, by which I see that your mind has been influenced by a letter of Novatian, and has begun to waver.'—Ep. 55, p. 101.

Now what would be more natural than for Cardinal Wiseman to write to a friend in New York, and say, 'If you communicate 'with Archbishop Hughes, you will hold communion with the 'Catholic Church?' Would that imply that Cardinal Wiseman regarded Archbishop Hughes as the divinely-appointed centre of Christendom? Or again, what more natural than for Bishop Potter to write to a friend in England, and say, 'Avoid the 'novel *pseudepiscopi* and the schismatical congregations, insti-'tuted by Cardinal Wiseman. By communicating with the 'Bishop of London you communicate with the Catholic Church?' Would he thereby mean that communion with the Bishops of London, past, present, and future, was a necessary condition of Catholic communion? It must be a weak case and a bad cause that requires such forced wrenchings of simple words as this.

The next passage, from Ep. 70, 3, *una Ecclesia à Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata*, repeats the view, that a lesson of unity is taught by our Lord's having addressed himself especially to one of the Apostles. There remains only one more passage of S. Cyprian to be considered, selected from Ep. 8. 1. The facts connected with it are as follows:—Fabian Bishop of Rome was dead, and S. Cyprian had retired from his see in time of persecution. During this vacancy the Roman presbyters write to the Carthaginian presbyters reflecting invidiously upon S. Cyprian for having withdrawn himself from danger, and saying, among other things, 'that it is incumbent upon us,' (*i. e.* on the presbyters in Rome and Carthage respectively,) 'who appear to be put in authority, to guard the flock in place of its pastor' (*i. e.* instead of Fabian in one case, and of Cyprian in the other.)[1] They then proceed to give their brother presbyters some advice as to the lapsed. This letter was forwarded to S. Cyprian, in his place of retreat, by the Carthaginian clergy, and was at once sent back by him to the Roman presbyters, with a note, saying that he could not believe that they had written it, on account, apparently, of the

[1] When we get fifty pages further, this same quotation appears in a strengthened form. In p. 155 it is translated 'because it is incumbent on us *who seem to be put* 'in the chief place, (the word is *præpositi*) to guard the flock in the absence of the 'shepherd;' and on the warranty of this sentence it is asserted, that 'they speak of 'themselves as exercising a trust which embraced other countries.' Supposing that the *us* did mean only the Roman Presbyters, and not the Carthaginian Presbyters as well, the argument would still be utterly inconclusive. When the President of a college dies, the Vice-President might speak of himself in a letter to a Fellow of another college as feeling that it was incumbent upon him, since he held a position of authority, to guard the college in place of the Head. Would he thereby speak of himself as exercising a trust which embraced other colleges?

unkindly tone toward himself which pervaded it. But, as the presbyters took the same side with S. Cyprian in the dispute about the lapsed, and those times of persecution and division were not days for ceremony, he afterwards wrote and explained why he had withdrawn from death, recounting the measures which he had taken during his exile, with regard to the lapsed, and concluding as follows:—

'Whereas it seemed right that honour should be shown to the martyrs, and yet the violence of those who desired to throw everything into confusion be checked; and, moreover, having read your letter lately sent to my clergy through Crementius the sub-deacon, to the effect that help should be extended to such as were seized with sickness after having lapsed, and penitently desired communion, I thought it right to abide by that which was also your opinion, lest our conduct, which ought to be united, and agree in all things, should in some respect differ. As to the case of the rest, notwithstanding they have received letters from the martyrs, I ordered them to be entirely deferred, and to be reserved until my return; that so, when the Lord shall have vouchsafed us peace, and several of us who hold rule shall have met together, we may, after communicating our counsels with you too, set in order and restore everything.'—Ep. 20, p. 43.

Here we see an example of Catholic intercommunion, and joint care for the things of Christ, in the two Churches of Italy and Africa, but where is there any 'claim to superintendence' made by the Roman presbyters, or any 'recognition' of such claims by S. Cyprian? If the Roman superintendence is thus proved, how much more must the Carthaginian superintendence be proved by 'the most blessed and most glorious Pope' S. Cyprian himself (so the Roman presbyters call him, Ep. 30), sending to Rome both letters (Ep. 46, 47) and messengers (Ep. 45,) 'to endeavour to bring back the members of the 'divided body to the unity of the Catholic Church, and to knit 'the bond of Christian love.' Had Cornelius done this to Cyprian, instead of Cyprian to Cornelius, it would no doubt be brought forward as an act done in virtue of his Primacy; for it was an act of interference in the diocese and city of Rome itself, and it was performed for the purpose of securing the unity of the Church.

We will now supply two statements of S. Cyprian, to counterbalance those which Mr. Wilberforce has extracted; the first to show, *ex abundanti*, what S. Cyprian understood by the promise to S. Peter, and the second to point out his view of the real bond of unity in the Church.

'Our Lord, whose precepts and warnings we ought to observe, determining the honour of a Bishop, and the ordering of His own Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter, "I say unto thee," &c. *Thence* the ordination of Bishops and the ordering of the Church come down along the course of time and line of succession, so that the Church is

settled upon her Bishops, and every act of the Church is regulated by these same Prelates.'—*Ep.* 33, p. 75, *Oxf. Tr.*; p. 66, *Ed. Fell.*

Then what S. Cyprian understood by S. Matt. xvi. 16—19 was nothing else than this, that the Church was founded upon the one Episcopate.

Again, in the 66th Epistle, he defines the Church as follows:—'They are the Church, who are a people united to the 'Bishop (*sacerdoti,*) and a flock adhering to their own shepherd. 'Whence you ought to know that the Bishop is in the Church, 'and the Church in the Bishop.' Each diocese was a type of the whole; and what was the bond of unity to the whole? 'It is,' he says, 'in truth connected and joined together by the 'cement of bishops (*sacerdotum,*) mutually cleaving to each 'other.'[1] Then the unity of Bishops in godly love is, in S. Cyprian's view, the bond of the Church, not any prerogative of S. Peter, nor any authority vested in the Bishop of Rome. In Dr. Pusey's words, 'S. Cyprian's idea of the Epi-'scopate is manifoldness in unity; many shepherds feeding one 'flock; yet therefore many, that they might act in unity 'against any who would waste it: a large body, but cemented 'by the glue of mutual concord and bond of unity; many rays, 'streams, branches, to diffuse everywhere light, fertility, nou-'rishment, yet the connected issues from One Source.'[2] And again, 'Unity being an effluence from the Unity of God, a 'fruit of the indwelling of His Spirit, His bond, knitting and 'joining together His own, typified in the Sacraments and itself 'a Sacrament, faith in love; its maintenance was not the main-'tenance of anything outward, but the development of an in-'ward grace—as being a grace, it must emanate from within.'[3]

The best commentary on S. Cyprian's statements is S. Cyprian's conduct. Do we, then, find him recognising obedience to the Bishop of Rome, as the instrument for securing unity? On the contrary, the course which he adopts is totally incompatible with such an hypothesis. This appears in two instances—the controversy on Rebaptism, and the dispute about the Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martial. The former was a serious question of discipline involving doctrine: S. Cyprian, Alexandria, and the East, took one side; S. Stephen, and the rest of the West, the other; and the latter cut off from himself by excommunication all that did not agree with him. Now did S. Cyprian acknowledge the authority of S. Peter's successor to heal this breach of unity? On the contrary, in Dean Milman's words, 'He condemns the perverseness, obstinacy, 'contumacy of Stephen. He promulgates in Latin a letter of

[1] Ep. 66, p. 207, Oxf. Tr.; p. 168, Ed. Fell. [2] Pref. Oxf. Tr. p. xviii.
[3] Pref. p. xiii.

'Firmilian, Bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, still more 'unmeasured in its censures. Firmilian denounces the audacity, 'the violence of Stephen, scoffs at his boasted descent from 'S. Peter: declares that by his sin he has excommunicated 'himself: he is the schismatic, the apostate from the unity of 'the Church. A solemn council of eighty-seven Bishops, 'assembled at Carthage, under Cyprian, asserted the inde-'pendent judgment of the African Churches, repudiated the 'assumption of the title Bishop of Bishops, or the arbitrary 'dictation of one Bishop to Christendom.'[1] The words of this African Council (distinctly approved afterwards by S. Augustine) are as follows:—

'It remains for us each to deliver our sentiments on this matter, judging no one, nor removing any one, if he be of a different opinion, from the right of communion. For no one of us sets himself up to be a Bishop of Bishops, or by force of his tyranny compels his colleagues to the necessity of obedience; since every Bishop, according to his recognized liberty and power, possesses a free choice, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another: but let us all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who singly and alone has the power both of setting us up in the government of His Church, and of judging our proceedings.'—*Op. S. Cyp.* p. 329, *Ed. Baluz.*

In like manner, when the Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martial, lapsed in the Decian persecution, and were accordingly deprived of their Bishoprics, Felix and Sabinus being consecrated in their place,—

'Basilides found his way to Rome, and imposed by his arts on the unsuspecting Stephen, who commanded his reinstatement in his high office. Appeal was made to Carthage against Rome. Cyprian would strengthen his own authority by that of a synod. At the head of his thirty-five Bishops, Cyprian approves the acts of the presbyters of Leon and Astorga in rejecting such unworthy Bishops; treats with a kind of respectful compassion the weakness of Stephen of Rome, who had been so easily abused; and exhorts the Spaniards to adhere to their rightful Prelates, Felix and Sabinus.'—*Milman*, p. 54. *S. Cyp. Ep.* lxvii. p. 173.

Could S. Cyprian have so acted, had he regarded the authority of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church as the divinely appointed means of securing the unity of that Church? Could S. Firmilian, twice appealed to by Mr. Wilberforce, have held the same theory, when he speaks of Stephen's 'inhumanitas,' 'audacia,' 'insolentia,' 'res ab eo improbe gestæ,' 'manifesta stultitia,' 'imperitia,' 'contumacis furor discordiæ,' because he took a step by which, had S. Firmilian accepted the theory now thrust upon him, he must have acknowledged that the Bishop of Rome was simply fulfilling the duties of his station, and to which he was bound to pay unhesitating obedience? Could he have said that he was 'betraying and deserting unity?'

[1] Latin Christianity, vol. i. p. 53.

Could he have turned upon him and cried, 'Nay, but thou 'art worse than every heretic! What struggles and dis- 'sension are you spreading through the Churches of all the 'world! How great a sin have you heaped upon yourself 'when you cut yourself off from so many flocks! For you 'have cut *yourself* off. Don't be mistaken. Since he is the 'true schismatic who makes himself an apostate from the com- 'munion of the unity of the Church. For while you are 'thinking that every one can be separated off from you, you 'have separated yourself off from every one. And not even 'the Apostle's precepts (Eph. iv. i.) can fashion you to the 'rule of Truth and Peace!'[1] All this because Stephen did what S. Firmilian knew that he was bound to do by Christ's command, *if he held the theory* which Mr. Wilberforce attributes to him.

We have now gone through all the passages adduced by Mr. Wilberforce in proof of S. Cyprian's holding the views which he fathers upon him, with the exception of two which are reserved for a note attached to his first extract. We will examine the note too.

'Several other sentences occur in the Benedictine edition, but have not been introduced into the text, because their authority is disputed. And it will be seen that statements equivalent to them occur in St. Cyprian's letters, *e. g.* "Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be set forth as one, and the see (cathedra) as one. And they all are shepherds, yet the flock is one, such as to be fed by all the Apostles with unanimous agreement." And again: "He who deserts the see of Peter, on whom the Church is founded, is he assured that he is in the Church?"'—*De Unit.* 3, 4.—P. 103.

Now on this we have two remarks to make. First, that Mr. Wilberforce has so arranged his words as to give the impression—an impression which we believe ninety-nine out of every hundred readers would have,—that these are the extracts which come from the genuine Epistles, and are 'equivalent to' the 'disputed' passages which he has omitted; whereas, in spite of the way in which the *e. g.* is introduced, they are the very 'disputed' passages themselves. And secondly, that 'disputed authenticity' is not the term which ought to have been applied to them. Their history is as follows, and it is the more necessary to notice it, as Dean Milman has been deceived by the authority of the Benedictine text into quoting them as genuine, and founding his estimate of S. Cyprian's regard for the Roman Bishops upon them.[2] We quote part of a note attached to the Treatise on Unity in the Oxford Translation of S. Cyprian's works:—

'The additions contained in the Benedictine reading are not found in the first editions of S. Cyprian, (representing probably very ancient and inde-

[1] S. Firm. Ep. ad S. Cyp. cxvii. [2] Latin Christianity, p. 52.

pendent MSS.,) between A. D. 1471—1563: viz. one at Rome in 1471; one at Venice in the same year; one without date and place; one at Paris, 1512, (according to the Benedictines a very accurate edition, and agreeing with the MSS. when other editions had changed for the worse); that of Erasmus, Basle, 1520; one at Cologne, 1520; of Gravius (a very learned Dominican), at Cologne, 1544 (in which fresh MSS. were consulted); Antwerp, 1541 and 1542; Venice, 1547; and in which list reprints are not included. Nor are the additions found in two extant MSS., each more than a thousand years old. Nor are they found in eight of the Vatican MSS.; and Baluzius numbered up twenty-seven which he had seen in which they were wanting. Bishop Fell mentions nine English MSS., and one of Beneventum, which are without the additions. The passage is quoted without them by Pope Calixtus II. in the twelfth century; by the meeting of Cardinals at Liburnum in the fifteenth; and by the Roman correctors after Manutius had inserted it in his edition. They appear, moreover, to have been unknown to the German MSS. in the age of Venericus (A. D. 1080). For these reasons Baluzius omitted them in his edition of S. Cyprian's works in the beginning of the eighteenth century; but on his dying suddenly, while the work was passing through the press, the Benedictines into whose hands it came, retaining his note in which he gave his reasons against them, cancelled the leaf, and restored them, giving as their reason that the additions had been preserved in all the editions which had appeared in France for the 150 years before their time. . . . Baluzius also, it would seem, spoke more strongly against them than his words now stand; the Benedictines confessing that they were obliged to "alter not a few things in his notes, and that they would have altered more if they could conveniently."'—P. 151.

Mr. Wilberforce must not use a tone of generosity, on the ground that he makes use only in a note of passages whose 'authenticity' is *thus* 'disputed.'

We have now examined all the passages which Mr. Wilberforce has adduced from S. Cyprian. We must recollect that he has claimed this especial Father from all the Fathers of the Church, in order to find in him the theory which he requires, and that he professes to find taught in these extracts two leading truths, 1. That S. Peter received a special prerogative from Christ for maintaining (p. 103), preserving (p. 104), securing (p. 105), providing for (p. 119), giving (p. 164), unity, as being himself 'that centre of unity who bore the keys of office in the midst of 'his brethren' (p. 119). 2. That this office and authority, by means of which unity was to be secured, was inherited by the Roman Bishops. We have seen that no such doctrines were held by S. Cyprian, but that, on the contrary, he declares (1) that both in power and in honour all the other Apostles were equal to S. Peter—that he never speaks of his maintaining, preserving, securing, providing for his brethren's unity, or being the centre of unity to them; but he conceives that Christ intending to teach the lesson that the Church was one, and the Episcopate one, and that it was a good and joyful thing to dwell together in unity, addressed himself for that reason espe-

cially to one.'[1] And we have seen (2) that he is the energetic and vehement defender of national, of provincial and of diocesan independence; that by word and deed, he and S. Firmilian alike reject every particle of control on the part of the Roman Bishops; that he never in any place asserts that the Bishop of Rome succeeded to any office of S. Peter, except that of presiding over the Roman diocese; that he holds the true Head of the Church to be the Lord JESUS CHRIST (De Unit. 3); and the bond of unity, to be the mutual cleaving of the Bishops to each other by the spirit of love (Ep. lxvi. 7). Mr. Wilberforce's theory is one thing, S. Cyprian's is another. To identify them is impossible.

Having laid his foundation under the shadow of S. Cyprian's name, Mr. Wilberforce returns from the middle of the third century to the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, to see if his theory can be made to agree with them. He says that, 'a 'primacy is assigned to St. Peter in the Gospels, and recognised 'in the Acts and the Epistles.' It is unfortunate to have to deal with ambiguous expressions. Primacy may signify primacy in place, or primacy in time: and again, primacy in place may mean primacy of power, or primacy of honour; and still again primacy of power may mean fifty different things, according as the degree of power is greater or less. The head-master of a school holds a primacy, the head boy of the school holds a primacy, the head boy in each class holds a primacy, the best cricketer holds a primacy, the best verse-maker holds a primacy, but all in different senses. We must recollect, then, what sort of primacy it is that Mr. Wilberforce has to prove for S. Peter out of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. It is a Primacy which makes S. Peter 'the especial representative of His Master' (p. 111), 'associated by peculiar copartnership in one of the 'functions of His Master, and become by grace that which 'Christ was by nature' (p. 112), which 'especially identifies him 'with his master' (p. 115), which makes him have 'individually 'the trust which his brethren received collectively' (p. 116), which 'makes provision for their unity of action' (p. 119), which constitutes him 'that centre of unity who bore the keys of office in the midst of his brethren' (p. 119). Any passages, therefore, which can be fully accounted for on the theory that S. Peter was *primus inter pares*, the most prominent and first among his equal brethren, is irrelevant to Mr. Wilberforce's purpose, and must be put aside accordingly. Such a Primacy

[1] So his follower, S. Pacian, 'The Lord spake a little above to Peter (He spake to one, that from one He might lay he foundation of Unity;) afterwards, delivering the very same command in common to all, He still begins in the same terms as to Peter.—Ep. iii. 26, p. 348, Oxf. Tr.

as this will not satisfy the necessities of Mr. Wilberforce's argument, which requires what we have called a Vicarial Primacy.

Six points are adduced from the Gospels: 1. That S. Peter's name stands at the beginning of the list of the Apostles' names. Would this be the case were S. Peter simply *primus inter pares?* Yes. Then it proves nothing, and goes towards proving nothing for Mr. Wilberforce's Vicarial Primacy.

2. 'S. Matthew terms him, the first Apostle' (p. 135), and 'the Primacy is attributed to him by the evangelist' (p. 108). Do our readers recollect where? It is in S. Matt. x. 2. 'Now 'the names of the twelve Apostles are these: the first, Simon, 'who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother,' &c. If, in giving a list of the English Bishops, we should say, 'The first, Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester,' &c., would it be correct to say, that we had 'attributed the Primacy' to Dr. Blomfield? Would the words of the evangelist be naturally accounted for by the supposition that S. Peter was *primus inter pares?* Yes; we should use the same expression with regard to the Bishop of London, but yet we should not mean that he was the centre of unity to his brother Bishops. Then S. Matthew's expression is valueless for Mr. Wilberforce's purpose.

3. 'S. Peter, and S. Peter only, received a new name when 'he was admitted into the number of the Apostles. Our Lord 'bestowed the epithet of Sons of Thunder on the two next of 'his Apostles; but it was an epithet only by which their 'original names were not superseded' (p. 109). First for the fact. The name of Simon was not superseded. The very last time that our Lord addressed him He called him Simon, son of Jonah, and according to the interpretation of Origen, S. Augustin, and others, the name Peter is an epithet, meaning 'a rockman,' and derived from πέτρα just as a 'Christian' is derived from Χριστός. Further, there is not the smallest difference in the account given by S. Mark of the imposition of the name on S. Peter and on SS. James and John; 'And Simon he *surnamed* 'Peter, and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of 'James; and he *surnamed* them Boanerges, which is, the Sons 'of Thunder' (Mark iii. 16, 17). As to 'the name conveying 'an especial authority to represent Himself,' owing to its 'deri-'vation from Himself,' the name *Christian* is equally derived from Him, and would by the same argument convey the same authority. And so Origen tells us distinctly that Peter, or Rockman, does mean no more than Christian, and that all true Christians are Peters, one title being derived from one name of our Lord, and the other from the other. 'All the followers of

'Christ derive their name from the Rock. . . . Being members of 'Christ, by derivation of name they are called Christians, and 'by derivation from Rock (πέτρα) they are called Rockmen '(πέτροι). And on the same principle you will say that those 'who are called righteous derive their names from the righteous-'ness of Christ, and the wise from the wisdom of Christ, and so 'from all the other appellations you will make derivative names 'for the saints; and to all who are such, the words of our 'Saviour will be addressed: "Thou art Peter," &c., down to '"shall not prevail against it."'[1] This name, then, did not convey anything in S. Peter beyond what was conveyed to the converts of Antioch by the name Christian.

4. and 5. S. Matt. xvi. 18 ('Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church') *directly*, and S. Matt. xvi. 19 ('And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven') *indirectly* declare that S. Peter 'should be asso-'ciated by peculiar copartnership in one of the functions of 'his Master, and become by grace that which Christ was by 'nature' (p. 112). These are very tremendous words. If they are true, we can see little reason why S. Peter should not have been associated with S. Mary in the ceremony of December 8th. But what is the connexion between these two texts and these words? Mr. Wilberforce finds the following. The name Peter is derived from our Lord's title *petra*; therefore, the imposition of the name Peter implies that Simon was 'associated with' (p. 112), 'especially identified with' (p. 115), 'made the especial representative of' (p. 112)—had Mr. Wilberforce been a little bolder he would have said—'made the one Vicar of Christ.' Exactly on the same reasoning the name Christian is derived from our Lord's title *Christus*. Does then the imposition of the name Christian imply that every one so called is especially associated and identified with Christ, and made his peculiar representative and vicar? Either it does, or it does not. If it does not, neither does the name Peter imply it; if it does, Peter has on this showing no *special* prerogative beyond that which any Christian has.

The argument founded on the other text is still more extraordinary. 'It is Christ who hath the key of the house of David,' therefore this text indicates the transference from him to Peter of 'his office—his function of bearing the keys' (p. 112). Now it is almost certain that a mystical expression applied to Eliakim the son of Hilkiah by Isaiah, and to our Lord in the Book of Revelation, has nothing whatever to do with this text. But be that as it may, it is quite certain, by the testimony of all writers of the early ages of the Church, which Mr. Wilberforce

[1] Origen, in S. Matt. xvi. 18, vol. iii. p. 526.—Ed. Delarue.

is bound on his own principles to accept before an interpretation devised by himself, that no power of the keys was granted to S. Peter in Matt. xvi. 18, which was not granted to all the Apostles in Matt. xviii.18, and John xx. 22, 23. Accordingly, either all the Apostles have 'become by grace that which Christ was by nature,' or S. Peter has not. For the Patristic expositions of these texts we must refer our readers to 'Papal Supremacy tested by Antiquity,' pp. 37, 48. The words of S. Augustine, S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Chrysostom, Origen, S. Basil the Great, Theodoret, S. Hilary, S. Gregory the Great, and Ælfric, are all there quoted, and show that the general view of these Fathers and Doctors is, that Christ as confessed by Peter was the Rock of the Church, and that S. Peter was the representative, not of his Master, as Mr. Wilberforce would have it, but of the other Apostles, and therein of the Bishops their successors, and of the Church at large. Many more names of early writers might be added to these, and there is not a single passage in antiquity which bears out Mr. Wilberforce's interpretation. The passages which he quotes from Origen, S. Leo, S. Augustine, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, Tertullian, and Hippolytus, are either irrelevant or dead against his view. He acknowledges 'that the word Rock is employed by the ancient 'writers for two persons and two things—Christ and Peter; the 'objective faith taught by the Lord, the subjective faith taught 'by and entertained by his disciples' (p. 112). This admission in itself would be quite sufficient to overthrow his theory. If these texts meant what he asserts, there *must* have been a perfect knowledge of it in the early Church; they could not have been ignorant of the bearing of words of such importance to themselves and the Church at large; there must have been a universal tradition to that effect. But there was no *consensus* at all. Mr. Wilberforce acknowledges four different lines of interpretation, and no one of them is his own. For what Mr. Wilberforce requires is that they should regard the Church as built upon Peter as the vicar and representative of his Master. On the contrary *all* those writers who regard the Church as built upon Peter at all, consider it built upon him as the representative of his fellow Apostles, upon whom it was equally built, in accordance with Eph. ii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 14, 27.

But Mr. Wilberforce triumphantly asserts, that 'every ante-'Nicene writer who refers to the passage supposes that reference 'is made to the *person* of S. Peter' (p.113). 'Every ante-Nicene writer' sounds authoritative. It calls up in our minds the thought of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Arnobius, Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory Thau-

maturgus, and other well-known names. Are these the authorities to which Mr. Wilberforce refers? No, not one of them. The persons whom he means are Tertullian, Hippolytus, S. Cyprian, Stephen, S. Firmilian, and Origen. These are all he claims in the above high-sounding sentence, and not one of them favours his view. Tertullian thus explains what *he* meant by 'supposing that reference was made to the *person* of S. Peter':—'On him the Church is built, that is, by his means: he is the 'first to use the key: and you see what key he used: "Ye men 'of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved 'of God among you," &c. Acts ii. 22.'[1] Then Tertullian understood by the text under discussion, that S. Peter should preach the first sermon, and so make the first converts. Is that of any use to Mr. Wilberforce?

Hippolytus is speaking of the Holy Spirit: 'This is the Spirit 'who at first moved upon the face of the waters ... who ener-'gized in the Prophets, who descended by flight upon Christ. 'This is the Spirit that was given to the Apostles in the appear-'ance of fiery tongues. By this Spirit Peter spoke those 'blessed words, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living 'God." By this Spirit the Rock of the Church was made firm. 'This is that Paraclete,' &c. The original of the last sentence is Διὰ τούτου τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστερεώθη ἡ Πέτρα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας: and in Latin, 'Per hunc Spiritum firmata Ecclesiæ Petra est.'[2] Mr. Wilberforce says, that in this passage 'Hippolytus 'calls S. Peter "the Rock of the Church."' It is possible that he might have meant S. Peter by 'the Rock of the Church,' but he might equally well have meant something else. The interpretation 'By this Spirit the Church's Rock was made firm, *i.e.* the Church was made firm as a Rock,' is perhaps the better of the two; but if he does mean S. Peter, he evidently, as we see from the previous sentence, would regard him as the Rock, not as representing, but as confessing Christ.

S. Cyprian, we have already shown to hold that every bishop is as much a successor of S. Peter as the Bishop of Rome, and that S. Peter received nothing—neither power nor honour—which the other Apostles did not receive.

Of Stephen's opinion we know nothing, except what we learn from the following extract from S. Firmilian, who is himself likewise cited as a witness. We give his testimony:—

'What sort of error this man [Stephen, Bishop of Rome] is guilty of, and how great is his blindness in saying that remission of sin can be given in the assemblies of heretics, and in not standing firm on the foundation of the one Church which once has been compacted by Christ upon a rock,

[1] Tertull. de Pudic. c. 21, Op. p. 807. Parisiis, 1646.
[2] Hippolytus in Theophan. 9. Gallandi, vol. ii. 494.

may be understood from hence, that Christ said to Peter only, "Whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;" and in the Gospel Christ breathed on the Apostles only, and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained;" *therefore* power of remitting sin was given to *the Apostles*, and to *the Churches* which they, being sent by Christ, established, and to *the Bishops* who have succeeded them one after another by ordination in their place (*vicariâ ordinatione*). But the enemies of the one Catholic Church to which we belong, the adversaries of us who have succeeded to the Apostles, while they claim to themselves unlawful priesthoods against us, and erect profane altars, what are they else than Korahs, Dathans, and Abirams, equally wicked and sacrilegious, and to be punished like them, together with their abettors, even as at that time all who took part with those men, and favoured them, perished just as they did? And I do well to be angry with this so open and manifest folly of Stephen, that a man who boasts, as he does, about the place of his Bishopric, and contends that he holds the succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church were laid, is introducing many other rocks, and new edifices of many Churches, by giving his authority to the possibility of baptisms being performed in them. For those who are baptized make up, without doubt, the numbers of the Church; and he who approves of their baptism declares that there too there is a Church of the baptized. And he does not see that the true Christian rock (*Christianæ petræ veritatem*) is obscured, and in a way utterly destroyed, by him, in thus betraying and deserting unity.'—*S. Firm. Ep. ad S. Cyp. c.* xii.

Here S. Firmilian asserts the direct contrary to the two things which Mr. Wilberforce requires. He says that the Bishop of Rome was not the head and centre of unity, but, on the contrary, that he was betraying and deserting unity by leaving the one real Rock of the Church. Could he have said that, if he had taught that the Bishop of Rome was himself the Rock of the Church, and that to be in unity with him was to be in unity with the Church? He gives the reason, too, why, as he believed, Christ spoke to Peter alone in one place, and to the Apostles alone in the other. Does he say, then, that it was for the purpose of making S. Peter his special Vicar? On the contrary, he supposes that the intention was to show that the power of remitting sins was not given to heretics and schismatics, but only to *the Apostles*, to *the Bishops* their successors, and to *the Churches* established by them. Not an atom of authority or dignity does he see bestowed on S. Peter.

The other ante-Nicene authority is Origen. He calls S. Peter 'that great foundation of the Church, and most solid Rock on 'which Christ has founded his Church.' He does: and he likewise says—

'*If we confess like Peter* (flesh and blood not having revealed it to us, but light from our Father which is in heaven having shone into our hearts,) *we too become that which Peter was*, and we equally receive the title of "blessed" with him, because the reason why he was called "blessed" exists in our case too, viz. that flesh and blood has not revealed to us about

Jesus being the Christ, the Son of the living God, but our Father which is in heaven, from heaven itself, that we may have our conversation in heaven. . . . And if we too become Peter after having spoken like Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," (flesh and blood not having revealed it to us, but light from our Father which is in heaven having shone into our hearts,) to us also there will be said by the Word, "Thou art Peter," &c. for every disciple of Christ is a rock. . . . But if you think that upon *that* one Peter only the whole Church was built by God, what will you say about John the son of thunder, and every one of the Apostles?" &c.—*Hom. in Matt.* xvi. 18. vol. iii. p. 524.

So Origen counts the Church to be built upon every sound Churchman as much as upon S. Peter.

But perhaps the method of dealing with S. Augustine is more disingenuous still. Every one knows that the doctrine of S. Augustine, enforced again and again throughout his works, is, that Christ Himself is the Rock, and that upon Him Peter, the representative of the Church, is built. S. Augustine saw four terms, as it were—the Rock: the Church: our Lord: Peter. Our Lord is himself the Rock, and upon Him Peter—*i. e.* all members of the Church are built. His doctrine with regard to the keys is the same. We will give one specimen:—

'Peter in many places of Scripture evidently represents the Church, especially in the place where it is said, "I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. Did Peter receive these keys and Paul not receive them? Did Peter receive them, and John and James, and the rest of the Apostles, not receive them? Or are not these keys in the Church, where sins are daily remitted? But since what was meant was that Peter was representing the Church, what was given to him only was given to the Church.'—*Serm.* 149, tom. v. p. 802. *Ed. Migne.*

S. Augustine in this, and numberless other passages, regards S. Peter as the representative, sometimes of Christians in their several capacities, sometimes of the collective body of Christians—*i. e.* the Church: 'that He might be the Head, and the other represent the body, that is, the Church' (Serm. 46, 30). But Mr. Wilberforce's argument requires that he should not represent the body, but the head. How is S. Augustine to be made to say what he ought? First his words are forced into meaning that the Church is 'in its chief Bishop,' a sense no more conveyed by S. Augustine's words than Christ's being in Moses is asserted, when it is said that Moses represented Christ, or the Gentiles being in Cornelius is asserted, when it is said that he was the representative of the Gentiles. But this does not go far enough,—it is a step, because 'represented by' has become converted into 'included in;' but yet it is only a step. So one 'Hilary the deacon as it seems,' is brought in to bridge over the abyss. 'Hilary the deacon as it seems,' says that 'as 'the Apostles were all included in our Saviour by virtue of his

'office, so after our Saviour they are all included in Peter' (p. 115). Now, let us count up the steps. S. Augustine teaches that S. Peter, as representing others, was to be built upon Christ Himself (Serm. 761),—that S. Peter represented the Church which was to be built upon Him, the Rock. If S. Peter represented the Church, says Mr. Wilberforce, the Church was included in him, and 'Hilary the deacon as it seems,' says that the Church was included in Christ: then S. Peter was in this respect like Christ, viz.: that the Church was included in both of them; then Peter was the representative of Christ. *Q. E. D.* Mr. Wilberforce stops there. It follows, likewise, by necessary consequence, that Peter had to be built upon himself, and was both the foundation and superstructure of the Church. But who is this 'Hilary the deacon as it seems?' We know who Hilary the deacon was. He was a contemporary of Bishop Damasus. But who is 'Hilary the deacon *as it seems?*' (p. 115),—'Hilary the deacon *apparently?*' (p. 116). The Benedictine editors tell us. The authority to which Mr. Wilberforce has thus referred, is the writer of a supposititious work entitled 'Questions out of the Old and New Testaments,' which had become inserted amongst the works of S. Augustine, and was rejected by the Benedictines as spurious. The author, they say, denied original sin, held Melchizedek to be the Holy Ghost, was a Pelagian, and an Arian. The matter, and manner, and style of his teaching, they assert to be, altogether 'abhorrent to the holy Doctor's mind 'and faith; and, in fine, there are very few questions in the book 'which, one way or another, are not contradictory to S. Augus-'tine's doctrine.' This is the authority which Mr. Wilberforce calls in to reconcile S. Augustine's theory with his theory.

There is yet another misrepresentation in connexion with S. Augustine:—

'The pointedness of our Lord's words were diminished by their transfusion (*sic*) from his own Syriac into the Greek idiom . . . . . In Syriac it appears from the present Peschito version, the term in each member of the sentence is identical. Had St. Augustine, for instance, known that our Lord's words were—Thou art Cepho, and on this Cepho I will build my Church, he would not have employed the argument which he does in his Retractations. For after stating that he had *often* applied the passage to the person of Peter, as he had learned to do from a hymn of St. Ambrose, he adds, as a second interpretation which *might* be given, that "the rock was Christ." And so Peter, named from this rock, would represent the person of the Church, which is founded on this rock, and has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And then he proceeds on the reasons for giving such an interpretation. "For it was not said to him, Thou art Petra, but, Thou art Petrus." Now, of this distinction between the masculine and feminine words, the original Syriac affords no trace. . . . He has no objections to make against the interpretation which he had traditionally received, save one which arises from the imperfect manner in which the Greek language expresses our Lord's words.'—Pp. 113—115.

Now, what does S. Augustine say?

'I said in a certain place about the Apostle Peter, that the Church was founded upon him as upon a rock, a meaning which is also chanted by many voices in some verses of blessed Ambrose, where he says about the cock—"On its crowing, the very rock of the Church washed away his guilt." But I know that I have *very often* afterwards expounded our Lord's words as signifying that the Church was founded upon Him whom Peter confessed, saying, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;" and thus that Peter (rockman), having received his appellation from this Petra (rock), would represent the Church, which is built upon this Petra (rock), and which has received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven. For it is not said to him, Thou art Petra (a rock), but, Thou art Petrus (a rockman); but Christ was the Rock, and when Simon confessed Him, just as the whole Church confesses Him, he was called Peter (a rockman). Let the reader choose whichever of these two opinions is most probable.'—*S. Augustine, Retract* 1. 21. 1, tom. i. p. 618.

After the specimens which we have had of Mr. Wilberforce's inaccuracies in his quotations, it is scarcely worth while to pause for the purpose of pointing out that it is not true, as here he asserts, that S. Augustine says that he had '*often* applied the 'passage to the person of Peter,' and that 'he adds as a second 'interpretation which *might be given*, that the Rock was Christ.' He distinctly says, that he *only once* so applied the passage, and *that* once he now places in his Retractations. And the other interpretation he does not introduce as one which *might be given*, but one which he had *very often* given,—in fact, in every passage except in this one early-written letter against Donatus, which has now perished;[1] nor is it 'the interpretation that he had traditionally received' to which he 'objects,' but an interpretation founded on a poetical expression in one of S. Ambrose's hymns, whereas elsewhere S. Ambrose explains that '*the rock* is Christ,' though he allows that every Christian may become *a rock* by faith, for 'faith is the foundation of the Church; and not of the 'flesh, but of the faith, of Peter, was it said, The gates of hell 'shall not prevail against it; his Confession conquered hell.'[2] But suppose that S. Augustine had used both interpretations commonly, does not the very declaration that the adoption of one or the other is indifferent, show that he did not lay any stress upon the personal reference to S. Peter as involving doctrine? Whereas Mr. Wilberforce sees in it 'an elementary portion of the Gospel revelation,' and compares it in that respect to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity (p. 105).

The argument from the Syriac Mr. Wilberforce brings forward as boldly as though it had never before been advanced

[1] Serm. 76, c. i. tom. 5, p. 479; Serm. 295, c. i. p. 1348; Serm. 244, § i. p. 1147; Serm. 270, § 2, p. 1239; Serm. 149, p. 802; are all selected from one volume of Abbé Migne's edition of S. Augustine, in Papal Supremacy, &c. p. 46.

[2] S. Ambr. tom. iv. p. 143, and tom. vi. p. 494.

and refuted. We repeat the refutation of a repeated misstatement:—

'To evade the force of the words *Upon this rock*, the Papists, Bellarmine Maldonate, Petrus de Bollo, and others, object it was not the Greek, but the Syriac language, wherein our Saviour spoke these words to Peter; in which language כֵּיפָא signifies both Peter and a stone, without any change of gender. To which I answer—1. It is true our Saviour spoke these words, not in the Greek but Syriac language; but, howsoever, S. Matthew wrote them not in Syriac, but in Greek, and therefore it is the Greek that is the original, not the Syriac. But, 2, *it is plainly false* that כֵּיפָא signifies both Peter and a stone, *without the change of the gender*, or in the same gender, for that כֵּיפָא, as it denotes Peter, is of the masculine gender, I hope they will not deny..... whereas כֵּיפָא, for a stone or rock, is always of the feminine, as "Jacob accepit Cepha et erexit *eam*."—(Gen. xxxi. 45.) So "Cepha probat*a* angularis pretios*a*" (Is. xxviii. 16); "Cepha magn*a* erat" (Mar. xvi. 4); and so elsewhere. Nay, 3, *in this very place* too כֵּיפָא, when spoken of Peter, whose name it was, is of the masculine, but when used for a rock or stone is of the feminine gender: סכּ̈ ܗܢܝ ܟܐܦܐ "et super *hanc* Cepha," not "*hunc*:" for thus it should have been ܗܢܢ, not ܗܢܝ, which is a pronoun of the feminine gender. And therefore it is in vain to seek any elusion of the place from the Syriac, that being as plain against them as the Greek; for as in the Greek *πέτρος* and *πέτρα* are of different genders, so are the first and second ܟܐܦܐ in Syriac of different genders too.'—*Beveridge on Art.* XXXVII., vol. vii. p. 582, Oxf., 1845.

Before leaving this text we will in a few words sum up the interpretations which have been given to it. By some the Rock is supposed to mean Christ; this is the interpretation of S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, S. Jerome, Bede, &c. According to some it means the Faith and consequent Confession of S. Peter: this is the view of S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Hilary, S. Gregory Nyssen, S. Ambrose,[1] S. Gregory the Great, Theodoret, Theophylact, Ælfric,[2] &c. Some take it to mean S. Peter, as representing the other Apostles: this is the interpretation of S. Basil, S. Cyprian, S. Firmilian, S. Jerome. Some hold that it means S. Peter as representing all sound Churchmen: this is Origen's explanation. Some consider S. Peter to be meant as having been the first and great instrument of converting the Jews to Christianity on the day of Pentecost, opening the door to the Gentiles in the person of Cornelius, and teaching the mysteries of the faith; this is the view of Tertullian, Epiphanius, &c., and is

[1] It will be seen that sometimes the same Fathers give in different places different interpretations. Not considering that any special doctrine was involved, they naturally drew as many edifying lessons as they were able from the words.

[2] A Trans-Atlantic contemporary, in an able article on 'The Question of the Papacy,' states that 'Thirty-five of the ancient Fathers are reckoned as holding the opinion, that S. Peter's confession is the Rock. To these must be added at least six of the early Popes; while the exposition is also recognised in a prayer in the Missal of the Roman Church, in the Mass for the Vigil of S. Peter and S. Paul, which, referring to this text, has the expression, "the rock of the apostolical confession."'—Church Review, New Haven, Conn., Oct. 1854, p. 388.

supported by Mr. Alford in his Commentary. Every one of these views is tenable, and finds support among the writers and Fathers of the Church. Mr. Wilberforce's view, on the other hand, that S. Peter is the Rock, as specially representing Christ (*i. e.* as His special vicar) is untenable, and is not supported by a single Father, or a single early writer, unless a sentence may perhaps be so construed, which is found in the writings of a Pelagian and Arian heretic, 'Hilary the deacon as it seems.'

5. and 6. The fifth proof may be passed over very summarily, for Mr. Wilberforce does not bring forwards a single authority for his interpretation of Luke xxii. 31, 'Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired,' &c. except his friend 'Hilary the deacon apparently.' We prefer the consentient exposition of antiquity, which teaches that the meaning of the text is, that our Lord prayed that Peter might not fall away from the grace of God in the trials which were coming upon him. In the sixth we desiderate Bellarmine's notable explanation of *ποίμαινε μοῦ τὰ πρόβατα*—'Rule as king over Jews, Gentiles, and Bishops,' and find two passages, one from S. Chrysostom, that 'Jesus putteth into his hands the chief authority [*προστασία*, first place] among the brethren,' and one from *Saint* Optatus. With regard to the first, had Mr. Wilberforce looked on a few verses further, he would have found that, according to S. Chrysostom, the world was entrusted just as much to S. John as to S. Peter—and had he looked in the previous volume of S. Chrysostom's works, he would have seen, that so far from regarding the words, 'Feed my sheep,' as addressed in any special manner to S. Peter, the saint says, 'This is addressed not only to priests but to every one of us: 'each one of us has a sheep to conduct to its right pasturage.'[1]

With regard to *Saint* Optatus, first, we have to say that he is not a *saint*, and secondly, that the passage which Mr. Wilberforce has quoted is most likely a forgery. The method by which Optatus became sainted is the following:—When Baronius was drawing up his edition of the Roman Martyrology, he found that Peter Natalis had made a confusion between Optatus, Bishop of Antissiodorus, and Optatus, Bishop of Milevis; and whereas it was Optatus of Antissiodorus' festival, which fell upon August 31, Peter Natalis had substituted Optatus of Milevis. Baronius rectified the mistake: but what was he to do with the Bishop of Milevis? After he had once been admitted to the catalogue, it was hard to dismiss him so rudely, and his writings (being largely interpolated) were useful for strengthening the Papal claims: so Baronius kindly found him a place on June 4, and thus Optatus became a saint. The passage quoted by Mr.

[1] Tom. vii. p. 785, Ed. Bened., 1727. Papal Supremacy, &c. p. 44.

Wilberforce is taken from the seventh book of Optatus' work against the Donatists, the whole of which book is generally considered a forgery. S. Jerome says that Optatus wrote only six books. Optatus says that he was only going to write six books: the seventh very often contradicts the six others, and its style is totally different.

Such are Mr. Wilberforce's 'proofs' from the Gospels. We shall not occupy our space in dwelling on the counter-balancing statements, such as S. John's, and S. James', and S. Paul's, special privileges, which might be counted up in the same manner as S. Peter's; the equality of the twelve thrones in S. Matt. xix. 27; the request of Zebedee's children in S. Matt. xx. 20; the unmonarchical character of his kingdom in S. Mark x. 42; the disputing among the disciples for superiority in S. Luke xxii. 24; the special words of reproof as well as of honour addressed to S. Peter, and the rest of the passages which might be referred to. We are not careful to linger over this point, for we are persuaded that Englishmen, who have all their lives been accustomed to the Scriptures, will never be induced to believe that any special vicariate of S. Peter is taught in them, unless they find that there is a universal consensus of the Doctors of the early Church to the effect that certain texts are to be interpreted as testimony of that vicariate. We have shown that there is a universal consensus against that interpretation.

In the Acts and Epistles we have six more points brought forward. These will not detain us long. 1. '*In the first portion* '*of the book* which describes the actions of all the Apostles, 'S. Peter is so entirely prominent that his position *might almost* 'be compared with that which our Lord Himself while upon 'earth occupied towards his disciples' (p. 122). We reply, '*In the latter portion of the book* S. Paul is so entirely prominent that his position might equally well be compared with that of our Lord's.' 2. It is Peter who works the miracles of healing the lame man; it is Peter who condemns Simon Magus, Ananias and Sapphira; it is Peter who admits the Gentiles. We reply, it is Paul who raises Eutychus; it is Paul who condemns Elymas, and casts out the spirit of divination; it was Paul who had the Apostleship of the Gentiles; and it was the Church in Synod assembled which sanctioned their admission. 3. 'At the Council of Jerusalem the ancient writers see no sign 'that S. Peter was wanting in authority' (p. 125). In proof several passages of S. Chrysostom are quoted. (1) 'Great 'effrontery this of the Pharisees, that even after faith they set up 'the law and will not obey *the Apostles.*'[1] What has this to

[1] S. Chrys. Hom. in Act. xxxii. 2

do with S. Peter? (2) 'Observe he first permits the question 'to be moved in the Church, and then speaks.' (Ibid.) On which Mr. Wilberforce comments, 'He refers especially to 'S. Peter as having *allowed* the discussion to have its course, 'and having then *stepped in with authority*.' Mr. Wilberforce represents it an act of condescension. S. Chrysostom is speaking of it as an act which showed his wisdom—he let the complainants speak first: then, and not till then, he replied, and 'advanced gradually' to the point which he wished to prove—there is nothing whatever about stepping in with special authority. (3) 'Our Lord putteth into S. Peter's hands the chief 'authority (position) *among* his brethren,' *i. e.* he was *primus inter pares*, except in the diocese specially appointed to one—a thing which we do not dispute. (4) 'He asks the question, '"How then did James receive the chair at Jerusalem?" His 'answer is that Christ "appointed Peter teacher not of the chair 'but of the world"' (p. 126). Was it fair in Mr. Wilberforce to quote this comment on John xxi. 19 without adding that on John xxi. 23 S. Chrysostom says that S. John was 'to receive 'the charge of the world' equally with S. Peter? And that elsewhere he speaks of S. Paul as 'an Apostle of the world,— 'charged with the care of cities, and peoples, and nations, nay, 'of the whole world,—the planter of the Church,—the tongue 'of the world, the light of the Churches, the foundation of the 'faith, the pillar and ground of the truth'—who 'excelled all 'men who have been since men first were?'[1] (5) Mr. Wilberforce says that according to Chrysostom, the reason why S. James closes the discussion is, that he was Bishop of Jerusalem, but that there is nothing in this circumstance which implies him to have been superior to S. Peter. Would it not have been well to have given S. Chrysostom's words here as well as in all the other passages? They are as follow:—'James restrains himself and 'does not leap up; for it was he that was invested with the chief 'rule (*τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος*). No word speaks John 'here, no word the other Apostles, but hold their peace; and 'they think it no hardship, so clean was their soul from the love 'of glory . . . *Peter, indeed, spoke at the beginning more strongly, but 'James speaks more mildly, for thus it behoves one in high authority '—(ἐν μεγάλῃ δυναστείᾳ) to leave what is unpleasant for others 'to say, while he himself appears in the milder part.*'[2]

4. 'In the Epistle to the Corinthians, where S. Paul often 'mentions S. Peter's name, the order observed *always* points out

[1] S. Chrys. in Ep. 1. ad Cor. ix. 2. In Ep. 2 ad Cor. xi. 28. Hom. de Fil. Zeb. Or. 1, in Rom. xvi. 3. De Laud. S. Pauli, Or. 2. We have taken these five references from Mr. Scudamore's 'England and Rome,' p. 151, an able, useful, and learned book, written calmly, and, what is of great price, fairly.

[2] S. Chrys. Hom. in Act. Apost. xxxiii. Op., tom. ix. p. 255.

'his priority' (p. 126). We might answer, 'In the Epistle to the Galatians, where S. Paul mentions S. Peter's name, the order observed points out no priority, for it is placed between James and John.' We might also answer, that in two out of the four places in the Epistle to the Corinthians in which it is used, it does not naturally point out any priority; and we might further add, that a position of priority would be what we should expect on the hypothesis of S. Peter being *primus inter pares:* this, then, is nothing in favour of Mr. Wilberforce.

5. 'When S. Paul speaks of going up "to see Peter," they 'all understand this to be a mark of respect, paid by one whom 'our Lord had added to their number by immediate appoint-'ment, to the chief of the Apostles' (p. 187). Those quoted are Tertullian, Marius Victorinus, Hilary the Deacon, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, and Theodoret. The quotation from Tertullian is irrelevant, and its apparent application rests on the misunderstanding of one of the words.[1] Hilary the Deacon (this is not 'Hilary the Deacon, *as it seems*,' though it is still doubtful whether it is the genuine Hilary) does not represent S. Paul as being in an analogous position towards the Churches of the Gentiles as S. Peter towards the whole Church, according to Mr. Wilberforce's statement, and he is only made to appear to do so by half-sentences being quoted. Had the whole passage been fairly given, it would have been seen that he places S. Paul upon an exact equality with S. Peter, the latter holding the primacy amongst the Apostles of the circumcision, and the former holding the primacy amongst the Apostles of the uncircumcision. 'So, however, that Peter might preach to the Gentiles if there were cause, and Paul to the Jews: for they are both found to 'have done so. But still in preaching to the Jews full authority 'is distinguished as given to Peter, and the authority of Paul 'in preaching to the Gentiles is found perfect.' And again: 'that he (Paul) should be thought worthy to have the primacy 'in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to the 'circumcision.' The 'Apostles' amongst whom S. Peter has the primacy are only *Apostoli circumcisionis*, and S. Paul holds the same position amongst the *Apostoli gentium*. If anything, a higher station is assigned to S. Paul than to S. Peter, for he says: 'Each of them received his dispensation in proportion to 'his strength; for it was more difficult to attract to the faith 'and convince those who were far away from God, than those 'who were very near.'[2] These are words which Mr. Wilberforce

[1] 'Ascendit Hierosolymam, cognoscendi Petri causâ, ex officio et jure scilicet ejusdem fidei et prædicationis.' De Præscript. c. xxiv. *Ex officio* cannot mean 'as a matter of duty' towards S. Peter.

[2] App. in S. Ambr. tom. ii. p. 216.

not only fails to quote, but he omits them although making part of the passage from which he has extracted certain portions of two sentences.

The other authorities, while they show themselves irreconcileably opposed to Bellarmine's dictum, that S. Paul, and all the other Apostles, received their jurisdiction, mission, and ordination from S. Peter, do not go beyond what we should expect them to say, on the hypothesis that S. Peter was *primus inter pares.* Mr. Wilberforce, having made his extracts from them, concludes thus: 'These writers, then, attributed to S. Paul an immediate 'and independent commission from our Lord, such as he bestowed 'on all the Apostles; but they represent him to have recognised '*that priority of S. Peter which was designed to secure the unity of* '*the Apostolic body.*' We repeat, that that priority 'which was designed to secure the unity of the Apostolic body,' is a thing totally different in kind from that priority which made S. Peter first amidst his brethren. The latter, S. Chrysostom and others did recognise; the former, is wholly unknown to them.

6. When S. Peter was rebuked by S. Paul, Mr. Wilberforce thinks that the latter's act was that of an inferior. We leave that point to our readers' judgment.

Again, we shall not linger over the counterbalancing statements. They are well known: the appointment of S. Matthias; the appointment of the deacons; S. Peter and S. John being sent by the Apostles; S. James presiding and giving sentence in the Council of Jerusalem; S. Peter recognising S. Paul's apostolate of the Gentiles, and withdrawing himself into the ministration of the Gospel of the circumcision; the reproof of S. Peter by S. Paul; S. Paul's vindication of his independent and equal authority; S. Paul's declaration that on him came 'daily the care of all the Churches'—a form of speech assumed to themselves in later times by the Bishops of Rome, and which would doubtless have been brought forward as an irrefragable proof of the Supremacy, if only S. Peter had used it instead of S. Paul—the expressions employed by S. Peter himself in his Epistles; the exact equality, according to measurement, of the twelve foundations of the 'great city, the holy Jerusalem,' 'the bride, the Lamb's wife,' which had 'on them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb:' these are some of the special passages bearing on the point; but the great proof is the spirit and tone which pervades the whole of the Sacred Writings.

We submit that Mr. Wilberforce has not made out his first point; he has not shown that S. Peter was head and centre of unity to the Apostles, as our Lord's representative after His departure hence; that he has vainly attempted to fasten that

doctrine upon S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, and other great Doctors of the Church; that he has vainly attempted to find it in Scripture, and can get no early writer to agree with him, except one Arian and Pelagian heretic, who thought Melchizedek was the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, we maintain that the powers and the commissions of all the Apostles were exactly equal; that this is witnessed to by Scripture, and held universally in the early Church; that there is not one early writer, with the exception possibly of Optatus and S. Jerome (whose words we shall presently examine), who supposed that S. Peter had any peculiar office of securing unity; that there is not one, except the Arian heretic above mentioned, who regarded him as a special representative of his Master; and that there is, in truth, no *special* 'Vicar of Christ on Earth,'[1] except the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, whom Christ promised to send in His own place, (John xiv. 16,) and who is the Bond of Unity to His Church.[2]

II. We proceed to the second point. The bishop of Rome was not the head and centre of unity to the early Church.

We have seen that the main argument of Mr. Wilberforce heretofore has rested on the ambiguity of the word 'Primacy'. Sometimes S. Peter's 'primacy' is a certain 'superiority' (p. 142), 'his prominence' (p. 124), 'a certain primacy *in* the college of the Apostles' (p. 110), he is 'the first Apostle' (p. 116), 'the chief Apostle' (p. 121). Now, substitute Bishop for Apostle, and it will be seen that we might give all those titles to the Bishop of London. Such a primacy as that we are ready to admit; the earliest ecclesiastical historian says that he did 'take the lead of

[1] Mr. Wilberforce acknowledges (p. 99), that the principle of the *Ancient* Church was, that *every* Bishop 'represented the person of Christ, and was Christ's Vicar, the Father of the people (*papa*);' which would necessarily exclude the later Papal notion. Mr. Wilberforce incorrectly quotes the words, 'Christ's Vicar,' as though they were S. Ambrose's; they are Hilary the Deacon's, who says that a Bishop, like a Judge, is *Vicarius Domini*, the Vicar or Representative of his Lord.—App. S. Ambr. ii. 148.

[2] So Tertullian, De Præscript. Hæret. c. xxviii. 'Spiritus Sanctus, ad hoc missus à Christo, ad hoc postulatus de Patre, ut esset doctor veritatis . . . *Dei Villicus, Christi Vicarius.*' Thus too, Bishop Andrewes: 'Belong ye then to your Roman Catholic Church, a thing not found in the Creed, and we to that in which we believe, —a Church which is simply Catholic, not restricted to Rome, but such as we profess in the Creed—a Church which is orthodox; which does not bow down to or worship any image (Exod. xx. 4); which does not worship it knows not what (John iv. 2); which bids all drink from Christ's cup (Matt. xxvii. 27); which prays in the spirit, and prays with the understanding likewise (1 Cor. xiv. 15); which does not call on them on whom it believes not (Rom. x. 4); in which *Christ is the Head of the Faith, and the Holy Spirit His Vicar* (John xvi. 7). To this we belong, and profess to belong: and you, since you have many of the doctrines of the Catholic Faith still remaining among you, though in part corrupted, we are able to call members of the Catholic Church, but not sound members,'—Tortura Torti, p. 495. In the same manner, King James I. '*Christus Ecclesiæ suæ monarcha est, Christique vices explet, quem venturum promiserat, Spiritus Sanctus.*'—Præf. Mon. in Apol. pro Jur. Fidel.

the rest,' and he tells us the reason, 'on account of his courage;'[1] and such a primacy as that is admitted by many, not by all—it was an indifferent matter—of the early Christian writers. But by-and-by this harmless preeminence designated by the word 'Primacy,' becomes a very different thing. Now it is the 'peculiar and characteristic commission given to S. Peter by our Lord' (p. 117), 'it is the peculiar provision made for securing the unity of the Apostles' (p. 118), it makes S. Peter 'the centre of unity' (p. 119), it gives him a peculiar 'office' (p. 138), it 'associates him to our Lord's own office' (p. 140), it 'associates him, by peculiar copartnership, in one of the functions of 'his Master, and makes him become, by grace, that which Christ 'was by nature' (p. 112), it makes him 'the especial representative (vicar) of Christ' (p. 112), and the Fathers who have allowed the first-described 'Primacy' are cited as having acknowledged the last (p. 128).

The next step is likewise grounded on an ambiguity. Are the Bishops of Rome S. Peter's successors? Yes; S. Irenæus says that they are successors of SS. Peter and Paul (p. 134), S. Cyprian says that they succeeded S. Peter (p. 136), Tertullian says that Clement was appointed by S. Peter (p. 136), S. Augustine asserts that from Linus to Anastasius they all succeeded S. Peter (p. 141). But how did they succeed? Of course as Bishops of Rome, just as Annianus and Avilius succeeded as Bishops of Alexandria, Evodius and Ignatius as Bishops of Antioch, and Symeon and Justus as Bishops of Jerusalem. But this succession *in the Roman episcopate* is wholly irrelevant: the question is, as Mr. Wilberforce fairly states it, had he any successors *in the Primacy?* Now, there is not a single one of these writers who have been quoted as witnesses 'that the Bishop of Rome is S. Peter's successor,' who gives the slightest hint that he meant that the Bishops of Rome succeeded S. Peter in any other capacity than as Bishops of Rome. They mention an historical fact, which may also be found in every historian from Eusebius to Dean Milman. But, says Mr. Wilberforce, 'Since the Church of Rome was spoken 'of in ancient times as the see of S. Peter, though S. Paul also 'was one of its founders, the commission transmitted by the 'other Apostle must surely have been characteristic and peculiar. For why should this Church have been so especially 'associated with the name of S. Peter, unless there was 'something specific in the commission which he transmitted' (p. 137)? So the proof of S. Peter's being succeeded by the Bishops of Rome in his (supposed) vicarial Primacy is, that the

[1] Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προηγόρον, Πέτρον.—Euseb. ii. 14.

see of Rome came to be called the see of S. Peter instead of the see of S. Peter and S. Paul!—a slender thread on which to hang the weight of the Papacy. If it were true, would it not be fully accounted for by the very simple fact, that 'the see of S. Peter and S. Paul' is a lengthy expression, which would naturally have become shortened into 'the see of S. Peter?' It is not, however, universally true, for the Bishops of Rome are very often spoken of as successors to both the Apostles, and Eusebius places the name of S. Paul before that of S. Peter,[1] a fact which would more than counterbalance 'Dionysius of 'Corinth putting S. Peter first, as one of the two who had 'planted the Church at Corinth, and thereby associated it 'with Rome' (p. 137), if it were true that Dionysius had 'done so. But he has not. He says, 'You, too, by means 'of this admonition, have again united that which was planted 'by Peter and Paul *at Rome* and Corinth. For both of them 'having come to our Corinth and planted us, taught us alike, 'and having in like manner taught in Italy they suffered 'martyrdom about the same time.'[2] Whether Dionysius places the name of Peter before that of Paul, or of Paul before that of Peter, is about as unimportant a thing as could well be; but it is evident that he is there speaking not only of their preaching at Corinth, but, as he says, at Rome.

Mr. Wilberforce has another argument. He says that 'it may be objected,' that it was only the general Apostolic commission, not the peculiar Primatial commission, which was bestowed upon the Roman Bishops. This 'objection' he meets as follows:—

'It proceeds upon the supposition that St. Peter's power consisted of two portions, one of which expired with himself, while he handed on the other. Either, then, we ought to find some ancient statement that his functions were understood to be thus divided; or such an arrangement, though not expressed in words, must have been implied in the manner in which his office was dealt with. But neither of these suppositions is maintainable. Our Lord's promise of His continual presence, the conduct of the Apostles themselves, and the belief of their first disciples, had led the ancient Christians to the conclusion, that the commission bestowed upon the Twelve was given for the permanent guidance and administration of the Church. But nothing indicates that the commission of the other eleven was supposed to be more durable than his whom St. Matthew terms the First Apostle. No ancient Church-writer attempts to discriminate between his powers, and to show that the one part of them was merely personal, the other transferable.'—P. 135.

Mr. Wilberforce *does* himself hold this distinction of powers and functions in S. Peter—the general commission given him as an Apostle, and the peculiar commission given to him by our Lord (p. 117)—the Apostolic and the Primatial authority (p. 135)—

[1] Euseb. ii. 25; iii. 21. [2] Euseb. ii. 25.

his ordinary commission as an Apostle, and his office of Primate (p. 138). Starting with this assumption, he here argues that unless ancient Church writers discriminate between these *powers*, and show that one part of them was merely personal, the other transferable, it is reasonable to suppose that they believed them to be both transferable, and that they were accordingly transferred. But there is one good reason, we think, why ancient Church writers should not have done so; and that is, that they none of them recognised or believed in 'this peculiar commission,' this 'Primatial *authority*,' this '*office* of Primate.' They all regarded S. Peter as having received the same commission, authority, and office with the rest of the Apostles, and none other: as S. Cyprian says, '*the other Apostles were that which Peter was*; '*endowed with an equal fellowship* (pari consortio) *both of honour* '*and power*.'[1] The primacy which some of them admitted was no *power* or *office* at all but a *prominence*. As, therefore, they did not hold that S. Peter had peculiar powers, it is not likely that they would have gone out of their way to say that those peculiar powers, of which they were totally unaware, were not transferred to Linus. Yet, says Mr. Wilberforce, unless they do so, we ought in reason to believe that it was. He acknowledges that it was only '*in later times*' that 'it has been '*found convenient* to discriminate the several ideas which were 'involved in S. Peter's office, and to point out what was peculiar 'to himself, what common to his brethren .... That which is 'common to all Bishops has *since* been called the power of 'Order, and Mission has been the name given to that authority 'which arranges when, how, and where the power of Order 'shall be used' (p. 135). He does not tell us *when* it was thus 'found convenient to discriminate' these several ideas. Mr. Allies supplies the deficiency.

'But when this fraud (the Decretals) was discovered, the defenders of the Pope's unlimited power, the great school of S. Ignatius Loyola, set themselves with unexampled energy, skill, and unity of purpose, to build up the breach. Theirs are *those very clever but arbitrary divisions* which Mr. Thompson assumes to be the "Catholic faith," *i.e.* the separation of the Bishop's power into that of orders and that of jurisdiction, allowing that all Bishops are equal as to the first, but restricting the last to the Pope; the asserting that S. Peter's power was ordinary, but that of the Apostles extraordinary; that S. Peter had a successor to all his power, but the Apostles none to theirs; that the Bishops are successors of the Apostles only as to orders, not as to jurisdiction; that the Pope's jurisdiction comes from Christ immediately, but that of other Bishops from the Pope; that the Apostles were equal to each other in all points but one, viz. that the exercise of all their powers depended upon union with Peter, which totally destroyed their equality. These and such-like are very clever, but wholly

[1] De Unitat. i. Such passages might be multiplied *ad libitum*. See Scudamore's England and Rome, p. 140.

arbitrary, and, moreover, *ex post facto* defences of the plenitude of Papal power, which was really introduced by the belief of Western Europe in the authenticity of the false Decretals.'—Pref. p. xiv.

So we are to believe that the Early Fathers taught that an authority was transferred to Linus and his successors which did not exist, which they did not believe to exist, which they incidentally deny to have existed, and the clever arguments for the existence of which the Jesuits first invented in the sixteenth century, *because* they do not in so many words declare that such authority was *not* transferred. It might as reasonably be inferred that our forefathers were acquainted with the power of steam on the grounds that they have not written treatises to deny it.

It has been taught, and rightly taught, that all Bishops are successors of S. Peter equally with the Bishop of Rome, and it has been represented, and rightly represented, that this is S. Cyprian's doctrine.[1] Mr. Wilberforce sets himself to grapple with both these statements. 'Another expedient has been devised 'for neutralizing any peculiar claim which the Bishops of Rome 'might derive from S. Peter's commission—the assertion, namely, 'that all Bishops are equally his successors. The notion men-'tioned above was, that his successors at Rome inherited nothing 'but his ordinary commission as an Apostle: this would imply 'that his office of Primate was bequeathed to the whole Episco-'pate' (p. 138). It would imply no such thing, nor did those to whom Mr. Wilberforce attributes the 'devising' of 'the expedient' ever say so. They acknowledged no *office* of Primate; no *peculiar* commission to S. Peter. They regarded S. Peter as at one moment representing his brother Apostles exactly as Cornelius at one moment represented his brother Gentiles. All the successors of the Apostles, therefore, may be said to have succeeded to S. Peter, not in his 'Primatial office,' but in the episcopate, which they inherit from the Apostles, of whom S. Peter was then the representative. In opposition to this view, Mr. Wilberforce cites S. Cyprian's statement, that the foundations were laid in one 'to *manifest* unity'—'that the Church might be *set before us as* one.' This Mr. Wilberforce says must mean 'to *maintain* unity,' and that 'some *method*' was instituted 'by which the Apostles themselves might *be exempted* from division.' We have already pointed out this confusion of *manifesting* and *maintaining*, whereby a *lesson* is changed into an *instrument;* we therefore need no longer dwell upon it. But, continues Mr. Wilberforce, 'the other 'interpretation does not accord with the language of other 'writers who carried on S. Cyprian's argument.' Who are these 'other writers'? [S.] Optatus and S. Jerome. Can anything

[1] By the Editors of the 'Library of the Fathers.'

be purer eclecticism than to choose one noted passage of Optatus, and half of a passage of S. Jerome, and make them specimens of 'other writers,' whereas they are not specimens of others, when too the rest of the sentence in S. Jerome gives an entirely different complexion to his words, and internal evidence shows the passage from Optatus to be a forgery? Why were not S. Augustine and S. Pacian cited? They were the real inheritors of Cyprianism, and we have already shown that their teaching does accord with the interpretation of 'manifest' which we require; viz. that it means 'manifest,' and not something else. 'In vain' says Mr. Allies, 'does Mr. Thompson 'try to torture a passage or two of S. Cyprian into his view: 'in vain by resting exclusively on one or two expressions of '[S.] Optatus and others, and putting out of sight all that on 'the other side the Church did and spoke, does he try to give 'it the witness of antiquity' (Pref. p. xiii).

We have already shown how Optatus attained his name of *Saint*, and pointed out that Mr. Wilberforce has quoted a passage, from the forged seventh book, as though it had been genuine. This passage, which he now brings forward, or at least a part of it, is likewise forged; for in it Optatus is made to speak of Siricius as being Bishop of Rome, whereas Siricius did not become Pope till the year 384, and Optatus wrote in the year 370. We will, however, examine it, as though it were not forged. Optatus then, or the person who has borrowed his name, was writing against the Donatists. The Donatists had become schismatical, mainly from dwelling with overstrained earnestness upon one of the attributes of the Church. The Church they argued is holy: where, therefore, holiness is not, that cannot be the Church. Their adversaries, as was natural and right, dwelt upon the other two chief attributes of the Church—Unity and Catholicity. On the latter of these they used the same arguments against the Donatists which we are able to bring with so much force against the exclusiveness of the Roman portion of the Church now. Many of the arguments of Bishop Andrewes against Romanists are almost identical with those of Optatus against Donatists. On the former, they were led by their circumstances to look about them, to see if they could not find some tangible test by which with one argument they might close the mouths of their opponents. To persons in such a state of mind there might well have occurred the thought, that union with the great Western Patriarch would serve as such a test. He was on their side, and had earned the character of orthodoxy, and they could not then contemplate that the war for Truth's sake would ever turn against him who was now their champion. So they were disposed to urge the authority of

Rome, and to magnify his office by magnifying that of S. Peter. This was not done by the great and far-seeing minds of such as S. Augustine; but with lesser minds it is always a temptation to grasp at an argument which gives a momentary advantage over an adversary, without probing its truth to the quick, or looking to its consequences. There seems to be a tendency in that direction in this book against the Donatists. In the passage before us the writer is counting up the prerogatives of the orthodox Church in reply to his Donatist friend. 'There are,' he says, besides the Church's 'limbs and bowels,' 'which are without doubt in the sacraments and in the names of the Trinity' (ii. 10), five 'endowments,' *dotes*, which Mr. Wilberforce calls 'tokens.' These are (1) a chair, (2) an angel (or a ring), (3) the Spirit, (4) a fountain, (5) a seal. A sixth had been added; viz. (6) a navel; but this he denies to be one of the endowments. He then explains the chair:—

'You cannot deny that in the city of Rome on Peter first an episcopal chair was bestowed, in which sat Peter the head of all the Apostles, *whence also he was called Cephas;* in which one chair unity might be preserved by all, that the rest of the Apostles might not each maintain individual chairs, but that he might be at once schismatical and a sinner who set up another against this one chair. In the one chair, then, which is the first of the endowments, (not 'the first of tokens,') sat Peter first, to whom succeeded Linus, &c.; and to Damasus, Siricius, who is now our colleague, together with whom the whole world is joined with us in one fellowship of communion by the interchange of Letters of Communion. And now give an account of the origin of your chair, who wish to claim the holy Church to yourselves.'—*S. Opt.* ii. 2.

This is the one passage in all antiquity which comes nearest to what Mr. Wilberforce requires. We have to remark upon it, 1. that the writer is, as may be seen, very mystical, and his meaning is not easy to discover. 2. That he is also far from a learned man, for he derives *Cephas* from κεφαλή, or *caput*, (a derivation which Dupin justly calls 'of little solidity,' and Mr. Wilberforce, in quoting the passage p. 164, wisely omits, without, however, marking that he has done so). 3. That it is but a clumsy forgery, Siricius being fourteen years after the date of Optatus. 4. That the writer does not give a hint that he conceived S. Peter to be the special representative of his Master, and *in that sense* the centre of unity. But he does seem to consider that S. Peter had an office for the sake of preserving unity among the Apostles. And he and S. Jerome (as quoted below) were the only writers of antiquity that held even that.

S. Jerome is comparing the excellences of S. Peter and S. John—

'But you say that upon Peter the Church was founded, *though that same thing was done in another place upon all the Apostles*, and *all of them* receive

the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is founded *upon them equally with him;* still, one is therefore chosen among the twelve, that by the appointment of a head occasion of schism may be taken away. But why was not John chosen, who was a virgin? Deference was paid to age, because Peter was the elder. Peter was an Apostle, and John was an Apostle, the first married, the second a virgin. But Peter was nothing else than an Apostle (*Apostolus tantum*); John was both an Apostle, and an Evangelist, and a Prophet,' &c.—*Adv. Jov.* i. p. 168.

There were, then, two writers in antiquity, Optatus (supposing that only a part, and not the whole, of the passage given above is forged) and S. Jerome, who apparently believed not only that S. Peter was prominent or chief *amongst* the Apostles, which is a very general view, but also that S. Peter had the office of head of the college for the sake of preserving unity among the Apostles. Grotius has maintained the same view, showing that it does not imply any very lofty idea of S. Peter's prerogative. But while Optatus and S. Jerome use this language, the first nowhere says, and the second distinctly denies, that he held this office as special representative of his Lord. Therefore their testimony is valueless to Mr. Wilberforce. It is this circumstance which would raise him to the position which none but his Master ought to fill, and where the Church of Rome and Mr. Wilberforce would fain place him.[1]

But further, 'S. Cyprian applies the term, *the place of Peter*, especially to the see of Rome' (p. 129). Doubtless. Constantine was Emperor of the Romans, consequently all after Emperors of the Romans were his successors: but Constantine might, if we chose, be looked upon as the symbol of Christian princes in general, then all Christian princes would be his successors. So S. Cyprian regarded Cornelius as the successor of S. Peter in one sense, and all Bishops as his successors in another.

The chapter that speaks of the Bishops of Rome as being S. Peter's successors, ends with two quotations from S. Augustine. In these quotations S. Augustine distinctly affirms, that the Roman Bishop contemporary with himself was S. Peter's successor. But did he mean in the local episcopate of Rome, or in the Primacy? If he meant the first, the passages are wholly irrelevant to the question in hand, and should not have been made use of. Did he, then, mean the Primacy—this vicarial Primacy, by virtue of which the Primate is the peculiar representative of Christ, and the instrument of securing unity

[1] S. Jerome is also quoted by Mr. Wilberforce, in p. 99, as 'noticing' that 'S. Peter's temporary occupation of the See of Antioch,' was 'the ground of its superiority.' The passage to which he gives a reference as his authority for this statement, is the following: 'Finally we have received that Peter was the first Bishop of the Church of Antioch, and was thence translated to Rome; which Luke has altogether omitted.'—Vol. iv. p. 244.

to the Church? The words almost immediately following the passage extracted are as follows: 'But suppose that some '*traditor* had during this time crept into the line of Bishops 'which is drawn from Peter himself to Anastasius who now 'holds the same chair, yet no harm could have been done to the 'Church, and innocent Christians, whom the Lord has cared for 'by saying about bad rulers, "Do what they say, but do not 'what they do, for they say and do not:" that the hope of the 'faithful may be sure, which by being placed not in man but in 'the Lord can never be dissipated by the storm of impious 'schism.'[1] But if he had believed each one of these Bishops to be the peculiar representative of Christ, with whom to be in unity was to be in unity with Christ, he must have conceived that considerable harm would have come to the Church by his being a *traditor*. Look at the different way in which the supporters of the Papacy speak now: 'Christianity rests entirely upon the sovereign pontiff.' 'The sovereign pontiff is the necessary, only, and exclusive foundation of Christianity. To him belong the promises, with him disappears unity, that is, the Church,' is the doctrine of De Maistre. S. Augustine is enumerating in both passages those who succeeded in the local see of Rome as Bishops: there is not a hint of Primacy of any kind. In the last passage *commendavit* is not *committed*, and *episcopatum* is not *pontiff*.

Mr. Wilberforce has brought himself into a difficulty, by trying to grasp at the same time the advantages of two theories, that of development, and that of a direct commission establishing S. Peter and his successors Primates of the Church. A bold theorist might plausibly account for the insignificance of the early Bishops of Rome on the first of these theories, arguing that the Papacy had not yet grown up. Accordingly, Mr. Wilberforce has recourse to this theory (pp. 144—147). But it is irreconcileable with the other theory of a direct commission; for had that commission been really granted, the early Church must have known it, and must have regarded the Bishop of Rome accordingly; whereas, Mr. Wilberforce is driven to the theory of development to account for the fact that they did *not* do so. 'The Church,' he says, 'was as yet like a 'human body in its infant state; it had received its organiza-'tion, in which powers lay dormant which at a later period 'were to awaken into life. As it would be unreasonable, then, 'to doubt that a child possesses the capacity of reason because 'it does not as yet give utterance to its thoughts, so the Church 'may have had a centre of unity, though as yet there was 'nothing to call out its services, and manifest its effect' (p. 144).

[1] S. Aug. Ep. liii. 3.

Of course it is open to a controversialist to argue thus: but if he does so, he must give up the theory of a direct commission. The Church could not, like the infant, have been unconscious of its centre of unity, had Christ instituted that centre of unity in Matt. xvi. 16.

We should but be wasting our space were we to follow Mr. Wilberforce in his 'historical evidence' for the existence of this centre of unity in early times. He refers to the twice-told tale of S. Polycarp and Anicetus, of Polycrates and Victor, of S. Cyprian and Stephen, S. Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake of Rome, Paul of Samosata and the Emperor Aurelian. It is simply wearisome to go over these cases again: they have been shown so often and so incontrovertibly to be not only incapable of supporting Mr. Wilberforce's view of the Primacy, but to be irreconcileable with it. No new light is thrown upon them: they are simply reproduced, one side of them being held up to view, while the other is thrown into the shade. We are told that S. Polycarp came to Rome to discuss the question of Easter with Anicetus. We are not told that the interview exhibits perfect equality of power and honour in the two Bishops. We are told that 'S. Irenæus *entreated* Victor that he *would* not take any harsh step,' &c. Eusebius says that he *gave him advice*, παραινεῖ, and that he was one of those πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένοι τοῦ Βίκτορος, desiring him to be at peace and unity, and in love with his neighbours, while 'he 'was trying (πειρᾶται,) to cut off the Asiatic dioceses from the 'common unity,'—an attempt in which he signally failed.

S. Cyprian's words and acts in the question of Re-baptism, as well as S. Firmilian's, we have already seen.[1] In spite of them, Mr. Wilberforce says, 'It is remarkable that neither 'Dionysius, Cyprian, nor Firmilian, assert that S. Stephen had 'no right to interfere, though, by Firmilian especially, he is 'spoken of with great harshness' (p. 153). If Mr. Wilberforce means, that they did not make use of the words, 'You have no right to interfere,' his assertion is perfectly true, but if he means to say, that they did not deny his right of interference, it is equally untrue. It was his interference that called forth from S. Firmilian the 'harsh' expressions which we have given above; and we have seen S. Cyprian at the head of his council, vindicating the independence of Bishops, with especial regard

[1] The passage in S. Dionysius' letter to Sixtus II., which Mr. Wilberforce translates, 'I wrote to him (Stephen), making intercession for all these men,' is, περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ πάντων δεόμενος; *i.e.* probably, 'requesting him about all these things.' It is possible that it may mean, 'about all these persons;' but that δεόμενος περὶ should mean 'making intercession for,' is impossible; the 'request' conveyed is, that Stephen would behave with greater moderation and Christian forbearance.—Euseb. vii. 5.

to the Bishop of Rome, in 'steady and disdainful repudiation of 'his authority.'[1]

'The presbyters of S. Dionysius of Alexandria having com-'plained of his doctrine to S. Dionysius of Rome,' is no more an indication of the peculiar right of interference which lay in the Pope of Rome (p. 159), than 'the references made 'by Novatian to Alexandria, in his opposition to Cornelius, 'Bishop of Rome' (p. 96,) bear an indication of the peculiar right of interference which lay in the Pope of Alexandria. And it is contrary to historical testimony, to say that Rome alone thus interfered. We have seen that S. Cyprian interfered in Spain, to the extent of cancelling the previous interferences of the Roman Patriarch, *and in Rome itself, for the purpose of preserving the unity of the Church.* Mr. Wilberforce himself tells us (when trying to show the necessity of a Supremacy), that 'in the year 403, Theophilus, Bishop 'of Alexandria, goes to Constantinople with a number of 'Egyptian bishops, holds a synod in a church in the suburbs, 'and deposes S. Chrysostom, the Patriarch of that city' (p. 101), that 'the Oriental bishops complain that S. Athanasius, on 'his way back from his exile at Treves, overthrew the Church's 'order through his whole journey, and restored condemned 'Bishops' (*Ibid.*), that 'S. Chrysostom deposed thirteen Bishops, 'and appointed new ones, where he seems to have had no 'regular jurisdiction' (*Ibid.*). Then it is idle to assert, 'that 'whereas in every other case affairs were settled in the pro-'vince where they arose, there was *one* Church and *one* line of 'Bishops, which interfered or was consulted, respecting every 'matter of internal disagreement which arose during the first 'three centuries' (p. 156). The truth is, that all the great sees had an undefined right of interfering one with the other when occasion called.

With regard to Paul of Samosata, which shows the greatest spiritual power; to depose a Patriarch, which was what the Eastern Bishops did without any communication with Rome; or to be appointed, as the Bishop of Rome was, by a heathen Emperor, as one of a board, consisting of the Bishops of both the districts of Italy, to settle whether the deposed Patriarch should keep a see-house or not?

'Other circumstances might be added,' continues Mr. Wilberforce, "as showing how completely this See formed the middle point of communication to the Church Catholic. The Montanists, from Phrygia, came to Rome to gain the countenance of its Bishop; Praxeas, from Africa, attempted the like, and for a while was successful. Meantime the Churches of Gaul felt especial interest in the Montanist movement in Asia Minor, and therefore

[1] Milman, vol. i. p. 84.

"send an embassy to Eleutherus, the then Bishop of Rome, about the peace of the Churches" (Euseb. v. 3). About the same time, Soter, Bishop of Rome, sends alms, according to the custom of his Church, to the Churches throughout the empire, and in the words of Eusebius, "affectionately exhorted them who came to Rome as a father his children." One of the charges made by Hippolytus against Callistus is, that the laxity which had been originally introduced by him, enabled Bishops who had been guilty of deadly sin to escape deposition; and about thirty years afterwards, Basilides, who had been deposed from his Bishopric in Spain, goes to Rome to procure his restoration from S. Stephen.'—P. 159.

Four points are here noticed, on each of which we have a few remarks to make. 1. The Montanists came to Rome. This may be paralleled by Achilli's coming to London; but what does it prove? Having mentioned their presence, Mr. Wilberforce should not have failed to inform us likewise that they made a convert for a time of Pope Eleutherus. 2. Praxeas came to Rome. Yes: and he bewildered Pope Victor, threw Pope Zephyrinus into a sea of theological difficulties, out of which he never emerged, and converted Pope Callistus to a heresy for which he was excommunicated by S. Hippolytus. 3. 'The Churches of Gaul send an embassy to Eleutherus, 'the then Bishop of Rome, about the peace of the Churches '(Euseb. v. 3).' This is a mistranslation and a misstatement. Eusebius's words are, 'There being a difference of opinion on 'this point' (the alleged prophetical powers of the Montanists), 'the brethren in Gaul give their own pious and most orthodox 'judgment about it, and also publish several letters of the 'martyrs who had been perfected amongst them, *which letters 'they'* (*the martyrs*) *'had written while they were still in bonds to 'the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and also to Eleutherus, the 'then Bishop of Rome, treating* (πρεσβεύοντες) *about the peace of 'the Churches.'* Therefore no embassy was sent at all; it was the martyrs, not the Churches, who wrote: the letters were sent to the Asiatics and Phrygians, as well as to Rome: and, as Valesius has pointed out, the probable reason for writing specially to Eleutherus was, that he had himself become a Montanist, and in Tertullian's words, 'acknowledged the prophecies 'of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and in consequence of 'that acknowledgment, offered peace to the Churches of Asia 'and Phrygia.'

4. 'Soter sends alms, and affectionately exhorts them who came to Rome, as a father his children.' A liberal and a gentle-hearted Bishop! What then? 5. 'One of the charges 'made by Hippolytus against Callistus is, that the laxity which 'had been originally introduced by him enabled Bishops who 'had been guilty of deadly sin to escape deposition.' And what if he did charge that wicked man with setting an example

of iniquity which was likely to destroy good morals and good discipline? What follows? And why should this one 'charge' be selected, while no notice is taken of the other charges which S. Hippolytus brings against him, such as his being an heresiarch? 6. 'Basilides, who had been deposed from his Bishopric 'in Spain, goes to Rome to procure his restoration from S. 'Stephen.' And this is all that Mr. Wilberforce has to say of Basilides! Not one word to inform us that Stephen did attempt his restoration, and that his interference was ignominiously rejected, and the Roman Patriarch's authority superseded by that of the Primate of Africa.

These cases, apposite as we have seen them to be, from Anicetus down to Stephen, are literally all that Mr. Wilberforce has to bring forward in proof of that Primacy which made the Bishop of Rome to be, by Divine commission, the representative of Christ, and the centre of unity to the Church. Let it be steadily kept in mind that *that* is the Primacy which Mr. Wilberforce's argument requires, and not a mere prominence; and it is clear at once that he has nothing to support him. That there is a certain prominence in the Bishops of Rome, is true; and how could it be otherwise, when they were seated in the heart and centre of Christendom, 'the middle point of communication to the world,' upon the rock of the ancient Capitol? Mr. Wilberforce seems to feel that this is a perfectly adequate cause for such preeminence as they enjoyed:—

'It is a more plausible notion that the temporal greatness of the metropolis gradually gave an ascendency to its spiritual ruler; and, that the Bishops of Rome are not the successors of Peter, but the heirs of the Cæsars. Such an idea naturally finds acceptance with them who suppose that the Church is a mere human institution, and that it owes its organization to worldly policy. And this seems to be the real point on which the question turns. If men suppose that the complicated arrangements of the Hierarchy, which rose up during the first three centuries after Christ, were a mere scheme of human contrivance; if they attribute them to the ambition of priests, and the ignorance of the people, or even to the sagacious combination of worldly men, no doubt they will assign the same origin to that central power in which they culminated.'—P. 160.

And again:—

'It is natural that those who suppose, like Hobbes, that the Christian scheme was one of worldly policy, should imagine that the authority of the Bishops of Rome was deduced merely from the influence of their city. Such, however, was not the belief of Christians in early times.'—P. 164.

Are the Second and Fourth Œcumenical Councils 'like Hobbes?' Did they count 'the Church a mere human organization?' Did they 'attribute the arrangements of the hierarchy to the ambition of priests, &c. &c.?' Or, are they the exponents of 'the belief of Christians in early times?' We believe that Mr. Wilberforce will acknowledge them to be the latter, and not

the former. But it is these very Second and Fourth Œcumenical Councils which tell us distinctly, and in so many words, that it *was* because Rome was the imperial city that it had its ecclesiastical privileges. The Twenty-eighth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon runs as follows:—

'We, following in all things the decision of the holy fathers, and acknowledging the canon of the one hundred and fifty most religious Bishops which has just been read, [*i.e.* the third canon of the Council of Constantinople,] do also determine and decree the same thing respecting the prerogatives of the most holy city of Constantinople, New Rome. For the fathers properly have granted its prerogatives to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that was the imperial city.[1] And the one hundred and fifty most religious Bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal prerogatives to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging with reason, that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and the senate, and which enjoyed equal prerogatives with the Elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second city after her.'—*Papal Supremacy, &c.* pp. 24, 75.

It *was* then 'the belief of Christians in early times'—it is the recorded testimony of the Church Universal assembled in council—that Rome's position as the seat of empire was the cause of her ecclesiastical preeminence. It is idle, consequently, for Mr. Wilberforce to attempt to browbeat us by telling us that we are 'like Hobbes,' because we hold what the Primitive Church held. He insinuates that men must have reached a very low moral and spiritual state, before they can do that. Rather, he says, 'they will accept S. Cyprian's statement, that the see of Rome 'is "the principal Church," "the root and mother of the Church 'Catholic," *because it is* "the seat of Peter, whence the unity of 'the priesthood had its origin" (p. 164). That S. Cyprian ever did say that the Church of Rome was 'the root and mother of the Church Catholic,' we have already shown to be doubly untrue. But supposing that he had, still would it be of any use to continue to argue with an 'Inquirer' who takes two passages from two different letters of S. Cyprian, two passages which have nothing whatever to do with each other, and unites them with a *because*, so as to make the second the reason of the first, when the very point which he has to prove is, that the thing asserted in the first is the consequence of the second?

We submit that Mr. Wilberforce has not proved that any peculiar commission was transferred from S. Peter to the Bishops of Rome, whereby they became special representatives of Christ, and the head and centre of unity to the early Church; but that the statement that they held any such place, and occupied any such office, is a statement unfounded in history, and against which the voice of history protests.

[1] Translated by Mr. Wilberforce, 'because that city ruled.'—p. 191.

III. The next thing is to bridge over the gulf from the Primacy to the Supremacy. The following is Mr. Wilberforce's attempt:—

'Admitting that the successor of S. Peter possessed a Primacy, how does this involve a Supremacy of the Pope? The Pope's Supremacy consists of three principal particulars, which either include or involve the most important rights which have been claimed by his supporters. 1st. The right of finally deciding ecclesiastical causes. 2ndly. The right of presiding over Councils. 3rdly. The right of interfering in ecclesiastical appointments. Are these rights inherent in the Primacy? For if this could be shown, the Supremacy would appear to be only another name for the Primacy, and the proof which has been given of the early existence of the one, would demonstrate the antiquity of the other.'—P. 168.

The test is not sufficient, and the test breaks down. It is not sufficient: for the right of finally deciding causes, of presiding over councils, and of interfering in ecclesiastical causes, might all exist in one person, and yet it need not follow that 'all authority resided' in him, 'and from him was derived to the rest;' which is Bellarmine's account of the constitution of the Church under the Supremacy;[1] nor need it follow that 'the Church was 'a pure monarchy, so much so, that if in an Œcumenical Council 'the greater part of the Fathers agreed with the Pope, all would 'be well, and settled by common consent; but if they disagreed, 'the Fathers' authority would have no force, because in sepa-'rating from their head they cannot represent the Church,' which is the declaration of the Canonists.[2] And, moreover, we might ask by what rule of eclecticism it was, that, whereas the Canon Law orders equally, 'First, that Councils should be called by the Roman pontiff; and, secondly, that he should preside over them;'[3] the former requisite should be omitted, and the latter only retained.

But let us suppose that the test was sufficient. Did the right, then, of finally deciding ecclesiastical causes *inhere in the Primacy? i.e.* had the Bishop of Rome the right of decision in a sense in which no other Patriarch had it, by virtue of his being 'Primate of the Church?'[4] On the contrary, S. Cyprian exercised the right with a higher hand. The only 'references' to the Patriarch of Rome which Mr. Wilberforce is able to enumerate before the time of Julius and the Council of Sardica, are 'the reference 'to S. Stephen against Marcian of Arles, and to S. Dionysius

[1] De Pont. Rom. 4, 24.

[2] Devoti, Inst. Canon. Prol. c. ii. Papal Supremacy, &c. p. 4.

[3] Dev. Prol. 3, § 38.

That it should be as Primate of the Church, and not as Patriarch or Bishop of Rome, that he had this right, is absolutely necessary for Mr. Wilberforce's argument. Anything which grew out of the office which the Bishop of Rome held in common with his brother Patriarchs, cannot arise from the peculiar and direct commission on which he rests the Papal power.

'against his namesake at Alexandria' (p. 177); the first is more than paralleled by the reference to S. Cyprian against the same Marcian of Arles, and S. Cyprian's declaration, that it was therefore the business of *himself and* Stephen to remedy that which was complained of;[1] and the latter we can only compare with some discontented letters which sometimes find their way to England, complaining that some Colonial Bishop does or does not hold some doctrine.

Such complaints were made from everywhere to everywhere, when occasion arose. Casaubon, in his masterly explanation of this point, names the following who interfered in matters beyond their immediate jurisdiction for the sake of redressing evils: Eusebius of Samosata, in Syria; Lucifer of Cagliari, at Antioch; Hosius, Gregory Nyssen, Eusebius of Vercelli, Epiphanius of Salamina, in many provinces; S. Cyprian, at Rome, at Arles, in Spain; S. Hilary, at Milan; S. Athanasius, at Antioch; S. Cyril of Alexandria, at Constantinople; and he points out the principle on which these acts took place, viz. that every Bishop was bound to care for the whole Church, and all was done ἀγαπητικῶς.[2]

In the Council of Sardica, which Mr. Wilberforce acknowledges to have 'laid down a *new principle of appeal*,' A.D. 347, 'the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope,' we are told, 'received its first canonical expression' (p. 176). We give the canon in its Greek and its Latin form, as it appears most likely that both were used at the Council.

'Bishop Hosius said: This too we must add, that no Bishop is to go across the borders from his own province to another where there are Bishops, unless he is called in by his brethren, that we may not seem to close the doors of charity. And this too in like manner we must provide, that if in any province one of the Bishops has a matter against his brother and fellow Bishop, neither of the two shall call in Bishops from another province as further judges. If a Bishop thinks that he has been condemned, and suppose that he has a good cause for the judgment to be renewed; *if it seem good to your charity*, let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter, and let those who have given the decision, write to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, so that the court may be renewed, if proper, by the Bishops who are neighbouring to the province, and let him appoint other judges himself; but if it cannot be proved that his case is such as to require a second trial, let not that which has once been determined be changed, but let the sentence which has been passed stand good.'—*Mansi*, tom. iii. p. 8. *Papal Supremacy*, &c. p. 28.

The first part of the Latin canon is the same as the Greek; we, therefore, give only the latter part where it differs:—

'But if any one of the Bishops has been judged in any cause, and thinks that he has a good case for the council being renewed, *if it please you*, let us

[1] 'Cui rei *nostrum* est consulere et subvenire, frater carissime,' &c. Ep. 67 ad Steph.

[2] See Casaubon's Treatise De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ, translated and published in Hickes' Treatises, vol. iii. p. 87. Ang. Cath. Lib.

honour the memory of S. Peter the Apostle, that those who have tried the cause write to Julius, the Roman Bishop, and if he judges that the trial ought to be renewed, let it be renewed, and let him give judges. But if he determines that the cause is such, that what is done ought not to be retouched, what he has decreed shall be confirmed. Is this the opinion of all? The Synod replied, It is.'—*Mansi*, tom. iii. p. 23.

There is some difference, it will be seen, in these versions; they agree, however, in one clause—'*If it seems good to your charity*'—'*if it please you.*' It does not acknowledge any right whatever inhering in the Bishop of Rome, as Primate, to receive appeals: it makes a concession to the effect that the Bishops, for whom it was legislating (this was a purely Western Council), might by grant of the Council, if the Council willed, be allowed to appeal to Julius, Bishop of Rome, if they thought themselves wronged in a trial; and it grants to Julius, Bishop of Rome, the power of desiring that the cause may be reheard in the province where it arose, if there is sufficient reason. The words—*if it seems good to your charity—if it please you*—are clearly very important words. And they have been dwelt upon at great length by the whole school of Gallican divines, such as De Marca,[1] as well as by Casaubon and our own writers. How, then, does Mr. Wilberforce meet them? What explanation has he to give?—what does he do with them?—*He omits them!* Here is the canon in his version:—

'If a Bishop is judged in any cause, and thinks that he has reason for demanding a new trial, let us honour the memory of S. Peter the Apostle; let them who have examined the cause, write to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, and if he thinks that the trial ought to be repeated, let it be repeated, and let him assign judges.'—P. 176.

This is a simple way of meeting the difficulty; but why stop short with *omissions?*—why not invent a clause as well as leave one out?

With the Sardican decree Mr. Wilberforce is quite satisfied. 'Such was the manner in which the appellate juris-'diction of the Bishop of Rome received a legal shape' (p. 177). He does not tell us that the canon is irreconcileable with appeals having been made to Rome by Divine right, or by virtue of the Nicene canons, nor that the canon was reversed in the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon. The appellate power which, for the West, but never for the East, became vested in the Bishops of Rome, arose, far more, from a decree of the Emperor Gratian in 378: it was increased by a decree of the Emperor Valentinian in 445 (those 'strong-handed associates

[1] 'The words of the canon prove that the institution of this right was new. *If it please you*, says Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, who presided, *let us honour the memory of the Apostle S. Peter.* He says not that the ancient tradition was to be confirmed, as was wont to be done in matters which only require the renewal or explanation of an ancient right.'—De Concord. vii. 3; Papal Supremacy, &c. p. 29.

(p. 277) who backed' the Roman Bishops), and it was finally confirmed by the false Decretals of Isidore, which were forged in the middle of the ninth century. Mr. Wilberforce does not quote one of the canons of the Œcumenical Councils on the subject of appeals; and yet there are many. For example, the sixth canon of the Council of Constantinople in 381, adopting the rule laid down by the Council of Antioch in 341, orders that a Bishop, against whom a charge is laid, shall be judged by his coprovincial Bishops, and that from them there should be an appeal to the Bishops of the 'Diocese'—*i. e.* of the country in which the province was situated, but that the appeal is to go no further. And if the Sardican canon 'legalizes the appellate jurisdiction' of the Bishop of Rome, what does the ninth canon of Chalcedon do for the Bishop of Constantinople?

'If a clergyman has a matter against his own or another Bishop, let him be judged by the synod of the province, but if a Bishop or clergyman has a case against the metropolitan of the province, let him take either the Exarch of the "Diocese," or *the* [*episcopal*] *throne of royal Constantinople*, and be judged there.'[1]—*Papal Supremacy, &c.* p. 74.

This canon of the fourth Œcumenical Council, which in matter of appeal appoints the Patriarch of Constantinople as Primate of the Church, is never once mentioned by Mr. Wilberforce. Dupin's account of the authority of the Sardican Council is as follows:—

'Those canons of Sardica have never been received in the East,[2] and only at a late date in the West. As to the East, it is well known that, at the very moment they were being passed, the Eastern Bishops established the very contrary; nor afterwards did they make mention of this right of revising judgments in the Councils of Constantinople, or Chalcedon, or in Trullo, and they there decreed that the decision of the provincial synod, or at farthest of the Patriarch, should be final in all causes. And in the West, after this synod was held, the Africans rejected the discipline sanctioned by it, the French rejected it, nay, even the Italians did not admit its authority.'—*Dupin, Diss. Eccles.* ii. p. 91.

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[1] The *Exarch of a Diocese* was the same thing as a Patriarch or Primate. The *Dioceses* at this time were, as is rightly explained in 'Papal Supremacy,' p. 13, 'civil divisions or districts of the Roman empire, made up of several *provinces*.' There were thirteen *Dioceses*—Italy, Egypt, the East (*i.e.* the parts about Antioch), Asia, Pontus, Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia, Illyricum, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, (*Ibid.* p. 76.) The chief Bishop in each *province* was called Metropolitan; the chief Bishop in each *Diocese* or district was called indifferently, Patriarch, Exarch, or Primate. The name Patriarch was, however, by custom confined to the Bishops of the *Dioceses* of Italy, Egypt, and the East, and the Bishops of Constantinople and Jerusalem. The chief Bishop in most of the other Dioceses was called Exarch, and in Africa had the name of Primate. The Bishops of one *Diocese* are strictly forbidden (Council of Constantinople, can. ii.) to intermeddle in the affairs of another *Diocese*. Thus Dioceses, ecclesiastically considered, were independent National Churches.

[2] This is true; for though admitted in the Council in Trullo, they were admitted only in company with other canons enacting the opposite principle of appeal for the East.

In spite of this Western synod, and the decrees of Gratian and Valentinian, Mr. Wilberforce acknowledges that the Roman Patriarch's 'appellate jurisdiction' was not 'fully admitted' till the time of Gregory the Great,—that is, for 600 years of the Church's life; nor was it admitted then. How *could* it have been, when it was allowed by the canons of Chalcedon for any Bishop in the Roman district to appeal to the Bishop of Constantinople, but it was not allowed for a Bishop in the Constantinopolitan district to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, or to any other than the Bishop of Constantinople?—when at that moment the Patriarch of Constantinople was attempting to set himself up as head and centre of the Church, putting forth those very claims which the successors of the Roman Patriarchs have since made their own?—when S. Gregory found it necessary to write his famous letters, broadly denouncing the assumption, by him or by any other, of the titles which embody the present Papal idea, because they were destructive of the Patriarchal system of the authority of Bishops, and of the Faith itself (Lib. 5, 43; 9, 68); because they were profane appellations, anticipatory of Antichrist (Lib. 7, 27, 33); because Christ alone is the Head of the Church, and the term Universal (then assumed by John of Constantinople) was an invasion of his rights, and an imitation of the devil? (Lib. 5, 18). Appeal to Rome was not acknowledged in Gregory's time. It was one of the things which grew out of Isidore's forgeries, according to Bishop De Marca's testimony.[1] And Fleury expresses himself on the subject as follows:—

'It is said in the false Decretals, that Bishops cannot be judged definitively save by the Pope alone, and that principle is often repeated there. Nevertheless, you have seen a hundred examples to the contrary; to take one of the most illustrious, Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, the first See of S. Peter, and the third city of the Roman empire, was judged and deposed by the Bishops of the East and the neighbouring provinces, without the participation of the Pope, whom they contented themselves with informing of it after it was done, as is seen by their synodal letters, and the Pope does not complain of it. Nothing is more frequent in the first nine centuries (*i.e.* until the false Decretals were accepted), than the accusations and depositions of Bishops. But their trial took place in provincial councils, which were the ordinary tribunal for all ecclesiastical causes. One must be absolutely ignorant of the history of the Church, to imagine at any time, or in any country, it has ever been impossible to judge a Bishop without sending to Rome, or obtaining a commission from the Pope . . . . . One of the greatest wounds which the false Decretals have inflicted on the discipline of the Church, is the having infinitely extended appeals to the Pope. It appears that the forger had this point greatly at heart, by the care he has taken to diffuse through all his work the principle, that not only every Bishop, but every priest, and in general every person who finds himself harassed, may, on every occasion, appeal directly to the Pope. He

[1] De Concord. vii. 20.

has made as many as nine Popes speak on this subject, Anacletus, the first and second Sixtus, Fabian, Cornelius, Victor, Zephyrinus, Marcellus, and Julius . . . You have seen that all the Greek Bishops, and their Patriarchs even, were judged and often deposed in Councils; that permission was not asked of the Pope to assemble them, nor appeals made to him for their judgments. He was not applied to for the translation of Bishops or the founding of Bishopries; the canons comprised in the ancient code of the Greek Church were followed. . . . . You will say, perhaps, that it is not surprising that the Greeks did not apply to the Pope, either for appeal or for the other matters, since, from the time of Photius, they ceased to recognise him as head of the Church. But did they apply to him before? And in the time when they were most united with the Roman Church, did they observe anything of that which I call the New Discipline? They were not so heedless as to do it, since the Latins themselves did it not, and this discipline was yet unknown to all the Church.'—*Fleury, Quatrième Discours.*

So much for the first part of Mr. Wilberforce's test. With the second he fares still worse.

'The second main particular in the Papal Supremacy, is the right of presiding in Councils. How comes this to belong to the Bishops of Rome?' —P. 182.

How, indeed? But perhaps we had better first ask, if it is the fact, before we inquire into the manner of accounting for it. Did the Bishops of Rome preside over the Early Œcumenical Councils? As the elder Patriarch of the Church, we should have expected that they would do so. But what says history? Did S. Peter preside at the Council of Jerusalem? No! Mr. Wilberforce maintains that he did (p. 125). Our readers have the Acts of the Apostles before them, and we leave the question to their judgment. Did the Bishop of Rome preside at Nicæa? No! It is almost certain that Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, the Emperor's favourite Bishop, presided. If he did not, he at any rate ranked above the representatives of the Roman Bishops, for he signs above them.[1]

Did the Bishop of Rome preside at Constantinople? No! The second Œcumenical Council, says Mr. Wilberforce, was 'merely an Eastern Synod.' . . . . It was 'presided over therefore by the Bishops of the city where it was held, and the first name subscribed is that of Nectarius of Constantinople' (p. 184). This is not correct. It was presided over by Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, a Patriarch unrecognised by the Patriarch of Rome, and probably at that moment out of communion with him; and it was only upon his death that S. Gregory Nazianzen, and

[1] In the Bishop of Rome being represented by presbyters at Nicæa, Mr. Wilberforce sees something which 'distinguished him from the other prelates:' 'the see of Rome, as being the seat of the Primate, had a privilege of her own, independent of anything belonging to the Episcopal office in general' (p. 185). Unfortunately for this theory, Eusebius and Socrates give us the real reason of the presence of the presbyters. 'The prelate of the royal city was away *on account of his age*, and his presbyters were present, and filled his place.'—Socr. i. 8.

Nectarius became successively presidents ('Papal Supremacy.' p. 11). That it should have been 'merely an Eastern Synod,' where Rome was not represented, which fixed the shape of the Nicene Creed, ought, we should imagine, to be some obstacle to the theory of a 'Primacy which involves the Supremacy.'

Did the Bishop of Rome preside at the Council of Ephesus? No! S. Cyril of Alexandria was its president. Thus we see that Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Alexandria, that is, all the other four Patriarchates had the honour of presiding at the Œcumenical Councils of the Church before the Patriarch of Rome, on whom that office devolved for the first time at the Council of Chalcedon.

But is it found that the Bishops of Rome presided at the non-Œcumenical Councils—those Councils whose canons were taken into the code of the Eastern Church by the Council in Trullo? Did he preside at Ancyra? at Neocæsarea? at Gangra? at Antioch? at Laodicea? at Sardica? at Carthage? No! not at any one of them. Did he preside at any single Council previous to the Council of Chalcedon, except such as were held in his own Diocese or Patriarchate? No! not at one. And yet, 'the right of presiding at Councils is inherent in the Primacy' (p. 168).

Mr. Wilberforce will not, however, give up the Council of Ephesus. 'The president was the second Patriarch, S. Cyril, 'who acted professedly as the representative of the Primate S. 'Celestine' (p. 184). 'Not only did S. Cyril act as president 'by especial delegation from Pope Celestine, but the Council 'refers to his direction as the ground of its proceeding' (p. 186). The meaning of the last part of this sentence is that 'the Synod wrote to the Emperor, saying, that they had 'deposed Nestorius on finding him guilty of heresy, and that 'they praised Celestine, Bishop of great Rome, who condemned 'Nestorius for his heretical doctrines before our sentence, and 'put out his sentence against him before us for the sake of the 'safety of the Church, and of the holy and saving Faith 'which has been handed down to us from the holy Apostles 'and Evangelists, and the holy Fathers.' To us, as to Bossuet, the reconsideration of a sentence passed by the Roman Patriarch (a similar sentence had been passed by the Alexandrian Patriarch), shows rather a want than an abundance of authority on his part. But it is with the presidency that we have now especially to deal. Mr. Wilberforce has added a very telling note:

'"Vicem nostram Cyrillo delegavimus," &c. Harduin, i. 1318, 1307, 1466.—The commission to S. Cyril himself is given, Harduin, i. 1323, and is referred to by the Egyptian Bishops, 1355, 1475.'—P. 186.

Unfortunate, that when we turn to Harduin, we find that 'the commission' referred to has nothing whatever to do with the Council of Ephesus, that the letter containing it was written on the 10th of August, A.D. 430, and that the act which S. Cyril is thereby authorized to perform is to be performed after the expiration of ten days, whereas the Council of Ephesus was not summoned till the 20th of December, that is, more than four months afterwards, and did not sit till the 22d of June, 431. At the time that S. Celestine wrote his letter, the proposal of an Œcumenical Council was not broached. The facts are these. Nestorius and S. Cyril, the two great Patriarchs of the East, being locked in internecine strife, turned for help to the Patriarch of the West. They both wrote to S. Celestine. S. Celestine took the side of S. Cyril and orthodoxy, and followed his lead in the Nestorian controversy just as Julius clung fast to S. Athanasius in the Arian disputes. A Roman Council was held, which resulted in the condemnation of Nestorius by the Roman Church. Upon this Celestine writes to S. Cyril, Aug. 10, 430, the letter which, according to Mr. Wilberforce, appoints him to 'act as president at the Council of Ephesus by especial delegation from Pope Celestine' (at a time when the Council of Ephesus had not yet been heard of), and contains his 'commission' for that purpose. It runs as follows:—

'Join therefore the authority of our See to your own; use our stead; execute this sentence with strictness and vigour: let him either, within ten days from the day of this monition, condemn in writing his wicked teaching, and declare that he holds that faith about the nativity of Christ, our God, which is held both by the Roman Church and by your Holiness' Church, and by the whole of our religion; or if he does not do this, let your Holiness provide at once for his Church, and let him know that he must needs be cut off from our body, since he has been unwilling to receive the treatment of his physicians, and like a pestilent disease, has rushed violently to the destruction of himself and of all entrusted to him. We have written to the same effect to our holy brethren and brother Bishops, John (of Antioch); Rufus (of Thessalonica); Juvenal (of Jerusalem); and Flavian (of Philippi), in order that our sentence, or rather the Divine sentence of Christ, may be known about him. Aug. 10, 430.'—*Harduin*, i. 1323.

S. Cyril, like S. Celestine, held his Council at Alexandria, and then despatched his celebrated letter of excommunication, written not only in his own name, but also by authority of the above 'commission,' in that of S. Celestine. This excommunication was conveyed to Constantinople by four Bishops, and there published Dec. 6, A.D. 430. Nestorius met it with like anathemas against his opponents; and then, to allay the storm, Theodosius called the Council of Ephesus; the sentences of Celestine and Cyril, meantime, remaining without effect, as they awaited the superior authority of a General Council.

So much for the *Vicem nostram Cyrillo delegavimus*, and *the Com-*

mission to S. Cyril, which, we repeat, was given for one thing, and is represented by Mr. Wilberforce to have been given for another. But we are told further, that 'it is referred to by the Egyptian Bishops.' The fact indicated by these words is, that the chief notary, who was Peter, an Alexandrian presbyter, read the list of the Bishops who were present at the opening of the Council; and the list begins thus:—'The most religious and pious Bishops, 'Cyril of Alexandria, who was *also* managing the part (διέπον-'τος καὶ τὸν τόπον) of Celestine, the most holy and pious Bishop 'of the Church of the Romans, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, and 'Memnon of Ephesus, and Flavian of Philippi, who was holding 'also the part of Rufus, the most pious Bishop of the Church of 'Thessalonica,' &c. This means that Cyril was armed with the authority of the Patriarch of Rome, as well as his own, and held his proxy just as Flavian held that of Rufus. But where is there anything about his presiding by Celestine's commission, and the Egyptian Bishops acknowledging it? Whether or no he presided simply in his own right, or by his own right, strengthened by the addition of the right of Celestine, is a question which we need not discuss. That he presided in his own right is indubitable, and the reason why S. Celestine's name is recorded is, according to Richerius, that the orthodox body might have a majority of the Patriarchs on their side, whereas without him, they were divided two against two. Most justly Mr. Allies says, that S. Cyril sat as president in his own right; and Bossuet's words are sufficiently explicit: 'Although 'Cyril having been named the executor of the Pope's sentence, 'had executed it in the Council,' (he had executed it previously to the Council;) '*yet he had not been expressly delegated to the 'Council, of which Celestine had yet no thought when he trusted Cyril 'to represent him.* But Arcadius Projectus and Philip being 'expressly sent by Celestine to the Council, confirmed the acts 'of the Council in virtue of this special commission.'[1] After their arrival, which did not occur at the beginning, these three legates are the τοποτήρηται of Celestine and the Western Bishops, and accordingly Arcadius subscribes next after Cyril, who signs first simply in his own character, *i.e.* because he was Patriarch of Alexandria, and President of the Council. The difference between the commission to S. Cyril, previous to the time that the Council was thought of, and of the commission to Arcadius, Projectus, and Philip for the Council, is distinctly stated in the letter of the Synod to the Emperor.[2] And in the letter of the Synod to Celestine, relating the condemnation of S. Cyril and Memnon, by John of Antioch, the especial reason given why Celestine ought to be *personally* indignant it, is, not that his representative was condemned, but that

[1] Boss. vii. 9. 13. [2] Hard. i. p. 1483.

the Synod had been insulted, in which sat Arcadius, Projectus, and Philip, *τὴν σὴν ἡμῖν παρουσίαν δι' ἑαυτῶν χαριζόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας τὸν τόπον ἀναπληροῦντες.*[1]

Richerius, the learned doctor of the Sorbonne, writes clearly and decidedly:—

'Bellarmine, and the other writers of the Roman Court, plead that Cyril presided because Celestine had made him his vicar. But since the Ephesian Council was held against Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the right of presiding belonged to Cyril of Alexandria, in the absence of the Roman Pontiff; without any commission from Celestine, he would have held that office in right of his own see, according to the Nicene canons. Why, it is evident from the second action, that Celestine sent Arcadius, Projectus, and Philip to take his place in the Council of Ephesus; the acts declare it in so many words, and yet Cyril signed before them in the sixth Action. *Nor should it be concealed that this letter in which Celestine commits his stead to Cyril, was written before he thought that a General Council was going to be held against Nestorius, and is restricted solely to the execution of his sentence against Nestorius, who he desired should be excommunicated and deposed, unless he repented within ten days after the sentence.* From hence it follows, that it is a vain attempt which is made to prove that Cyril presided over the Council of Ephesus as Celestine's vicar, since that office belonged to him by the prerogative of his own see.'—*Hist. Conc. Gen.* p. 150.

Before leaving the Council of Ephesus, we must give a specimen of how much Mr. Wilberforce can effect by translation, and by a judicious choice of versions: 'We have directed, according to our solicitude, our holy brethren and fellow priests, 'men of one mind with us, and well approved, the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and Philip our presbyter, that they may 'be present at those things which are done, and carry out that 'which we have previously appointed; *to which, we have no doubt, 'your Holiness will yield assent, since what is done appears to be 'decreed for the security of the whole Church*'[2] (p. 186). This ought to be translated thus: 'We have sent to you, as undertaking our 'solicitude, the holy brethren our fellow ministers, men proved 'to be of the same soul with ourselves, Bishops Arcadius and 'Projectus, and our presbyter Philip, who will be present at the 'proceedings, and carry out what was long ago settled upon by 'us. *We doubt not that your Holiness will accord with them, for 'whatever conclusion ye shall arrive at would seem to be settled for 'the sake of the security of all the Churches.*'[3] Mr. Wilberforce has

[1] Hard. i. p. 1510.

[2] Hard. i. p. 1741.

[3] *Ἀπεστείλαμεν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀναδεχομένους φρόντιδα, τοὺς ἁγίους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συλλειτουργοὺς ἡμῶν, ὁμοψύχους ἡμῖν δεδοκιμασμένους Ἀρκάδιον καὶ Προῆκτον ἐπισκόπους, καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν ἡμέτερον πρεσβύτερον, οἳ τοῖς πραττομένοις παρέσονται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν πάλαι ὁρισθέντα ἐκβιβάσουσιν· οἷς παρασχεθῆναι παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρος ἁγιότητος οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλομεν συγκατάθεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἂν γνῶτε, δοκῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀμεριμνίας κεκρίσθαι.* There is another reading given in the margin, *ἐπὰν τὸ πρασσόμενον δοξῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἀσφαλείας*; i.e. since that *which is being done* will have seemed to be decreed for the security of all the Churches; and still another, *ὑπὲρ ἀνέγνωτε, δοκεῖ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.*, i.e. that which ye

followed the Latin instead of the Greek text, which was read and approved by the Fathers. There is another version, as follows: 'We have sent Arcadius, &c., who will be present, 'and will confirm afresh with their vote the things which are 'constituted by you. And we doubt not that your Holiness 'will admit them to the common harmony, and the giving of 'the sentence. And whatever ye shall determine, let that, for 'the sake of the tranquillity of all the Churches, be settled and 'defined.' Richerius argues at some length, that this is the genuine reading.[1] The fact of its existence should have been mentioned, and the Greek text ought to have been followed. Nor should it have been concealed that the main work of the Council was done, and the sentence pronounced, before that letter of S. Celestine arrived.

Next, for the Council of Chalcedon:—

'When we come to the Council itself, the four following things appear distinctly: 1st. The Council yields submission to the Pope, in regard to orders which he had previously given to his legates. 2ndly. The Council applies to the Pope to confirm its decisions, and that which is not confirmed by him falls to the ground. 3rdly. It rests the deference paid to the Pope on his claim to represent S. Peter. 4thly. It attributes to the Pope a peculiar personal dignity, so that those who assault him are supposed in an especial manner to assault the Church.'—P. 188.

History asserts the very reverse of all these four propositions. The first is founded on three occurrences: (1.) the deposition of Dioscorus; (2.) the treatment of Leo's letter to Flavian; (3.) the restoration of Theodoret. *These are the very three occurrences which Bossuet brings forward to prove the exact contrary of Mr. Wilberforce's statement, and by which he does prove it triumphantly.* For a full refutation of Mr. Wilberforce we must refer our readers to Bossuet's 'Defence of the Gallican Clergy,' book vii. chap. 15, 17. A translation of his arguments will be found in Mr. Allies' book, 'The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism,' p. 279. We cannot be sufficiently amazed that Mr. Wilberforce should have so ventured to peril his good name (if he was kept back by no other motive) as he has done by his reckless statements with regard to the Council of Chalcedon. His account of the deposition of Dioscorus is as follows:—

'At its first meeting, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who had presided at Ephesus two years before, took his place without hesitation as a Bishop. But Paschasinus, the reverend Bishop and vicar of the Apostolic See, said,—"We have the order of the blessed and apostolical Bishop of the city of Rome, the head of all the Churches, in which he has thought meet to order that Dioscorus should not sit in the Synod, but if he attempts to

have read, seems to be decreed, &c. Hard. i. p. 1472. There is evidently something corrupt.

[1] Rich. Hist. Conc. Gen. p. 155.

do so should be ejected. To this order we must keep." The reason is given by the other legate: Lucentius, the reverend Bishop who represented the Apostolical See, said, "He must give an account of his own judgment; for he presumed to judge when he had no right, and ventured to hold a Synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, which has never been done, nor ought to be done." Such was the language of the two Bishops who represented the see of Rome in the largest Council which has ever been held, wherein, however, among 520 Bishops, but two Western were present besides themselves. *And Dioscorus, though possessing the third Patriarchal See, was obliged to submit without opposition, and to abandon his place among the Bishops.*'—P. 188.

We must ask our readers to look back again to the passage which we have quoted. They will see there a fact stated, and a lesson drawn from it. The fact is the immediate dismissal of Dioscorus, the lesson the overpowering influence of Rome. Now we will place before them the very words to which Mr. Wilberforce refers for his fact and lesson. The first sentence is correct; we will not therefore repeat it, but merely observe that the 'we' who are 'ordered' means the Legates, not the Council.

'"This order we must keep; if therefore it seems good to your magnificence" (the magistrates) "let him go out or we will go out." The glorious magistrates and most illustrious senators said—"Why, what special charge is brought against the most pious Bishop Dioscorus?" The most pious Bishop Paschasinus, the legate of the Apostolic Throne, said—"It was necessary that he should be objected to on his entrance." The most noble magistrates and most illustrious senators said,—"As we have already said, a special crime of which he is guilty must be exhibited." The pious Bishop Lucentius, who held the place of the Apostolic Chair, said, "Let him give account of the judgment which he passed himself, for he grasped the character of judge when he had not obtained it, and he dared to hold a synod without the authority of the Apostolic Throne, which never has occurred, nor ought to occur." The most pious Bishop Paschasinus, legate of the Apostolic Throne, said, "We (the legates) cannot go against the commands of the most blessed and Apostolic Bishop, who rules the Apostolic Throne, nor against the ecclesiastical canons and the traditions of the Fathers." The most glorious magistrates and most illustrious senators said—"It is fitting that you exhibit what special crime he has been guilty of." The most pious Bishop Lucentius, legate of the Apostolic Throne, said, "It is not endurable that such an insult should be offered to us and to you, as that he should sit here when he is brought forward to be judged." The most noble magistrates and most illustrious senators said—"If you hold the character of a judge, you ought not to plead like an accuser." *And Dioscorus, the most pious Bishop of Alexandria, by the command of the most glorious magistrates and of the sacred senate, remained sitting amongst the others; and the most pious Roman Bishops sat down in their places and kept quiet;* and Eusebius, the most pious Bishop of Dorylæum, came forward and said, "Command my petition to be read, as has seemed good to the most pious Emperor. I am wronged by Dioscorus; the faith is wronged. Bishop Flavian has been murdered. He and I were unjustly condemned by him. Command my petition to be read." The most glorious magistrates and the magnificent senate said, "Let his petition be read." And Eusebius, by the desire of every one, sat down, and Veronician, the sacred secretary of the divine Consistory, took his petition and read it.'—*Harduin*, ii. 67.

Thus, the statement that 'Dioscorus was obliged to submit without opposition, and to abandon his place among the Bishops,' is wholly untrue; and instead of any deference being paid to the Archbishop of Rome, his demand is coolly and contemptuously put aside, and his representatives have to sit down and hold their tongues, after they had threatened to leave the Council if their request was not complied with. The same contemptuous disregard is shown impartially towards the Roman legates when they demand the dismissal of Dioscorus, and towards the Egyptian Bishops when they demand the dismissal of Theodoret. In both cases the magistrates overrule the objectors' petition. So far from true is it, that Dioscorus had 'to submit without opposition, and abandon his place,' that he sat throughout the whole of the Action, the account of which occupies from p. 67 to p. 274 in Harduin's closely-printed folio edition of the Councils: he took an active part in the debates: the acts of the Latrocinium and Flavian's Constantinopolitan Council were read: he was accused, and he defended himself. And at length the magistrates passed sentence on him thus:

'"Since it has been shown, by our inquiry into what was done and determined, and by the confession of the leaders of the late Synod (the Latrocinium), who acknowledge themselves to have been in error, and to have deprived those who all the time were orthodox, that Flavian of pious memory, and the most pious Bishop Eusebius, have been unjustly deposed, it seems to us, according to God's good pleasure, that it is just (if so it seem well to our most divine and pious Lord) that Dioscorus, the most religious Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal, &c., who held authority, and were leaders in that Synod, should fall under the same punishment that they then inflicted, and should be deprived of their Episcopal dignity, by the sacred Synod, according to the canons, care being taken that everything which occurs is made known to our divine head (the Emperor)." The Easterns and the most pious Bishops with them said, "That is a just judgment!" The Illyrians and the most pious Bishops with them said, "We have all made a mistake! Let us all obtain pardon!" The Easterns and the most pious Bishops with them said, "Long life to the senate! God holy, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us! Long life to the Emperor! The impious man is ever put to flight! Christ has put down Dioscorus! God has put down the murderer! This is a just sentence! this is a just Synod! the senate is just! God hath avenged his martyrs!"'—*Harduin*, ii. 271

It was after *this* sentence, and not till after this sentence, that Dioscorus 'abandoned his place among the Bishops.'

The second Action was occupied with the discussion of the Faith. At the third the magistrates were not present, and the attention of the Council was again called to Dioscorus. Other enormities were charged against him. He was thrice summoned, and refused to appear; and then, one after the other, the Bishops declared their sentence against him. The Pope's legates *of course* spoke, or 'pronounced sentence' (p. 129), first, because they were presiding; then all the other Bishops; and afterwards

they severally subscribed. Mr. Wilberforce quotes the latter part of the legates' sentence, but he omits the concluding words. They are as follows:—'Therefore this most holy and great 'Synod will pronounce sentence upon the afore-mentioned 'Dioscorus, in accordance with the canons.' And immediately Anatolius rises and says, 'I am in all things of the same mind 'with the Apostolic Throne, and I give my vote too for the 'deposition of Dioscorus, who has shown himself incapable of 'all priestly ministry, *because he has disobeyed the canons of the 'holy Fathers in everything, and has refused to obey when thrice 'canonically summoned.*' Each of the other Bishops gives his reasons for his vote; and it is remarkable, that *not one* of these expresses any deference towards Pope Leo of Rome, without in the same breath expressing *the same* deference to Pope Anatolius of Constantinople. That the sentence was 'founded' in any special manner 'on the celebrated letter which Leo had addressed to Flavianus' (p. 189), is again wholly untrue. That letter has not in it, and *could not* have in it, a single word directly referring to Dioscorus, or the causes of his deposition. It was written before the Latrocinium was held, and was to have been read at the Latrocinium; and it contained an exposition of the Faith against Eutychianism, which was not laid to the charge of Dioscorus at Chalcedon. We believe that every sentence in this and the following pages of Mr. Wilberforce's book contains a misstatement. We have not space to point them all out. For ample and incontrovertible proof that this celebrated letter was submitted to the judgment of the Council, as superior in authority to the writer, and that it was approved only because it was found on examination to be in accordance with the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus, we must refer our readers to the above-named works of Bossuet and Mr. Allies, and to 'Papal Supremacy,' &c. p. 21, or better still, to Harduin, ii. 386.

Again, that 'Dioscorus was sentenced on the very ground 'that, with the aid of the Council over which he presided, he 'had ventured to pass judgment on the Pope' (p. 189), is in several ways incorrect. It was not Leo, but Flavian of Constantinople, and Eusebius of Dorylæum, on whom Dioscorus passed judgment at the Latrocinium. And this, as we have seen, was the reason which the magistrates gave for his own deposition. Other aggravating causes are added afterwards by the Roman legates and by the Synod, in a letter to the Emperors and to Leo, and amongst them, and placed upon the same level with his disobedience to the summons of the Council, is an attempt at excommunicating Leo; but this cannot be what Mr. Wilberforce refers to, as he did not do this 'by aid of the

Council over which he presided' at Ephesus, which is clearly the Council referred to, nor by the aid of any Council at all. Baronius, it is true, says that he excommunicated Leo in Alexandria, at a Council of ten Bishops, (a magnificent body 'to preside over,') in the year 449; but Pagi has shown this to be a mistake. It was in the year 451 that he issued the excommunication, holding no Council about it at all, but getting ten Bishops, friendly to himself, to sign the sentence; and the place at which he issued it was Nicæa, where the General Council was originally gathered, before it was transferred to Chalcedon.[1]

The case of Theodoret again teaches the very contrary lesson to that for which it is advanced. Although received to communion by Leo, he was brought forward in the Council, and required to anathematize Nestorius. On his hesitating to do so, he was denounced as a heretic: on his doing it, and not till then, he was restored to his Church by the decree of the Council.[2] 'So, then,' says Bossuet, 'the judgment put forth 'by Leo concerning his restoration to his see, would have pro-'fited Theodoret nothing, unless after the matter had been 'brought before the Council, he had both approved his faith 'to the Council, and the judgment of Leo had been confirmed 'by the same Council.[3] If 'the power of acting in the interim, 'on which the ordinary government of the Church depends, is 'shown to be left to the Bishop of Rome' (p. 189), by his having been the first to acknowledge the orthodoxy of Theodoret, how much greater power is shown to be vested in the Bishop of Alexandria, by the measures by which S. Athanasius restored peace to Christendom after the Arian troubles?

The statement, then, that the Council of Chalcedon yields submission to the Pope, in regard to orders which he had previously given to his legates, in the case of Dioscorus, in respect to Leo's letter, or in the case of Theodoret, is not true.

'2dly. The Council applies to the Pope to confirm its deci-'sion, and *that which is not confirmed by him falls to the ground.*' Not only is this not founded in fact, but it is contrary to fact. The famous 28th Canon, granting to Constantinople coequal and coordinate rights and dignities with Rome, was passed, and 'failed to obtain Leo's confirmation,' but it did *not* 'fall to the ground.' On the contrary, ever since that time, Constantinople has ranked above Alexandria and Antioch, and next to Rome. The canon was again renewed in the Council in Trullo, as follows:—Canon xxxvi. 'Renewing the decrees of the hundred 'and fifty holy Fathers assembled in this heaven-protected royal

[1] Baronius ad an. 449, vol. viii. p. 47. Pagi ad an. 449, No. 23. Mansi, p. 510.
[2] Hard. ii. p. 499. [3] Boss. Def. Cler. Gall. vii. 13.

'city, and those of the six hundred and thirty Fathers assem-'bled at Chalcedon, we decree that the See of Constantinople 'shall enjoy equal prerogatives with the See of Elder Rome, 'and be magnified, as that is, in ecclesiastical matters, being 'second after it; next to which, let the See of the great city 'of Alexandria rank, then that of Antioch, and then that of 'Jerusalem.' Mr. Allies' comment on this canon is noticeable. He says:—

'Here the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon is referred to as part of the decrees of that Council. By which, as well as by the whole of the intervening history, *we may see the utter untruthfulness of the assertion, that it was given up through the opposition of S. Leo.* And of course the utter incompatibility of this canon with the present Papal Idea is plain at once. It sets clearly before the eyes the enormous and world-wide difference between Primacy and Supremacy. It comes to us on the sanction of two Œcumenical Councils, and a third intended to be so, and which, though not so, has remained the living rule of one half of the Church for 1150 years. But further, we have S. Leo's own authority for saying, that the Roman Church in his day knew nothing of the canons of the second Œcumenical Council; so that from 381 to 451, the whole East was governed by canons never even carried to the Pope; and though S. Leo absolutely refused to receive, and did all he could to annul the 28th canon of Chalcedon, yet his legates at that very Council found Anatolius in full possession of the second place among the Patriarchs, did not attempt to disturb him in it, nay, made it a charge against Dioscorus, that he had pushed Flavian of Constantinople down to the fifth place. In fact, from the Council of 381, the Patriarch of Constantinople is found acting as second Bishop of the Church; he was so at Chalcedon in 451, he was so at Constantinople in 553, and again in 681, and he was so *in spite* of all the Pope could do against him.'—P. 391.

'Leo withheld his approval on the one hand, and on the other the canon prevailed throughout the East; and the See of Constantinople has ever since been accepted there as the first See of the East.'—*Papal Supremacy, &c.* p. 25.

'3dly. It rests the deference paid to the Pope on his claim 'to represent S. Peter.'

To prove the contrary of this statement, we have but to quote a part of this same 28th canon. 'The Fathers have, as was 'just and natural (εἰκότως), given its privileges to the throne of Elder Rome, because'—the Pope represents S. Peter? No! but because, 'that is the imperial city, and moved by the same 'purpose the 150 religious Bishops gave equal prerogatives to 'the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the 'city which is honoured with the Emperor and the Senate 'ought to enjoy equal prerogatives with the Elder royal Rome, 'and to be magnified in ecclesiastical matters as she is, being 'second after her.' That by these prerogatives are not meant the real prerogatives of Rome, but only 'the accidents of dignity' attached to them' (p. 191), is one of those 'clever but wholly arbitrary distinctions' which rest upon no foundation whatever, but which Bossuet terms 'inventions.'

'4thly. It attributes to the Pope a peculiar personal dignity, so

'that those who assault him are supposed in an especial manner 'to assault the Church.' 'When summing up the crimes of 'Dioscorus it is his attack upon the Bishop of Rome, *as being* '*fatal to the order and oneness of the Church*, which *forms the* '*climax* of their charge. And that not only in their letter to 'Leo himself, but also to the Emperors' (p. 192). The crimes of Dioscorus, which led to his deposition, are given (1) by the magistrates, (2) by the legates, (3) by Anatolius of Constantinople, (4) by the rest of the Bishops, (5) in the letter addressed to Dioscorus by the Synod, (6) in the letter addressed to the Alexandrian clergy, (7) in the letter addressed to the Emperors, (8) in the letter addressed to Leo. (1) The magistrates give only one reason; they say that it is because he deposed Flavian of Constantinople, and Eusebius of Dorylæum in the Latrocinium (Hard. ii. 271). (2) The legates give as the reasons, (α) that he had acted contrary to the canons and ecclesiastical discipline; (β) that he had re-admitted Eutyches to communion; (γ) that he had not allowed Leo's letter to be read at the Latrocinium. 'But he has 'overshot his former wickedness by fresh crimes;' viz. (δ) 'he 'has dared to dictate an excommunication against Leo the 'Archbishop of great Rome; (ϵ) many charges of iniquity have 'been brought before the holy Synod against him; (ζ) thrice 'summoned he has disobeyed; (η) he has received to com-'munion men lawfully and synodically deposed' (Hard. ii. 345). (3) Anatolius gives as the reasons, (α) that he had been disobedient to the canons of the Fathers; (β) that he had disobeyed the threefold summons (Hard. ii. 345). Elsewhere he gives the reasons as, (α) the excommunication of Leo; (β) the disobedience to the summons (Hard. ii. 450). (4) The causes commonly given by the Bishops are, (α) that he has broken the canons, (β) that he has disobeyed the Council's summons; if they say anything about his conduct to Leo, they place his conduct to Anatolius on the same footing. Thus Patricius of Tyana finds him guilty of 'despising both the divine canons, 'and also the most holy Fathers and Archbishops, Leo of Old 'Rome, and Anatolius of New Rome, and all the holy and 'Œcumenical Council' (Hard. ii. 350). (5) The letter to Dioscorus himself gives as the reasons, (α) 'because thou hast 'despised the divine canons, and (β) hast been disobedient to 'this holy and Œcumenical Council, in that, in addition to 'your other crimes, in which thou hast been found out, thou 'hast been thrice summoned by this holy and great Council ac-'cording to the divine canons, to answer to the charges laid 'against thee, and hast not come' (Hard. ii. 378). (6) The letter to the Alexandrian clergy gives the same two reasons.

(7) The letter to the Emperors gives as the reasons, (α) that he had refused to allow Leo's letter to be read at the Latrocinium, (β) that he had readmitted Eutyches and others. 'And 'perhaps he might have obtained forgiveness for such and 'so great crimes, *if he would have asked for medicine from the 'Œcumenical Council by worthy repentance;* but since over and 'above his other wickednesses (γ) he has barked against the 'Apostolical See itself, and has endeavoured to issue letters of 'excommunication against the most holy and blessed Pope Leo, '*he has arrogantly persisted in his former iniquities;* and (ε) being 'insolent towards this holy Œcumenical and great Council, he 'has in utter contempt refused to answer to the different accu-'sations against him; and though three times summoned accord-'ing to the divine canons, has not deigned to appear.' (8) The letter to Leo himself gives as the reasons, (α) that he had deposed Flavian and Eusebius; (β) that he had readmitted Eutyches; 'and falling like a wild beast upon the Vine, he has torn 'up the best plant that he found there, and brought in that 'which had been thrown out as fruitless . . . . and in addi-'tion to all this, (γ) he extended his madness against even 'the person who had been entrusted by the Saviour with 'the guardianship of the Vine—we mean your Holiness,—and 'he practised excommunication against the man who had 'exerted himself to unite the body of the Church; and when 'he ought to repent of these things, and to ask with tears for 'mercy, he has rejoiced in them as excellent deeds, (δ) reject-'ing your Holiness's letter and setting himself against all the 'doctrines of the truth;' (ε) 'and he refused to obey three 'summonses addressed to him.'

Thus the causes of Dioscorus' deposition are various, and his excommunication of Leo is never spoken of alone, as 'forming a climax,' but always together with his refusal to obey the summons of the Council, which Mr. Wilberforce does not mention at all; and when these two last are put together as specially aggravating his guilt, we are also told how they did so; viz., by showing that he was still obstinate, and refused to recant his errors. As to the magnificent titles with which Leo is addressed by the Council, we must recollect that this was an age of magnificent titles; that the Emperor is frequently called, Θεία κορυφή, Divine Head, by the presiding magistrates in the course of the Council; and that in this letter the Constantinopolitans were but making up with Eastern wordiness for the bitter potion of the 9th and 28th canons, which they forced against his will upon the Western Patriarch. They could spare a few compliments when they had enacted by canon the equality of the Pope of Constantinople with the Pope

of Rome in ecclesiastical honour and privileges, and the superiority of the former to the latter in the substantial right of receiving appeals. But that they considered the Roman Bishop as the guardian of the Vine in any other sense but that in which they held themselves to be the same, is opposed to their every word and every act. To quote one out of innumerable passages, the Eastern prelates in the Fifth General Council when consciously regarding themselves as distinct from, and opposed to, the Roman prelate, express themselves as follows:—'We, therefore, to whom is committed the charge 'of ruling the Church of the Lord, fearing the malediction 'which hangs over those who do the work of the Lord negli-'gently, hasten to preserve the good seed of faith pure from 'the tares of impiety.' And individuals are spoken of in just the same manner. For example, S. Basil speaks of S. Athanasius as κορυφὴ τῶν ὅλων, 'the head of the whole;' and says, in writing to the same Father, 'There lies upon you as great a care and solicitude for all the Churches as for that which was peculiarly committed to your charge by our common Lord.' And again, 'Our Lord has constituted thee the physician of the infirmities of the Churches,' and S. Gregory Nazianzen says likewise of S. Athanasius, 'that he was entrusted with the mastership (ἐπιστασίαν) of the whole world.' In like manner, Lupus, *Bishop of Troyes*, is thus addressed by Sidonius Apollinaris:—'Thou, a father of fathers, and Bishop 'of Bishops, and another S. James of thy age, dost, as from 'a certain watch-tower of charity, and not from the lower 'Jerusalem, oversee all the members of the Church of our God; 'worthy to comfort all the infirm, and to be deservedly con-'sulted of all.'[1]

However, it *is* true that the Bishop of Rome presided at Chalcedon, and so Mr. Wilberforce says, 'It seems needless to 'go further in Church history in proof that the Bishop of Rome 'was supposed *to possess the power of presiding in Councils;* for 'what can be more conclusive than that which has been adduced 'from the Council of Chalcedon?' (p. 193). Most true, that it is shown that the Bishop of Rome 'possessed the right of presiding in Councils,' *equally with the other great Bishops of the Church;* most false, that it is shown that he possessed any *exclusive* right, or any right *as Primate* in the sense in which Mr. Wilberforce requires us to understand Primate. The Council of Jerusalem equally proves that the Bishop of Jerusalem 'was supposed to possess the power of presiding in Councils;' the

[1] Basil, Ep. 69, ad Athan. Op. tom. iii. p. 161, 162. Ep. 82, p. 175. S. Greg. at. 21, § 7. Op. tom. i. p. 389. Sid. Ap. lib. vi. Ep. 1. ad Lup. Bib. Patr. tom. x. p. 513. See Casaubon's Treatise; Hickes, vol. iii. p. 190.

Council of Nicæa, that the Bishop of Cordova was supposed to possess the same power; the Council of Constantinople, that the Bishops of Antioch and Constantinople were supposed to possess the same power; and the two Councils of Ephesus, that the Bishop of Alexandria was supposed to possess the same power. 'What *can* be more conclusive'?

But though it is thus 'needless to go further in Church history,' 'yet one more Council shall be cited, as having been a sort 'of sequel and appendage to the Council of Chalcedon, viz. the 'Sixth General Council, which met to complete the work of its 'precursor by censuring the heresy of the Monothelites, which 'had grown out of that of Eutyches. It was held at Constan-'tinople, A.D. 680' (p. 193). The Council of Chalcedon was, as every one knows, the *fourth* Œcumenical Council. Then why does Mr. Wilberforce leave out the *fifth*, and go on to the *sixth?* The reason is very simple. It is that *at the fifth, the Pope of Rome did not preside. He was present neither in person, (although he was in the very city where it was being held,) nor by his legates, and he was by implication, but designedly, anathematized by the Council as a supporter of heresy.* Now, what kind of dealing with an historical question is this? Mr. Wilberforce has a theory about Councils. To bend the facts connected with the earliest Councils is a sufficiently hard work, but he does at least attempt it. Presently he reaches the fifth General Council. This lies right athwart the very course of his argument, and no ingenuity can make it fit with his hypothesis. How does he proceed? Does he deny the facts? No! that is impossible. Does he, then, give up his theory? No! Does he even acknowledge the difficulty? No! What else remains? A very simple expedient — he omits all notice of the fifth Council, and *skips* from the fourth to the sixth. This may be ingenious, but it is not, after all, so convincing as straightforwardness, and it is unworthy of one who professes to be examining and inquiring before the solemn tribunal of God, and in the sincerity of his own soul.

And when Mr. Wilberforce has thus reached the sixth Council, how does he deal with it? He professes to exhibit from it 'the relation of the ancient Universal Councils to the successor of S. Peter' (p. 194). With such a profession as this in his mouth, is it fair, is it right, is it conceivable, that he should have concealed the fact that Pope Honorius was anathematized by name in this Council; and that the Council itself was not presided over by Pope Agatho's legates, who were present, but by the Emperor Constantine; and that he should have quoted as the genuine exponent of the mind of the Council a corrupted passage which does not appear in the Greek text,

which was alone read to the Council? The lesson that Bossuet learns is something very different. He writes—

'As the third, fourth, and fifth Councils passed judgment on the decisions of Roman Pontiffs, and only approved of them after inquiry, so the sixth Council is known to have done; and that course is common to all Councils. . . . . They inquire into the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, and after inquiry made, approve Agatho's decrees, condemn those of Honorius. . . . . This we find to be certain. Honorius duly questioned by three patriarchs *de fide*, gave the worst answer possible; was condemned with anathema by the sixth Council; was excused by Roman Pontiffs before the supreme sentence of the Council, and after that sentence was condemned with the same anathema.'[1]—*Def. Cler. Gall.* vii. 21, 26.

Certainly if Mr. Wilberforce has represented history fairly, Bossuet has disgracefully misstated it. For example, Mr. Wilberforce's last remarks on the subject of Councils is as follows, and it is put forth as though no one had ever denied or doubted it:—'The Council of Chalcedon rests its deference 'to Leo on the same grounds which were stated by S. Peter 'Chrysologus, just before it assembled, "Blessed Peter, who 'lives and presides in his own see, supplies truth of faith to 'those who seek it"' (p. 195). Bossuet has written many pages demonstrating the contrary of this assertion, and there are few statements which admit of so ample and satisfactory a refutation, for all the Bishops, one after the other, give their reasons for accepting Leo's letter. Not one rests it upon the simple authority of the see of Rome. Almost every one says that he accepts it because it agrees with other received documents and professions of faith. Indeed, Leo's orthodoxy is tested by his agreement with Cyril: Alexandria is made the standard by which to try Rome.

All, then, that Mr. Wilberforce has proved about the Councils is this, that the Bishop of Rome presided at one, and only one, out of the six first General Councils, viz. at the Council of Chalcedon. *If*, then, 'the right of presiding at Councils inheres in the Primacy,' it is clear that the Bishop of Rome could not have held the Primacy, and that there could have been no such Primacy in the Church.

The third test by which the Supremacy is to be identified with the Primacy is, 'the right of interference in all ecclesias-

[1] The sentence on Honorius is as follows:—'Besides this, we order that Honorius, who was Pope of ancient Rome, be cast out of the holy Church of God and anathematized, because we find, by his writings to Sergius, that he has in all things followed his mind, and confirmed his impious dogmas.'—Hard. iii. 1599. Pope Leo II. writes—'We anathematize also Honorius, who did not illumine this apostolical Church with the doctrine of apostolical tradition, but by a foul betrayal attempted to subvert its spotless faith.'—Hard. iii. 1475. The seventh Council also refers to the excommunication, and Honorius' name is found among the anathematized in the Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum.—Routh's Opusc. ii. 153.

'tical appointments.' 'This was, no doubt, the last of the three 'to receive legal form and expression' (p. 195). 'But it was 'not till long afterwards that the system of referring to the see 'of S. Peter received that settled form which gave stability to 'the mediæval Church: and the great agent through which 'this work was effected was not a Roman Bishop, but our 'countryman, S. Boniface the Apostle of Germany' (p. 199). 'It 'was through the example and influence of this first of English 'missionaries, and through the glory of his martyrdom, that 'the system prevailed for which he offered up his life' (201). So the two offices of the Primacy and of the Supremacy are to be identified by their both exercising a function, which function was confessedly not exercised till the eight century after Christ. This seems to us childish. Meantime, Mr. Wilberforce has not given us one of the innumerable testimonies of Councils Œcumenical and Provincial, of Bishops, of Doctors, of Martyrs, and of Fathers, that interference in one branch, or 'Diocese,' of the Church by any one Bishop not belonging to that 'Diocese,' was forbidden throughout the early ages by the whole authority of the Church Catholic, unless such interferences took place simply ἀγαπητικῶς, and then it belonged to all Bishops, one as much as another. If we were to quote all the passages on this subject in the writings of the Doctors of the Church, we should fill an octavo volume: simply to transcribe the canons of the Councils which were passed for the purpose of maintaining the independence of the Churches of the several 'Dioceses,' would fill many pages. We must refer our readers to the Council of Nicæa, canons v. vi.; to the Council of Constantinople, canons ii. iii. vi.; to the Council of Ephesus, canons i. viii.; to the Council of Chalcedon, canons ix. xvii. xxviii. xxx. Almost all of these canons are given in the Greek, Latin, and English, in 'Papal Supremacy,' &c., p. 69. We have here only room for part of the eighth Ephesine canon:—

'This same rule shall be kept also in the other "Dioceses" and the provinces throughout the world, that no one of the religious Bishops shall lay his hand upon another province which has not been under his, that is, his predecessor's control, originally and from the beginning; and if he has laid his hand upon it and forcibly reduced it under himself, he is to restore it; that the canons of the fathers be not transgressed, and the pride of worldly power be secretly introduced under the cover of the priestly function, and by little and little, without marking the steps by which it is lost, we be deprived of the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own blood.'—P. 73.

We must add part of the second Constantinopolitan canon:—

'Bishops who are outside a "Diocese," are not to invade the Churches which are across the borders, nor to bring confusion into the Churches; but according to the canons, the Bishop of Alexandria must have *the sole* ad-

ministration of the affairs of Egypt, and the Bishops of the East must administer the East only (the privileges which are assigned to the Church of Antioch by the canons made at Nicæa being preserved), and the Bishop of the Asian Diocese must administer the affairs of the Asian only, and those of the Pontic Diocese, the affairs of the Pontic only, and those of Thrace, the affairs of Thrace only. Moreover, Bishops are not without invitation to go beyond the bounds of their Diocese for the purpose of ordaining, *or any other ecclesiastical function*.'—P. 12.

If once the force of these two canons is appreciated, we may see in them, as in a mirror, the whole constitution of the Church at the time of the Council of Constantinople. We must again remind our readers that in reading of a 'Diocese,' they must put out of their thoughts what is now called by that name but was then denominated a Parish, and they must recollect that something is meant very little, if at all different, from a National Church. That which was presided over by a Bishop was called παροικία, or Parish; that which was presided over by a Metropolitan was called an ἐπαρχία, or Province, and consisted of many παροικίαι; that which was presided over by a Patriarch, Exarch, or Primate (according as he had one or other of these three names) was called a Diocese. Now, this word Diocese is not originally an ecclesiastical term: it is the name of a civil division of the Empire, constituted by several provinces, and ruled by a præfect. There was then established in each of these Dioceses a Church containing a hierarchy, in which we may mark three steps,—the lowest, the Bishops, whose jurisdiction was confined to their παροικίαι; the next, the Metropolitans (two, three, or more in number, according as the Diocese was larger or smaller), each of whom had jurisdiction over a province; and, lastly, a Primate, who had jurisdiction over the whole Church of the Diocese. There is nothing more clearly brought out by the ancient canons than that each of these Churches was a distinct and independent whole in itself, bound, it is true, to the other sister Churches by the tie of love and the bond of the Holy Spirit uniting them all to their one Head and to one another, but absolutely free from all authoritative control exercised by any Bishops whatever without the limits of that Church or Diocese. At the time of the second Council the world was divided into thirteen such Dioceses; five of them are referred to in the above-quoted canons,—viz. Egypt, the East (*i. e.* the parts about Antioch), Asia, Pontus, Thrace. The eight others are—Italy, Macedonia, Dacia, Illyria, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain. As then there were thirteen Dioceses, the theory of the Church was, that there should be thirteen Diocesan Churches; and this theory was carried out, except so far as it was prevented from taking effect by the inhabitants of some of these Dioceses not having been Christianized. It is of these Dioceses that the canon

speaks—'Bishops who are outside a *Diocese* must not invade 'the Churches which are across the borders, nor bring confusion 'into the Churches.'

So far the constitution of the Church is clear enough. It consisted theoretically of thirteen independent, federal, Diocesan Churches. But now there came in two cross principles; the first was, that the Primate of that Diocesan Church which contained the greatest cities should borrow dignity from the greatness of those cities; the second, that respect should be paid to those Churches which were founded by the Apostles. In accordance with the second of these principles, we have seen that Tertullian declares that those Churches ought to be held in special regard which were founded by S. Paul and S. Peter, and thus an undefined reverence gathered around the names of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, which caused certain prerogatives of honour to be attached to the holders of those sees, above the other Primates. This principle, however, had not nearly so much weight and influence as the other that has been mentioned. We have seen that the Councils of Constantinople, Chalcedon, and Constantinople II. give as the reason of the prerogatives assigned to Rome and Constantinople the presence of the imperial power in those cities. And even had they not so expressly declared it, we might have gathered that it must have been so, for otherwise the apostolic sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria would never have allowed the unapostolic see of Constantinople to be preferred before themselves without making complaint; and indeed, on any other principle than this, the order of the Diocesan Churches would have been, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, rather than Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and on the Roman hypothesis of S. Peter's authority, still less could Alexandria have been placed before Antioch, had it not been that the Bishops ranked according to the greatness of their cities.

By virtue, then, of the first of these cross principles, the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were endued with a dignity which other Primates had not; by virtue of the second, the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople were raised above their brother Primates; so much so, that at the Council of Chalcedon a certain authority was given to the Patriarch of Constantinople over three Diocesan Churches, and appeals were allowed to him as much as to the appellant's own Patriarch from all parts of the Church. These were two points in which encroachments were made on the ancient constitution of the Church in favour of Constantinople; but yet it was done legitimately at an Œcumenical Council, and was of course capable of revision at any time. Rome never had any such

power, except by assumption and usurpation; all that she could and did appeal to was the Provincial Council of Sardica, (the canons of which Pope after Pope attempted to pass off as those of Nicæa,) and the decrees of the Western Emperors which backed her power. But still the Patriarch of Rome was Primate of a Diocese, Bishop of the imperial city, and possessor of an Apostolical see. There was no other Bishop who could claim all three of these advantages. For Constantinople was not founded by an Apostle, and Alexandria and Antioch were not imperial cities. Rome, therefore, was likely to push her power beyond its bounds, and it would seem that it was often with special regard to her that the Church passed its emphatic laws, forbidding the Bishop of one Diocese to interfere with the Bishops of another Diocese. In later times she did so 'interfere in ecclesiastical appointments,' though these laws remain to this day unrepealed, though she was never exempted from them as the see of Constantinople may seem partially to have been at Chalcedon; and the means by which she gained her right of interference in the West—*for she never had it in the East*—were mainly the false Decretals of Isidore, and the Decretum of Gratian founded upon them.

Were we drawing a picture of the ancient constitution of the Church, it would be necessary to dwell further on the different names of Patriarch, Exarch, and Primate, and on those Churches which had the privilege of *αὐτοκεφαλία, i. e.*, which were governed by Metropolitans alone, and had no Primate; but we have said enough to show how entirely contrary to the spirit of the early Church it was, that the Patriarch of Rome should 'interfere in the ecclesiastical appointments' of any other Diocese except his own, and how entirely contrary to fact it is that he did so.

We conclude, then, that whereas Mr. Wilberforce has arbitrarily fixed a threefold test, in itself insufficient, whereby to identify the Supremacy with the Primacy, the test breaks down in all its three branches; that he has not shown, nor can it be shown, that the right of finally deciding ecclesiastical causes was in the early Church vested in the Bishop of Rome any more than in the other great Bishops of Christendom; that he has not shown, nor can it be shown, that the right of presiding at Councils was vested in the Bishop of Rome any more than in the other great Bishops of Christendom; that he has not shown, nor can it be shown, that the right of interfering in all ecclesiastical appointments was vested in the Bishop of Rome any more than in the other great Bishops of Christendom.

If the case were one which required still further confirmation—if appeal to authority were still needed—such authority might

easily be obtained. It is but within a few months that death has taken away from us the wisdom and learning of one who has so long held the position of the Patriarch of ecclesiastical learning in our elder University. The venerable head of the President of Magdalen College, white with the snows of near a hundred years, has been bowed to the grave which has so long spared him to us. For more than eighty years he lived amidst the Fathers of the Church. Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil, Ambrose, were to him as familiar friends, and their writings and maxims as household words. He has left to us his matured judgment on the question of the power of the Roman see in the primitive Church:

'Assuredly,' he writes, 'it is a thing contrary to the decision both of the Eastern and Western Churches in the first ages, that any power over the faith of the other Churches, or immunity from error, should be acknowledged in the Roman Church as granted by God to it. Whatever the rights and privileges of the first see now are, or ever have been, the Eastern Church at least declared that they rested on no other foundation except ancient custom and synodical constitution; nay, the whole world in the Nicene Council ascribes its rights to that see and to the other greater Churches on no other ground except as having arisen from ancient custom. And however much honour the Bishops of the City of Rome have gained to themselves from the greatness of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the founders of the Roman Church, yet it was "because that was the imperial city," as the General Council of Chalcedon has declared, "that the Fathers, as was right and natural, gave them their prerogatives." ... The appeals to the Roman Bishop, which the Sardican Council allowed through partiality to him, and in honour to S. Peter (to the effect that some causes, although previously judged, might be reconsidered in the same province in which they arose, provided that the pontiff so ordered), were far from being sanctioned by the Universal Church. This is clearly proved by the sixth canon of the second General Council, and the ninth canon of the Council of Chalcedon. Nay, we know from a letter of the Roman pontiff, Nicolas I., to Photius, that the Council of Sardica itself was not acknowledged by the Greeks in the ninth century. I say nothing of the false Decretals in which these appeals appear, for they are now known by all to be forged commodities, and to have been foisted in a little before the time of Photius.'—*Scrip. Eccl. Opusc., Præf.* p. vi.

This famous forgery of the Decretal Letters, which had such an enormous influence on the Church, and deceived it for 700 years, Mr. Wilberforce dismisses in half a page, as having been rather detrimental than otherwise to the Papal power. That, on the contrary, this forgery is the main foundation of the Supremacy—the bridge by which the Roman prelates passed from being first Bishops *in* the Church, to being (in the West) Supreme Monarchs *over* the Church—is made clear by Fleury, 'Troisième et Quatrième Discours;' De Marca, 'De Concordiâ,' vii. 20; Van Espen, iii. 478; 'Papal Supremacy,' &c., p. 52. 'That which 'the East and we have rejected,' says Mr. Allies, 'is not 'the Pope's Primacy, as it was understood and practised in

'the time of the seven Œcumenical Councils, but the uni-
'versal Bishopric, of which Nicholas I. laid the foundations,
'Gregory VII. reared the structure, and Innocent III. com-
'pleted the building.... Nicholas I. and the succeeding pontiffs
'made use of the False Decretals to build up their spiritual
'monarchy, and the new principles contained in them became the
'basis of Gratian's Decretum, and consequently of the Church's
'discipline in the West' (Pref. p. xiv.).

IV. We have lastly to show, that Mr. Wilberforce has not proved that in the sixteenth century the English Church rejected the divinely constituted head and centre of Christendom, and assumed the King or Queen of England as the head and centre of unity, but that this statement is a false statement.

There is something so extremely preposterous in this proposition, so entirely opposed to what we all know, feel, and understand, that we have scarcely patience to adduce grave arguments against it. There is, however, no appearance of anything but seriousness in Mr. Wilberforce's method of dealing with the subject, and we will, therefore, meet him in the same spirit.

Mr. Wilberforce's theory is stated as follows:—

'The purpose which the Crown's Supremacy was intended to effect, was exactly that which our Lord's promise to S. Peter was designed to secure. The operation of that promise, as we have seen, was to form the college of Apostles into a single body, and then to enable them to act together in the maintenance of truth. This is the precise object assigned to it by the early Fathers; and this is just that which Henry VIII. proposed to imitate by his Supremacy. Its purpose was to unite the clergy of the English Empire into a single "*body spiritual.*" Thus was there a new principle of combination in place of that provided by our Lord.'—P. 232.

'It was the Royal Supremacy by which the English Bishops were first moulded into a body, and thereby were supposed to gain power to decide questions of doctrine.'—P. 233.

'That which qualified it for such functions, was the authority of the Sovereign, which made the Bishops of our two provinces into a body, just as the collective Bishops of Christendom had formerly been combined into the one body of Christ. This was the assertion of the 24th of Henry VIII. 12, and the ground on which the title, Head of the Church, was important. It implied that the Bishops who stood to Henry in the relation of subjects, were combined by that circumstance into a body, or spiritual entity, and had the same power, therefore, to grant mission, or determine doctrine, which had formerly been possessed by the Universal Church.'—P. 228.

'Now is it not clear that the function thus assumed by our Sovereign, is exactly that, which, according to the laws of the ancient Church, belonged to the chief Apostle? Its purpose is to constitute the Bishops into a *whole*, so that they may be able to make final settlement in questions of doctrine.' —P. 237.

'The separation between the Church of England and the rest of Christendom, has been shown to depend upon that spiritual headship which is claimed by our Sovereign, whereby the Bishops of this realm are constituted into a distinct body, and determine all articles of faith, as though they were the whole body of Christ.'—P. 251.

'The new head by whom they were combined into an isolated body.'—P. 253.

'The Royal Supremacy consolidated them into a whole, and thus enabled them to speak with authority.'—P. 275.

'This circumstance (the Sovereign's being Head of the Church), as has been seen, is alleged to give the English clergy that unity which forms them into a whole.'—P. 278.

We believe that there are persons who credit an unfounded assertion when it has been made eight times, simply because it has been made eight times. We, therefore, give Mr. Wilberforce the benefit to be derived from his repeated assertions. We have, however, several remarks to make upon them.

1. We beg our readers to remark how what was, in p. 121, a modest hypothetical resting upon one person's authority: '*If* '*Cyprian* has preserved the right interpretation of those events 'which are recorded in the Gospels, our Lord's reason for giving 'this especial commission to his chief Apostle, (a thing, by the way, which Cyprian distinctly denies ever was given,) 'was to 'secure unity among the rest,' (a thing, by the way, which Cyprian never says,)—has grown into a categorical, and apparently universal proposition, in p. 232:—'This is the precise object assigned to it *by the early Fathers*,' and has become converted into a law, in p. 237:—'The function which, *according to the laws of the ancient Church*, belonged to the chief Apostle.'

2. We must also ask them to call to mind that this function of S. Peter, which our Sovereigns are represented as having stolen from the Popes, is a fiction, for which, out of all the tomes of antiquity, no support can be found, except such as may be derived from a misinterpreted text of S. Cyprian, which, when rightly interpreted, means just the contrary; and from two passages taken out of the writings of S. Jerome and Optatus, which *do not* really support it, but which is incidentally, and sometimes formally, denied by all the great Doctors of the East, the West, and the South.

3. But with regard to this function of our Sovereigns itself—how and where did Mr. Wilberforce discover it? What facts does the thing rest on? What documents of the Church attest it? Clearly it must be openly professed, if it is the case. For let us think what it is—no less than that our Sovereigns hold towards the Anglican Church the same office which Mr. Wilberforce has been maintaining that S. Peter and his successors held towards the whole Church; *i.e.* that of being the special representative or Vicar of Christ in things spiritual—the centre of unity whereby they are combined into a spiritual whole. Does any one hold such a belief in England, Scotland, America, or the Colonies? We know no such person. Did any one ever hold

it? We never heard of such a person. Has it been put forth in the writings of Anglican Divines? We have never seen it: and yet we have seen many arguments on the subject of the title, 'Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England,' which was adopted by a tyrannical Sovereign many years before the Reformation, borne by his son, and for a time, by his *Roman*-Catholic daughter, and finally repudiated by her and her *Anglo*-Catholic sister. Surely Mr. Wilberforce must have some authority for his statement from the authorized formularies of the Church. Do we then find in the Articles or Canons that the Sovereign is the head and centre of unity which combines the Bishops into a body? Nothing of the kind. All that Mr. Wilberforce appeals to as justifying his assertion, is the 24th Act of Henry VIII. c. 12, which he quotes as follows:—

'They decreed that "this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world," "the body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared interpreted, and showed by that part of the said body politic, called the Spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this time, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.'—P. 223.

Mr. Wilberforce says, 'that the assertion of' this '24th of 'Henry VIII. c. 12,' is that 'that, which qualified the English 'Church for such functions (as mission) was the authority of the 'Sovereign, which made the Bishops of our two provinces into a 'body, just as the collective Bishops of Christendom had formerly 'been combined into the one body of Christ.' We have been quite unable to find this in the above extract, or in any part of 24th Henry VIII. c. 12. We have already seen, that there were in the early Church as many 'spiritual bodies' as there were Dioceses, and that the Bishops in their Dioceses were 'reputed for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of 'numbers, sufficient and meet of themselves, without the 'intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare 'and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such 'offices as to their rooms spiritual did appertain.' So says, in very similar words, the already-quoted second canon of the second Œcumenical Council, provided always (though the provision is not expressed either in the canon or in the law) that there lay a final appeal, in matters of faith, to a Council of the Universal Church, duly elected and congregated. Now, as the characteristic feature of an empire or kingdom is the power of the Sovereign which extends over it, so the characteristic feature

of a Diocese was the power of the Præfect which extended over it. Would it, then, be just to say, that 'it was the authority of 'the Præfect which qualified the Diocesan Church for its 'functions, and which made the Bishops of the provinces in the 'Diocese into a body,'—'which combined them into a spiritual 'entity,' &c.? If not, neither is it just to say, that it is the authority of the King of England which makes the Bishops of the provinces of the kingdom into a body, combines them into a spiritual entity, &c.

The Act is, like other documents, misquoted. Mr. Wilberforce represents it as though the then Parliament '*decreed*' that 'England is an empire,' and suggests that the purpose of this decree was to draw an analogy between the empire of Rome and the kingdom of England, with a view to ecclesiastical things. Now, that Act of Parliament does not so 'decree,' and the purpose attributed to its framers in making such a decree is a pure figment resting upon no foundation whatever. The words that Mr. Wilberforce has extracted are not in the Act, but in the preamble to the Act. It begins as follows:—'Whereas by sundry 'old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared 'and expressed *that this realm of England is an empire*, and so 'hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme 'head or king,' &c. The description of the body spiritual, likewise, is not the 'decree' of the Act, but merely the preamble, creating nothing, and simply repeating an acknowledged fact; a fact recognised by the laws of Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., against Papal intrusion (laws which are referred to in the same preamble), just as much as by this Act. What is really enacted by the Bill is, 1. That causes about wills, marriages, &c. should be settled within the realm. 2. That appeals to any foreign potentate are forbidden. 3. That appeals should lie from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, 'there to be definitively and 'finally ordered, decreed, and adjusted according to justice, with-'out any appellation and provocation to any other person or 'persons, court or courts.' 4. That in cases touching the king appeals might be made—to himself? No. To the *Upper House of Convocation*; and 'whatsoever shall be . . . adjudged by the 'aforesaid prelates, abbots, and priors of the Upper House of the 'said Convocation, as is aforesaid, shall stand and be taken for 'a final decree and sentence . . and never after to come in ques-'tion and debate to be examined in any other court or courts.' This is the Act which, according to Mr. Wilberforce, 'asserts' that it is 'the authority of the Sovereign which qualifies the 'Church of England for its functions, and that it is the royal 'authority which combines the Bishops into a body.' And this

Act is the only ground that he has brought forward for his oft-repeated theory.

We presume that any one who was desirous of learning the true position of the English Sovereign towards the Church, would inquire what statements the Church on the one side, and the Crown on the other, have made on the Royal Supremacy. These statements exist, though they are not quoted by Mr. Wilberforce. They are as follows:—

'We give . . . to our Princes . . . that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures, by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and decrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.'—*Article* 37.

And Queen Elizabeth's explanation of her own authority is quite in accordance with the Church's statement:—

'Her Majesty neither doth nor will challenge any other authority than that was challenged, and lately used by King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., which is, *and was of ancient time*, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power, shall or ought to have any supremacy over them.'—*Wilkins, Concil.* vol. iv. p. 188.

Again, Mr. Wilberforce's statements with regard to the title, Supreme Head of the Church, are recklessly incorrect. He says:—

'The title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, still belongs to our Sovereigns by Act of Parliament. It was assigned to them by 25 Henry VIII. 21, s. 2, and by 37 Henry VIII. 17, s. 3, which were revived by the 1st of Elizabeth; and it was again bestowed in 2 and 3 Anne, 11.'—P. 229.

Now the truth is, that it was 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, which assigned the title to our Sovereigns. This was confirmed by 35 Henry VIII. c. 3, and it was declared to be high treason to deny it, by Edward VI. c. 12. All three of these Acts were repealed by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8; and their repeal was *not reversed but confirmed* by 1 Elizabeth, c. i. 50, that they should 'stand, remain, and be repealed and void, in such 'like manner and form as they were before the making of this 'Act, anything herein contained to the contrary notwith-'standing!' Those Acts of Henry's which Mr. Wilberforce quotes, were *not* passed for the purpose of assigning this title to the Sovereign, but the first of them for repressing the pecuniary exactions of Rome, and the second for permitting the marriage of Doctors of Civil Law, and they only incidentally and parenthetically refer to the Supremacy at all. But Mr. Wilberforce says that the title of Supreme Head was again

bestowed on our Sovereigns by 2 and 3 Anne, c. 11. Now who is there who would not suppose from these words, that 2 and 3 Anne, c. 11, was a Bill similar in nature to 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, or 35 Henry VIII. c. 3, enacting that the title, Supreme Head of the Church of England, should belong to the English Sovereigns? This is so far from being the case, that it is the Act which was passed for constituting Queen Anne's Bounty: and there is nothing in it from beginning to end about the title of the Sovereign, except that in the preamble there is the following parenthesis: 'Forasmuch as your Majesty taking into 'your princely and serious consideration the mean and insuf- 'ficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of 'this your kingdom, has been most graciously pleased out of 'your most religious and tender concern for the Church of Eng- 'land, (*whereof your Majesty is the only Supreme Head on earth,*) 'and for the poor clergy thereof,' &c. A complimentary expression, contained in a parenthesis of a preamble of a Bill, and addressed to a particular Sovereign, cannot and does not 'bestow' 'the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England' upon 'our Sovereigns,' when that title had been deliberately, and in so many words, rejected by two Acts, which are still the law of the land. There is a very simple test by which we can learn whether or no this title does 'belong to our Sovereigns by Act of Parliament,' or no. In the *Rotuli Parliamenti* the name and titles of the Sovereign are prefixed to the statutes of each year. Is this title found among the rest? It is found from the year 1534 to the year 1553; *i.e.* from the year in which it was granted by 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, to the year before that in which it was abrogated by 1 Philip and Mary, c. 8. It is never found after that date. Does it not follow that the title in question did by Act of Parliament belong to our Sovereigns from A.D. 1534 to A.D. 1553, and not before or afterwards?

Queen Elizabeth gave her reasons for refusing to revive it, and Bishop Jewel has handed them down to us; 'The Queen 'is not willing to be styled in speech or in writing the Head of 'the English Church; for she says forcibly that that dignity 'has been given to Christ alone, and is not suitable for any 'mortal: moreover, that those titles have been so foully defiled 'by Antichrist, that they cannot be piously employed by any 'one for the future.'[1] And in a like spirit King James I.: 'It 'is certain that the Apostles thought none worthy of this honour '(the title *Caput fidei*) but Christ; therefore this kind of title 'ought to have been abstained from, for whose dignity Christ 'alone is sufficient.'[2]

[1] Ep. xiv. ad Bulling., May 22, 1559. Zurich Letters, First Series, Camb. 1842. England and Rome, p. 88.

[2] Apol. pro Jur. Fidelitatis.

But offensive as the name is, we utterly deny that it ever bore, or was intended to bear, the signification which Mr. Wilberforce attaches to it. He says that 'the ground on which it was important' was, that 'it implied that the Bishops, who stood to Henry 'in the relation of subjects, were combined *by that circumstance* 'into a body, or spiritual entity' (p. 228). Bishop Gardiner is an authority which Mr. Wilberforce ought to accept. He gives the reason for the title, the adoption of which he warmly advocated, thus: 'Since the Church of England is at this day composed of 'the same persons, as are signified under the word Kingdom, of 'whom the prince is the head, when they are termed the King-'dom of England, shall he not be the head of *the same persons* 'when they are called the Church of England?'[1] And Cranmer, as is well known, declared that Nero was Head of the Church in the same sense as Henry; 'for Nero was Head of 'the Church, that is, in worldly respects, of the temporal bodies 'of men of whom the Church consisteth.'[2] Mr. Wilberforce will scarcely say that Cranmer held that Nero combined SS. Peter and Paul and the other Roman disciples into a spiritual entity. The real meaning of the title, ill-chosen and offensive as it is, and indeed only accepted at all by the Church with a reservation which Mr. Wilberforce acknowledges to have made it nugatory, was no more (except perhaps in the tyrant Henry's own acceptation,) than Supreme Governor; and the meaning of that name has already been given in the words both of the Church and of the Crown.

The attempt to fasten on Bramhall the doctrine that 'the powers thus possessed by the Crown,' (*i.e.* the powers by which the Churches were combined into a spiritual entity, &c.) 'were transferred to it from the Papacy' (p. 229), is an act of daring which we think might have been spared. Mr. Wilberforce is able to bring forward half a sentence, which, when removed from its context, might be so understood. It is as follows:—

'Whatsoever power our laws did divest the Pope of, they invested the king with it.' [There Mr. Wilberforce stops. Bramhall does not: he says] —'They invested the king with it; *but they never invested the king with any spiritual power or jurisdiction; witness the injunctions of Elizabeth, witness the public articles of our Church, witness the professions of King James, witness all our statutes themselves,* wherein all the parts of papal power are enumerated which are taken away, his "encroachments," his "usurpations," his "oaths," his "collations, provisions, pensions, tenths, first-fruits, reservations, palls, unions, commendams, exemptions, dispensations of all kinds, confirmations, licences, faculties, suspensions, appeals," and God knoweth how many pecuniary artifices more—*but of them all there is not one that concerneth jurisdiction purely spiritual,* or which is an essential right of

[1] De Ver. Obed. foll. 9, 11. England and Rome, p. 84.
[2] Fox xi. vol. iii. p. 550, Ed. 1684. England and Rome, p. 87.

the power of the Keys; they are all branches of the external regiment of the Church; the greater part of them usurped from the Crown, sundry of them from Bishops, and some found out by the Popes themselves.'—*Schism Guarded*, vol. ii. p. 458. Oxf. 1842.

In truth, this whole matter about combining the Churches into a spiritual body is infinitely unreasonable. Who combined the Churches of Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, and the other Churches planted by S. Paul, into 'spiritual entities?' Who combined S. John and the Ephesian clergy into a body? Was it Linus? or had S. John no powers of mission, jurisdiction and other functions, because the Ephesian Church had not 'crystallized' properly? How came the seven Churches of Asia to be bodies? What made the Patriarchate of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, &c., into entities? What made the thirteen Diocesan Churches have powers to rule themselves? How came the second Œcumenical Council to be so ignorant of the true principles of ecclesiastical 'crystallization,' as to order that, 'according to the canons,' the Bishops of Egypt, the East, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, should severally and independently manage each their own affairs? What made the African Church into a body, whose letter to Pope Celestine (in which its members are forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to appeal beyond the seas and out of the realm of Africa) is the very anticipation of 24 Henry VIII. c. 12? One answer alone can be given to these and similar questions. They are combined into spiritual entities by their union with their one Head, the Lord Christ. Neither the Catholic Church of the early ages, nor the Anglican Church of the sixteenth century, regarded either the Bishop of Rome or the king of a country as the centre of unity, and the means of combining Christians into bodies. They held that the Churches of great cities and districts were independent of each other, and yet united to each other, by all depending alike upon the one Head, Jesus Christ; by being all bound together with the one bond of the Holy Spirit; by being all ruled by the one code of laws which found their expression in the canons of the Œcumenical Councils: but not cramped into the form of an ecclesiastical monarchy, under the rule of an earthly King-Bishop—not requiring, as of necessity, any organization superior to that of Bishops who are spiritually and ecclesiastically equal in powers and in functions, whether they are situated 'at Rome or at Engubium.'

It would take us too long to follow Mr. Wilberforce through his discussion of the state of the early British Church, and the acts of the Reformation, and unwind the threads of accuracy

and inaccuracy which are enfolded and entangled together. We shall but touch upon two more points; these are, Mr. Wilberforce's way of dealing with the Gorham case, and with the Greek Church. As to the merits of the first, we shall, of course, not here say one word; we shall only compare two passages, to see if there is to be found that 'just balance' which has been declared to be God's 'delight.'

'"The Church hath authority in controversies of faith." "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies." This view of the Church of England, as claiming authority over the consciences, was dissipated by the Gorham case. It then became manifest that neither the rulers of the English Church, nor the Church herself in her corporate capacity, exert any such power, or claim to act on any such principles. . . . And this decision resulted from the further fact, that the civil power had taken possession, with the Church's assent, of her spiritual organs; her courts professed themselves bound to affirm or deny according as the temporal Sovereignty ordered them; and cannot claim, therefore, to be the expression of that mind of the Spirit which utters its voice through the body mystical of the Son of God.'[1]—P. 217.

Such is the measure meted out to the Church of England. Now compare the following passage:—

'The Donatists, after having been heard by Melchiades, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 313, and again by the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, obtained a personal hearing, A.D. 316, from Constantine. He heard them unwillingly, and avowed that he had no proper jurisdiction, but as he only confirmed that which had been decided by the Church, no particular evil resulted from the proceeding.'—P. 174.

Now, let the Gorham case be as Mr. Wilberforce represents it, yet, so far as the reference to the civil power goes, what is the difference between the appeal to Constantine in 316, and to Victoria in 1850? That Constantine decided one way or another way matters not; the whole principle is involved in the cause having been carried to him at all. We are not justifying such a course; we think it equally wrong in the case

[1] 'The justice of the decision,' we are further told, 'has been called in question, indeed, by many individuals; *but that such questions are to be decided by the civil power, and not by the Church, seems to be acquiesced in on all hands as inevitable* (p. 218). How true this statement is appears from the Clergy Discipline Bill, discussed by the Houses of Convocation at their very last sitting, Friday, Feb. 9, 1855. The Report of the Committee of the House of Bishops contains eighteen paragraphs, of which the 6th, 7th, 8th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th are all on this subject. With scarcely a dissentient voice the Church in representation has declared 'that the present provision for hearing and deciding final appeals is not such as to give satisfaction;' that 'it is highly important that it should be corrected;' that there ought to be 'security that ecclesiastical questions shall be decided by persons qualified by office and by acquaintance with the course of law ecclesiastical to decide them;' that the law which assigned the hearing of such causes to the Queen in Council ought to be repealed; that 'the best solution of the difficulty would be . . . to enable her Majesty . . . to remit the cause for rehearing in the Archbishop's Court, to be finally decided by the judge of that court, and other ecclesiastical and common-law judges.' This is acquiescence—acquiescence on all hands!

of Emperor and Queen alike; but what we call attention to is this: that whereas in the one case Mr. Wilberforce sees all claim on the part of the Church to authority in controversies of faith dissipated, the civil power taking possession of the Church's organs, and the mind of the Sovereign substituted for the mind of the Spirit; in the other absolutely similar case he has nothing to say but, that 'no particular evil resulted.'

The Greek Church has always presented a formidable difficulty to the advocates of the Supremacy of the Pope.

'The orthodox Greek or Eastern Church contains a body of Christians reckoned at not less than eighty millions. It is governed by Patriarchs and Bishops, holding their sees in continuous descent from the Apostolic age. It has produced saints, martyrs, and fathers. Since its separation from the West, it has converted the Sclavonic race, and added to its body the great Russian Church. It has retained the ancient creed without the change of an iota. It has never gone through the trials and dangers of a Reformation. It has ever spoken, and speaks still, with the voice of unbroken tradition, and it has *never* admitted the Papal sway. It has constantly, in every age, held up its voice and its witness against that claim as Antichristian and blasphemous, which says that "the Pope is set over the whole Christian world; and possesses in its completeness and plenitude that power which Christ left on earth for the good of his Church."[1] It has denied this, and any like claim, not merely for 300 years, but from the time that it has been advanced.'—*Papal Supremacy*, &c. p. 59.

Mr. Wilberforce feels the difficulty; and how does he meet it? He dismisses the whole question in a page and a half, with an *argumentum ad hominem* to the effect that the Anglican Church is not in communion with the Greek Church. Very true; but that was not the thing asserted, nor the thing which is needed for the argument. The controversial use, so to speak, which is made of the Greek Church by the Anglican Churchman is, to show in and by it that the Bishop of Rome is not the monarch of the Church, with whom to be in union is to hold communion with the Catholic Church. What reply to this argument is it to say, 'Oh! but you are not in communion with the Greek Church?' It does not touch the question in hand. But there are some striking admissions in the page and a half devoted to the Greek Church.

'However effective may be its testimony against the Church of Rome, its witness on behalf of the Church of England amounts to nothing. So that though it may be an useful weapon for those who deny that any such thing exists as Church authority, it cannot be relied on by those who desire to construct any system of belief, or hope to see any positive opinions prevail among mankind. Such seems the natural result of the three following considerations:—1st. The main doctrinal opposition between the Greek Church and the Church of Rome, respects the procession of the Holy Ghost; now on this point the Church of England is committed to the

[1] Bellarmine, De Pont. Rom. lib. i. c. 9.

self-same principles as the Church of Rome. . . . 2ndly. As the Church of England is opposed to Greece, in that particular in which Greece is most opposed to Rome, *so in all those points of doctrine in which she is opposed to Rome, she is equally opposed to Greece.* For there is hardly a tenet in which she has departed from the popular creed of the Western Church, in which the Eastern Church would not condemn her. How can we profess to be in communion then with the Eastern Church, when the Easterns agree with Rome respecting those very doctrines [the Supremacy for instance?] which the Church of England has been disputing for the last three centuries? 3rdly. There is a Bishop resident in the East who is called the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem. . . . How then can it be said that the Church of England is in communion with the Church of Greece any more than with that of Rome? So that whatever use may be made of the Greek Church as a weapon against an opponent, it is useless for the purpose of justifying ourselves. Those who believe that God has His Church in the world, and that its purpose is to teach truth, will not be satisfied with arguments which are simply destructive, and which result only in the overthrow of all authority.'—P. 271.

Why Mr. Wilberforce should have asserted that 'in all those 'points of doctrine in which the Church of England is opposed 'to Rome, she is equally opposed to Greece,' we cannot presume to guess. Every one knows that it is not the case. All our readers probably are aware that on the doctrine of Purgatory, on the doctrine of Indulgences, on the doctrine of Communion in one kind only, on the doctrine of the Worship of Images, on the doctrine of the Celibacy of the Clergy, on the doctrine of the Free use of the Holy Scriptures, on the doctrine of Church Services in a tongue 'not understanded of the people,' and on many other doctrines, among which is to be specially counted the doctrine of Roman or Papal Supremacy, the Greek and the Anglican Churches agree in testifying or protesting against the innovations of Rome.[1] But we pass by this point, and we will say no more about the *ignoratio elenchi* exhibited throughout the reference to the Greek Church. What we say

[1] The very last authoritative document of the Oriental Church, the Evangelical Letter put forth by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, in the year 1848, declares that the Papacy is the *great heresy* of later times, as Arianism of earlier ages; having ceased to be 'purely guided by the doctrines of the Fathers, and to walk by the never-to-be-forgotten rule of the Scriptures.' 'What then,' ask the Patriarchs of the East, 'must we conclude of those who pride and boast themselves only upon their succession to the supposed chair of S. Peter? . . . . It is easy to discern the emptiness and the weakness of the attempts by which the Bishop of Rome endeavours to maintain his despotic power. For if the Church of Christ had not been founded upon the indissoluble rock of the Confession of Peter, which was a common answer, as from each individual of the Apostles, to the question that was asked of all, "But whom do ye say that I am?" (as the godly Fathers both of the East and West interpret the place), it would have been built upon a frail foundation, and upon Cephas *personally*,—still, however, not in any sense on the Pope; and yet it is he who, moreover, appropriates to himself the Keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and what kind of use he has made of them is only too manifest from history.' Ἐγκύκλιος τῆς μιᾶς ἁγίας Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἐπιστολή.—p. 19. Quoted in an excellent article in the first Number of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*.

is this. Mr. Wilberforce declares that the authority of the Greek Church 'may be an useful weapon for those who deny 'that any such thing exists as Church authority: it cannot 'be relied upon by those who desire to construct *any system of* '*belief*, or hope to see *any positive opinions* prevail among man-'kind,' that 'those who believe that God has His Church in the 'world, and that its purpose is to teach truth, will not be satis-'fied with arguments which are *simply destructive*, and which 'result only in *the overthrow of all authority*.' But Mr. Wilberforce is not merely arguing against the Church of England,—he is constructing *some system of belief;* he does believe in *some Church authority*. Then he ought manfully to have grappled with this fact which is 'simply destructive' of all authority, and not to have slurred it over as incapable of meeting it. But the fact is, that Mr. Wilberforce has here made an exaggeration. It is not *every* system of belief, nor *every* positive opinion, nor *all* authority, which is overthrown by the argument derived from the existence of the Greek Church. This is clear; for the Greek Church itself has a system of belief, and holds positive opinions, and maintains Church authority, and yet is not overthrown by its own existence. Rather it is one particular system of belief and set of positive opinions, one particular mode of Church authority,—viz. that which energizes through the Papal power, which, indeed, Mr. Wilberforce has throughout the latter half of his volume been attempting to confuse with *all* Church authority,—of which the argument derived from the existence of the Greek Church is 'simply destructive.' Thus limited, we accept and ratify the admission. The existence of the Oriental Church is, indeed, 'simply destructive' of the Papal theory, and the argument derived from it 'results in the overthrow of all authority,' as it is claimed by Rome. This being so, it is the part of 'those who believe that God has His 'Church in the world,' and 'that any such thing exists as 'Church authority,' to adopt a theory which is not 'over-'thrown' by facts, but will account for them. Such is the theory of Church authority maintained by the Anglican Church.

We shall conclude this point with an extract from the *resumé* of 'Papal Supremacy,' &c.:—

'This doctrine of the Supremacy was unknown to—1. The ancient Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon; which set before us another and distinct system of Church government, viz. the Diocesan or Patriarchal. 2. The ancient Liturgies, the depositories of Apostolic traditions; which also set before us the Patriarchal government of the Church. 3. The ancient Fathers; who neither in their interpretation of Scripture attribute a Supremacy to S. Peter, as modern Roman controversialists do, nor by their acts and writings acknowledge a Supremacy in the Bishop of Rome. S. Peter has with them the Primacy, the first place among the

Apostles; but it is distinctly and repeatedly denied, that he had any authority over the other Apostles, or any peculiar gifts or commission above the rest. And the Bishop of Rome stands foremost amongst his equal brother-Patriarchs. 4. The growth of the modern Roman Supremacy may be distinctly traced. It grew up chiefly under the shadow of a vast system of forgeries, which imposed on the whole Western Church for 700 years. 5. The Eastern Church, with its four Patriarchates, never submitted to the Roman Supremacy, but has continued its unbroken witness against the usurpation to the present day. 6. Our fathers, maintaining the Canon of the Church, rejected the Supremacy of the Pope as a usurpation, and not of lawful right. We conclude, that the sin of schism cannot, and does not, rest with us who lawfully maintain the ancient Canon and discipline of the Church. The guilt must be theirs who require unlawful terms of obedience.'—P. 67.

There is one final point on which we must say a few words. How is it that men like him whose book we have been reviewing, —men of honoured and respected name, and of general candour and integrity—can allow themselves, as soon as they undertake to reconcile Antiquity and Papal Supremacy, to make use of such shifts as we have had to exhibit, to wrest and torture words in the way we have had to expose, and so to misrepresent antiquity (there is no other word for it), as we have seen in the case of S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, Hilary the Deacon, Eusebius, the Council of Sardica, the Council of Ephesus, and the Council of Chalcedon? The charitable hypothesis of second-hand quotations taken from manuals of Theology will not meet the case, for the writer has evidently an acquaintance with original works: nor can it be the deadening effect of Liguorian principles, for he has not been educated in them. The only manner of accounting for this phenomenon is that which has lucidly been expounded by one who has since acted in the way which he has himself described:—

'Now do I mean to accuse so serious and good a man as Bellarmine of wilful unfairness in this procedure? No. Yet it is difficult to enter into the state of mind under which he was led into it. However we explain it, so much is clear, that the Fathers are only so far of use in the eyes of Romanists as they prove the Roman doctrines, and in no sense are allowed to interfere with the conclusion which their Church has adopted; that they are of authority when they seem to agree with Rome, of none if they differ. . . . A Romanist, then, cannot really argue in defence of the Roman doctrines; he has too firm a confidence in their truth, if he is sincere in his profession, to enable him critically to adjust the due weight to be given to this or that evidence. He assumes his Church's conclusion as true, and the facts or witnesses which he adduces are rather brought to receive an interpretation than to furnish a proof. . . . Let us then understand the position of the Romanists towards us; they do not really argue from the Fathers, though they seem to do so. They may affect to do so in our behalf, happy, if by an innocent stratagem they are able to convert us; but all the while, in their own feelings, they are taking a far higher position . . . . They claim and use all documents of antiquity as ministers and organs of that one fallible Church, which once forsooth kept silence, but since has spoken;

which by a Divine gift must ever be consistent with herself, and which bears with her her own evidence of Divinity.'—*Proph. Office,* p. 84.

When Mr. Wilberforce wrote his 'Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority,' it is clear that he had already adopted this principle of interpreting antiquity by the authority of the modern Church, or, rather of one portion of the modern Church, instead of testing the modern Church by an appeal to antiquity. He was, therefore, unable to deal fairly by antiquity; and thus the individual is to a considerable degree exculpated, —at the expense, however, of his adopted system, which, in proportion as the individual is excused, is itself more deeply criminated.

ART. V. 1.—*A Scripture Argument against permitting Marriage with a Wife's Sister—a Clergyman's Letter to a Friend. By the* REV. JAMES AUGUSTUS HESSEY, D.C.L., &c. &c. Second Edition. London: F. & J. Rivington. 1850.

2.—*The Report of Her Majesty's Commission on the Laws of Marriage, relative to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, examined in a Letter to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart. M.P. By* ALEX. J. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P. Second Edition. London: James Ridgway, Piccadilly. 1849.

3.—*Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony, &c. &c. By the* REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. *Vicar of Hursley.* Oxford: John Henry Parker. 1849.

WE intend here to institute a short inquiry into the grounds upon which marriage with a deceased wife's sister, which it is proposed now to legalise, has been declared to be contrary to the law of God—and we are induced to enter upon this subject by two reasons: 1stly, because we feel that, even if the minds of many are already settled upon the point, yet there may be some to whom a calm consideration of the matter may perchance minister satisfaction and relief, and some whose doubts we may be enabled in some degree to resolve—and, 2dly, because the leading advocates of the change proposed, profess an unwillingness to promote or sanction any act which can be clearly shown to be contrary to the law of God, as revealed in holy Scripture, and as still binding upon Christians.[1] The point upon which many minds are at issue is not, whether they should obey or disobey God; but firstly, whether God has really declared His will in opposition to such unions; and secondly, whether such a declaratory law, even if found in holy Scripture, was not simply part of the Levitical law, and so binding upon Jews alone as Jews, but is now abrogated, as regards Christians, and of no further force or validity.

Till this question is decided, it would seem that all other arguments in favour of a change, whether they have reference to an assumed expediency or propriety in such a change, or whether they be drawn from that most fallacious of all sources, the example of a multitude, are beside the mark and premature. For it is time then at length to inquire into the force and

[1] In page ix. of Report of Commission on Marriage, quoted by Mr. Beresford Hope in page 5, 'Some persons contend that these marriages are forbidden, expressly or inferentially, by Scripture. If this opinion be admitted, *cadit quæstio*.'

character of all such further arguments, when it has been demonstrated clearly and certainly, either that God has not spoken at all, or that He has even allowed, or at least not forbidden, such marriages.

The subject then, with which we propose to deal, is concerned with the two following questions:—

1st. Is the law of God, as revealed in holy Scripture, opposed or not to such marriages?

2d. If it is so opposed, is such a law to be regarded as merely Levitical, or as binding upon all men?

Now, before entering more particularly into the discussion of the first point of our intended inquiry, we may perhaps be allowed to remark as Churchmen, and as addressing mainly Church-readers, that our Church *has* spoken to her members plainly and authoritatively upon the subject:—first, in the Table of Prohibited Degrees, set forth by authority in 1563; and, secondly, by Canon xcix of 1603, which orders that Table to be set up in every church, and characterises it as containing 'degrees prohibited by the law of God.'

We see, then, that according to the view taken by our Church in the times of James I., and of our Reformers, (who framed that Table,) in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, these marriages were opposed to the law of God. We shall hereafter attempt to show that such also was the opinion, not only of the Christian Church from the earliest times, but of Jewish Rabbins and interpreters.

Upon what passages of holy Scripture then, it may be asked, was such a general opinion and consent grounded? What passages can we find which bear at all upon this point?

Now all parties in this discussion, whether they resist or advocate the change, seem to agree in referring to Lev. xviii. as to that part of Holy Writ, which, if any, has reference to the question in dispute: the one part deducing arguments from the clause contained in verses 7—17 inclusive; the other part depending upon verse 18, as even containing an argument for the lawfulness of such marriages.

For the meaning of Lev. xviii. verses 7—17, as for the general argument which we shall have to state at length, we shall make frequent reference to the very able pamphlet, put forth by Dr. Hessey in 1850, which we have placed at the head of this article, and we avail ourselves of this opportunity, once for all, of recommending to the thoughtful perusal of all, who may be anxious to see in a clear argument what can be said upon this subject, so satisfactory and valuable a document.

Dr. Hessey, after having quoted at length the passage under consideration, tests by it each member contained in the Table of

Prohibited Degrees, and shows how every one of the connexions there forbidden is denounced either in express terms or by implication and converse analogy in the words of Holy Writ.

We say, then, with Dr. Hessey, that in ver. 16 is contained the declaration of God against marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and deduce our proof in this way: we find in that verse a prohibition against a man's marriage with his brother's wife—*i. e.* a woman may not marry two brothers; and analogously, (for the relationship is of a corresponding character in both cases,) a man may not marry two sisters, therefore not his wife's sister.[1]

Now it is to be remarked that, for the establishment of this proof, *two* assumptions have been made; viz., 1, the law of analogous inference as applicable to the case; and 2. the relationship of affinity as binding the persons concerned equally with the bond of consanguinity.

Some have objected to this mode of arguing, and have assumed that no prohibition ought to stand good but that which is laid down in so many words. Let us again follow Dr. Hessey's lead, and see into what difficulties and inconsistencies such an objection, if allowed to be good, would conduct us. He takes in illustration two cases similar to the one in dispute, and shows that it is only by inference, and not by direct words, that an uncle may not marry his niece, nor even a father his daughter:

'Those, therefore, who will admit nothing but what is set down in so many words to be Scripture, are brought to this—they must either allow all these inferences, or none of them.'—P. 11.

Besides,

'There is another strong reason for the admission of inferences. The prohibitions on the woman's side of the table are all of them of this character. The restrictions upon marriage in the chapter of Leviticus are addressed to men. We *infer* the woman's side from what *is said* to men.'—P. 11.

It really does seem to us unaccountably strange, that any objection should be raised, or seriously entertained, against the validity of such a law of inference, as applicable to the chapter or the case which is now especially under our notice; when not only the directions contained in this chapter, but the whole Law given by Moses, (except in two or three cases which especially relate to the female sex,)—and may we not add, not only the Law given by Moses, but *every* general code of laws?—has its provisions addressed to *men*, and only to *women by inference* through the other sex. And if this indeed be the rule, why should we feel any especial difficulty in admitting the application

[1] By a similar line of argument, the marriage of a man with his wife's niece is idden in ver. 14—the other class of marriage, the legalisation of which is g attempted by the Bill now before the House of Commons.

of that rule to the present case, or in considering that the prohibition contained in ver. 16, against marrying a brother's wife, is really looked at, as is usual, from the man's point of view, and is equally conclusive against the correlative marriage; viz., with a wife's sister; that is to say, a man may not take his brother's wife, *therefore* a woman may not take her sister's husband?

So much then we say in answer to the objection which has been entertained by some against the argument from analogy. In reply to the second objection raised against affinity as occupying a like position with consanguinity in the matters of marriage, we shall do no more than refer our readers to the mysterious language of holy Scripture, in which husband and wife are represented as made one in and by marriage—'one flesh'—united with each other by a higher and closer bond of connexion than even that of blood, and in each other united also with every one who is bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh.

The law of God in the chapter before us treats unions by consanguinity or affinity in the same way, as standing on the same ground;[1] and it is worthy of remark, that the only two cases of incest which are mentioned in the New Testament, viz. those of Herod, S. Mark vi. 18, and the guilty Corinthian, 1 Cor. v. 1, are cases of connexion by affinity. Mr. Beresford Hope's searching Review of the Report made by the Commission, appointed in 1847 to inquire into the laws of marriage, which we have placed with Dr. Hessey's and Mr. Keble's pamphlets at the head of this article, as containing much valuable information with respect to the character of the evidence which was brought before the Commissioners, throws some light upon the opinions which were held by the various witnesses upon this question of affinity. We would call attention especially to the evidence of Archdeacons Sinclair, p. 92, and Hale, pp. 94—96, and to the petition of the Clergy of Down, Connor, and Dromore, pp. 150, 151, as confirming our own view of the matter, and quote the words of Mr. Beresford Hope himself as corroborative of the same position. In remarking upon a case men-

[1] We may perhaps be allowed here to refer our readers to Mr. Keble's tract, published in 1849, under the title, 'Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony,' where he speaks as follows upon this point:—"Here, (*i. e.* in the verses 7—17 of Lev. xviii.) are thirteen cases in all; six of kindred by blood, and seven of kindred by marriage; and neither by the order in which they follow one another, nor by any difference of expression regarding them, is any hint given, that the one sort of profanation is less heinous in God's sight than the other. The world may come to think there is a difference, because the world will not believe that man and wife are really one flesh. But the written law of God apparently deals with both alike." —P. 13.

tioned in the evidence, in which union of a man with his wife's mother was charged in the Law Courts as incestuous, he says—

'It may be obtuseness or obliquity of moral feeling on my part, but I confess that I cannot understand why, marrying a wife's mother being acknowledgedly incestuous, there can be so little harm in marrying a wife's sister. The permissibility of the latter alliance must rest upon marriage not creating a relationship between the husband and the wife's family, similar to that existing between him and his own—on him and his wife not being "one flesh" in this sense. If marriage does create such relationship, it would be hardly credible that so near a relation as the sister of her who is "one flesh" with one, could be a person with whom a marriage could, without loss of purity, be contracted. But, on the other side, if such a relationship is not created, where is the pollution of an alliance with your wife's mother, a woman no way connected with you by blood? Either both must be, as far as I can understand, lawful, or both unlawful.'—P. 90.

If then we may in fairness, as all hold that in some cases we must, allow of the argument from analogy—if affinity does indeed unite man with man by ties which correspond with the bonds of blood-relationship, as the constant interpretation of holy Scripture would lead us to believe—then in Lev. xviii. 16 is contained virtually a declaration of the great God of all the families of the earth against marriage with a wife's sister—a declaration, which, except it be proved either to have been qualified by any other subsequent law, or to have been intended for Jews alone, and so to have become abrogated as regards Christians, must be held to be still of divine force and obligation.

It will be seen that we have qualified our conclusion by two supposed or supposable exceptions. They are not altogether imaginary ones, but have been, we fear, causes instrumental in attaching a large number of too-willing adherents to that party which is promoting, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, the abrogation of a law which we, in common with our forefathers, hold to be divine. They are exceptions which have often been brought forward, we have too much reason to fear, to suggest doubts to wavering minds about the real truth of the case, or to allay scruples with respect to a line of conduct which, while passion or inclination prompted them to adopt, conscience hesitated to believe to be after all the right course. We believe that many, who have been led to enter into such incestuous and unholy unions, have perhaps been induced to take the final step upon the representation and with the hope that such marriages, though contrary to the laws of England, nevertheless either were sanctioned by Lev. xviii. 18, or were perhaps part only of the Levitical law, and had so passed away with the Jewish economy.

We know that some, even amongst the clergy, have been kept back from vigorously opposing the introduction of the proposed change, by a latent feeling that though forbidden alike by the laws

of the land and of the Church, yet, as regards their prohibition in holy Scripture and validity amongst Christians, the incestuous character of such unions may be after all but one member of that large class of so-called 'open questions,' which threatens to engulf so many of the most hallowed and precious doctrines of our faith.

We should, therefore, have given a very incomplete view of the whole subject if we did not proceed to show, not only that in Lev. xviii. 16 we have a Divine law prohibitory,—but that this law is not invalidated or affected by ver. 18, nor addressed even to Jews as a Levitical but as a moral law. The discussion of these two points will lead us, therefore, to the completion of the line of argument which was laid down by us at the beginning of this article: the first objection bringing into view the investigation of the other part of Lev. xviii., which has been alleged as bearing favourably upon the change proposed; the second objection directing us to the second great branch of our subject, which has reference to the proper weight of the scriptural argument as applied to the present time.

What, then, is the fair interpretation of Lev. xviii. 18?

We here, again, agree with Dr. Hessey, that though this verse may have been frequently quoted and used as bearing upon the point at issue, it has really, upon investigation, nothing to do with the matter. We believe, and shall endeavour to show, that ver. 18 has a probable reference to bigamy or polygamy, and to nothing else.

Our reasons for this assertion are as follows:—

1st. *From the order of prohibitions* in the chapter.

Now from ver. 6—17 we have one class, and one class only, referred to, viz. marriages amongst persons already connected *by consanguinity or affinity*, introduced by the general heading in ver. 6: 'None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him.'

Passing by ver. 18 for the present, we find in ver. 19 another sort of prohibition; in verses 20, 21, cases of adultery, (i.) literal, (ii.) spiritual, *i.e.* idolatry; in verses 22, 23, cases of unnatural crimes.

Now it is to be observed, that one case remains unnoticed in a catalogue of forbidden unions, that of 'bigamy' or 'polygamy;' and where, humanly speaking, would its natural place be in the scale but between verses 17 and 20, where, in fact, we find a prohibition which seems, even at first sight, obviously to refer to this sin? That it really does so refer to 'bigamy' we shall see some probable reason for believing, when we inquire into the passage more in detail.

To this interpretation, derived from the contents of the

chapter, we would add a corroborative proof from its grammatical structure. We refer our readers to the Hebrew text, where they will find that each verse, from ver. 7 to ver. 17 inclusive, begins with the same word אֶת־, and even in the mere reading evidently introduces a fresh subdivision of one main topic: but at ver. 18 a change takes place, and verses 18—23 inclusive begin in a way differing from that of the preceding verses, yet each in the same way as compared one with another, and implying, as would, we think, at once strike the Hebrew reader, the commencement of fresh classes of subject (the conjunction ו in verses 21 and 23).

2dly. *From the critical readings of the passage.*

We give the Hebrew, Septuagint, and English versions in order:—

וְאִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ לֹא תִקָּח לִצְרֹר לְגַלּוֹת עֶרְוָתָהּ עָלֶיהָ בְּחַיֶּיהָ׃

The Septuagint: Γυναῖκα ἐπὶ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς οὐ λήψῃ ἀντιζηλεῖν ἐπιτηδεύσεις τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἔτι ζώσης αὐτῆς.

English Version: 'Neither shalt thou take a wife (margin 'or, one wife to another, Exod. xxvi. 3'), to her sister, to vex 'her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life 'time.'

Now it is obvious that the three special circumstances upon which the real meaning of this passage must rest, are, 1st, the person concerned: 2d, the reason of the prohibition: 3d, the limit of the prohibition.

We must beg, at the risk of being tedious and prolix to our readers, to say a word or two upon each of these points:—

1st. *The person:* 'a wife to her sister.' Of course the interpretation of the word 'sister' is of greatest importance to the matter in hand: for what if it shall turn out that 'sister' does not necessarily mean 'sister' proper, *i.e.* sister by blood—but 'sister,' even as a member of the same faith, or of the same nation, or of the same human race: even as a man calls his fellow-men, 'brethren'? If this, we say, should turn out to be really or *probably* the case, then farewell to all the weight which has been added to the scale of scriptural evidence by the impugners of our laws, in favour of their attempted change. Now as a fact we find that the masculine אָח, of which אָחוֹת, 'sister,' is the feminine form, is used for 'a person connected or consociated with us in whatever manner.'

The word אָח, a brother, is, in fact, found employed in holy Scripture in all the following senses:—for a man, by *kindred*, as brother proper, Gen. iv. 2; or near relation, Gen. xiv. 14: or by *nation*, as fellow-countryman, Lev. xxv. 46, 47, Numb. xxv. 18: or by *similarity of condition or manner*, as in Job. xxx. 29,

'I am a brother to dragons:' or by *merely partaking of the same nature,* as a man to a man, Lev. xix. 17: or, lastly, *generally by expressing likeness,* as Prov. xviii. 9, and Ezek. xviii. 10.[1]

Hence we see that the word is used in the masculine in the very vaguest sense. Are we, then, to assert positively that (אחה) 'sister' in the feminine, *must* mean in this passage 'sister' in its strictest sense? or may we not fairly suppose, (except indeed, as is not the case here, the context definitely fixes the meaning to this restricted sense,) that the same vagueness which at times, and in fact most frequently, belongs to the masculine form, is capable of application to the feminine form also; so that 'sister' may mean 'one woman in relation to any other woman,' even as we saw above that 'brother' actually is used, in the *very next chapter* of Leviticus, to mean a man in relation to his fellow-man?—even as we have the word ἀδελφή used in the New Testament (1 Cor. ix. 5),[2] similarly with its masculine form, ἀδελφός?

But we are not left entirely to doubt and conjecture with regard to this use; for, i. we believe that we are right in saying, after a careful examination of the Pentateuch, that in no one instance throughout the laws given by Moses (except, indeed, it be in the passage before us) is either 'brother' or 'sister' used in its restricted sense, for relations by blood or kin, without a clue to this definite meaning being at the same time furnished by the context; and ii. in truth, the phrase here used, 'a woman to her sister' must, in strict propriety, be taken as a whole, and seems to have been a proverbial expression, meaning simply 'one to another.' Our marginal reading witnesses to this fact, where we find, for the words in the text, the passage rendered as follows: 'one wife *to another,*' with a reference to Exod. xxvi. 3, where we have the very same phrase twice, as applying to inanimate things, *the curtains of the tabernacle* coupled 'one to another,' *i. e.* in the Hebrew,[3] 'a woman to her sister;' and again, Ezek. i. 9 uses the very same expression for the *wings of the cherubim,* 'joined one to another,' in ver. 23, 'one toward the other,' and in chap. iii. 13, 'one another.' Nor is this proverbial mode of expression found in the feminine alone; but, when so used, it is simply the equivalent phrase (used where

[1] Ezek. xviii. 10: 'If he beget a son that is a robber, a shedder of blood, or doeth the *like* to any of these things,' where, in margin, 'to his brother any of these things,' but rather, perhaps, more accurately, 'the brother of any of these things.'

[2] Μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, &c. Compare with this expression the title given by the bridegroom to the bride in the Song of Solomon, 'My sister, *my* spouse,' iv. 9, 10, 12; v. 1.

[3] אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ. The same phrase occurs in three other places in the chapter, and is translated differently in each place, viz. in ver. 5, 'one of another,' in ver. 6, 'simply together,' and in ver. 17, 'one against another.'

the nouns with which it is connected are of the feminine form) for a corresponding masculine form, 'a man to his brother,' 'a man and his brother,' which occurs no less than twenty-one times in the Hebrew Bible, and is translated in all cases except one (Ezek. xxxiii. 31, where 'brother' appears) by the same indefinite words, 'one—another.' And it is further not unimportant to remark, that of these twenty-one instances no less than thirteen occur in the books of Moses, and three in Ezekiel (the very parts of Holy Scripture in which alone the feminine equivalent above-mentioned is found); that in only three instances does it refer to those who were in point of fact brothers (Gen. xxxviii. 19; xlii. 21, 28), and in two cases it is used (as the feminine form in Exod. xxvi. 3) with reference to inanimate objects, *the faces of the cherubims* 'one to another.' Exod. xxv. 20 and xxxvii. 9.

Here, then, we have an expression occurring in the masculine and feminine forms, according as it is joined with masculine or feminine nouns, no less than thirty times in the Bible, and in twenty-nine cases used in the same vague and indefinite way. Shall we then assert that in the thirtieth instance (viz. in Lev. xviii. 18), and in that alone, the indefinite *must* become definite, and the phrase drop its general character?

We think that with such an overwhelming preponderance of evidence in favour of our interpretation, we might safely use the strongest expressions to declare our conviction of its truth; but this we will boldly assert, that, to say the least, no stress of *necessity* can be laid upon the English word 'sister' here used, as implying any more than the relation in which any one woman stands to any other woman: and we think that we are not without every show of reason on our side, when we assert that the passage would seem to have no reference to the marriage with a wife's sister, but rather to the sin of 'bigamy,' or 'multiplying wives.'

2d. We proceed now, secondly, *to the reason given for the prohibition*, which, it is to be remarked, is of an entirely different character from those which preceded. It is not now 'because she is thy sister,' *i. e.* by affinity as wife's sister, nor 'because she is thy kinswoman,' nor 'because it is wickedness,' reasons which apply to the foregoing cases,—but 'to vex her.'

The Hebrew word צרר (an intensive form of the simple verb צר) seems to be used in all cases for 'greatly afflicting or distressing,' as Numb. xxv. 17, 'Vex the Midianites,' in punishment for their enticing Israel into sin. Diodati (quoted by Parkhurst) renders the word here used by 'per esser la sua rivale,' which shows at least his sense of the reason of the prohibition. The same word is used in a substantive form in 1 Sam. i. 6, a passage

which has a very strong bearing upon this verse, where Peninnah, one of the wives of Elkanah, is said to be 'an adversary'[1] to Hannah, and we know how, as her 'adversary' or 'rival,' 'she provoked her sore for to make her fret.'

The use, too, of the Hellenistic word *ἀντίζηλος* in this passage as equivalent to the Hebrew צרר, is well worth observing.

It is employed twice in the same sense in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, and in both cases with reference to one woman as the rival of another, xxvi. 6. *ἄλγος καρδίας καὶ πένθος μέγα γύνη ἀντίζηλος ἐπὶ γυναικί*, and again in xxxvii. 10, 11, *μὴ βουλεύου . . . . μετὰ γυναικὸς περὶ ἀντιζήλου αὐτῆς*.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to add in illustration from the *Mishna* of the Jews, that the several wives (or concubines) of a man are called צרות, (literally 'troubles') to each other, 'inasmuch as,' Kimchi observes in his commentary on 1 Sam. i. 6 (the passage before referred to), 'they are most often sources of trouble, jealousy, and vexation.'

We infer, then, from the foregoing observations, that the reason given for the prohibition confirms our interpretation of the meaning of the word 'sister,' and of the character of the whole verse.

3d. But if *the reason* of the prohibition remained doubtful, the doubt would be cleared away by *the limit of time* which is added: 'beside the other in *her lifetime*.' It is only during the lifetime of the first wife that a second wife added can be a vexation and trouble to her; hence 'bigamy' is the sin prohibited by the verse: but at the death of the first wife, the man is free to marry again,—yet not, as some have tried to make the verse to imply, free even now to marry the sister of his former wife: for that relationship has been already forbidden by the terms of the 16th verse, and the sister of the deceased wife remains as much a sister by all the ties of affinity after the death of her sister, as she was during her lifetime.[2]

We say, then, in concluding our inquiry into the scriptural argument as deduced from Lev. xviii. that ver. 18 has no

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[1] The word 'adversary' in Hebrew, צרה, is a substantive form connected with the verb צרר, 'to vex,' used in Lev. xviii. 18.

[2] An objection may be supposed to lie against the above interpretation of Lev. xviii. 18, as if polygamy was permitted by God in Deut. xxi. 15, but we should conceive it to be just as difficult to extract from the last-named passage a Divine sanction for such a practice, as to derive from Deut. xvii. 14—20, an approval of the conduct of the Israelites in after times in choosing a king. Both passages, in fact, seem to occupy similar ground, as providing rules which were to be observed when, as the Lord who knew the hardness of their hearts foresaw, the special occasions which would require the application of such rules should arrive. We may further observe, that Deut. xxi. 15 stands in the midst of a series of rules of conduct, to be observed under difficult circumstances, and after improper acts. See Deut. xxi. 1, 10, 18, 22.

bearing upon the question at issue, but refers to a different class of prohibitions; and that in ver. 16 is contained virtually a specific declaration of the Divine will in prohibition of such marriages. We assert that neither at the same time nor in succession is a man permitted by the law of God to take in marriage *two* sisters: and we ground our reasoning upon the two arguments of analogy and affinity.

Nor is this any novel method of interpretation; for we shall be enabled to show, (and we would fain hope in a way which will prove satisfactory to our readers,) that it is from ver. 16 and in reliance upon *these arguments*, that not only our Church, but the early Church, and the Jews themselves, have asserted and laid down the rule hitherto observed as of Divine authority.

Beginning with our own Church authors, we shall trace back the recognition of this law in the early Church, and then by reference to Jewish authorities show how, as matter of fact, modern and ancient Churches, Christians and Jews, have, often unwittingly to each other, agreed in one common belief and practice on this point.

We have already referred to the Table of Prohibited Degrees set forth in 1563, and to the Ninety-ninth Canon, (which establishes that Table as based on warrant of holy Scripture,) as authoritative exponents of the mind of our Church-rulers in the reigns of Elizabeth and James.

We shall bring forward Wheatley as our first witness, because he has explained at great clearness and length the way in which that Table is to be viewed and interpreted. In his 'Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer' he writes as follows:—

'It may not be amiss to observe that several degrees are expressed in the Table which are not mentioned particularly in the 18th of Leviticus, *which is the place upon which the Table is founded*. But then they may be inferred by *parity of reason*. For that passage in Leviticus only mentions those relations evidently and expressly which may help us to discover the like difference and degrees. So that for the right understanding of the 18th of Leviticus, and to bring it to an agreement with the Table in our Common Prayer Books, we must observe *two particular rules* for our direction:—

'1. That the same prohibitions that are made to one sex are undoubtedly understood and implied to the other.

'2. That a man and his wife are accounted *one* flesh: (so that whoever is related to one of them by means of consanguinity is in the same degree related to the other by means of affinity, insomuch that the husband is so much forbid to marry with his wife's relations, and the wife with her husband's, within the degrees prohibited, as either of them are to marry with their own.) Thus, for instance, though *marrying a wife's sister* be not expressly forbid in the 18th of Leviticus, yet by parity of reason it is virtually implied. For when God there commands (ver. 16) that a man shall not marry his brother's wife,—which is the same as forbidding the woman to be married to her husband's brother,—it follows of course that a man is also forbid to marry his wife's sister; for between one man and two sisters, and

one woman and two brothers, is the same analogy and proportion.'—*Wheatley, Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, London*, 1840, p. 396.

He then proceeds to show that in like manner, as we have seen above, a man is forbidden to marry his deceased wife's niece, and to refer to the decision of our Law Courts, which we shall mention more at length presently.

These observations of Wheatley are grounded upon the *Reformatio Legum* (A.D. 1553), quoted by Gibson in his Codex, vol. i. p. 498, from which, in fact, Wheatley's remarks are a literal translation. Gibson in referring to the original words says:—

'Upon the foregoing rule, from parity of reason (which we also find to be acknowledged and laid down by the Books of Common Law) rests the prohibition against marrying *a wife's sister*, which I cannot better explain than in the words of Bishop Jewel, in his printed letter upon that point:—"Albeit I be not forbidden by plain words to marry my wife's sister, yet am I forbidden to do so by other words, which by exposition are plain enough. For when God commands me, I shall not marry my brother's wife, it follows directly by the same that he forbids me to marry my wife's sister. For between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like analogy and proportion."'[1]

The letter, of which the above extract forms part, seems to have been written in A.D. 1561, about the time when Archbishop Parker, lately advanced to the See of Canterbury, had issued his admonition against unlawful marriages, amongst the provisions of which we find, 'Fratris uxorem ducendi, vel duobus 'sororibus conjungendi, licentiam penitus submovemus.' (Strype, Parker, vol. i. pp. 174, 175. Oxford Edition.)

In the Lambeth Articles of the same year we also find the following rule laid down:—

'It is agreed that all such marriages as have been contracted within the Levitical degrees be dissolved, and namely those who have married *two sisters one after another*, who are, by common consent, judged to be within the case.'—*Cardwell, Doc. Ann.* i. 267.

These particulars have an especial bearing upon our inquiry, as showing the mind of the Church Reformers at that period; for it must be borne in mind that no longer time than two years elapsed after the letter of Jewel, before the Table of Prohibited Degrees was published by Archbishop Parker in 1563. In the

[1] The whole letter, from which the above is an extract, is printed in Strype, (Parker, vol. iii. pp. 55—58. App. No. XIX. Oxford edition.) It was written in answer to an inquiry made to him upon the legitimacy of such marriages, which appear to have become prevalent during the disorders of those times, and seem to have been considered allowable by some foreigners, (he mentions Pellicanus, Paulus, Fagius and Lyra,) who took Lev. xviii. 18 strictly. This view he condemns, and then proceeds to show the necessity of the argument from analogy, adding after the words quoted by Gibson, 'And other such like ought to be taken for a rule. And therefore the Rabbins of the Jews have expressly forbidden divers degrees by this rule, which God by plain words forbade not.' See also Le Bas' Life of Jewel, chap. v. pp. 101—104.

year following, viz. 1563-4, we have the contents of this Table called 'Leviticall Degrees,' and their observance enjoined by the 'Book of Advertisements,' where we read:—

'Item, That no persons be suffered to marye within the Leviticall Degrees, mentioned in a Table set forthe by the Archebysshoppe of Caunterburye in that behalfe, A.D. 1563, and if any suche be, to be separated by order of lawe.'

And again, in 1571, the Table was enforced in similar language by *Canons*, amongst which we again find particular stress laid upon the marriage which is under consideration:—

'Omnia matrimonia quæ uspiam contracta sunt intra *gradus cognationis aut affinitatis*[1] *prohibitos in* xviii. *Levitici* authoritate Episcopi dissolventur: *maxime* vero, si quis *priore uxore demortuâ*, ejus sororem uxorem duxerit: hic enim gradus communi doctorum virorum consensu et judicio putatur in Levitico prohiberi.'—*Sparrow, Coll.* p. 240.

We find further from Gibson, that the question of marriage with a wife's sister came under consideration in the King's Bench (25 Car. II. Mich. Term. Hill *v.* Good):—

'Though it was alleged that the precept, primâ facie, seemed to be only against having two sisters *at the same time*, and prohibition to the Spiritual Court was granted; yet in Trinity Term, 26 Car. II. after hearing civilians, they granted a consultation as in a matter within this statute, 32 Henry VIII. though the former statute (25 Henry VIII.) had never been revived after the repeal of Queen Mary, which yet it *virtually* was, and there, as in 25 Henry VIII., the wife's sister is expressly prohibited.'

We are here referred further back to the reign of Henry VIII., when it is to be carefully observed that a distinction was made between the degrees prohibited in Leviticus, and those additional degrees which the Church before the Reformation had herself imposed.[2] The former as binding by the Word of God

[1] The joint prohibition against consanguinity and affinity here referred to, was declared in the admonitions prefixed to Parker's Table:—

'II. It is also to be noted that consanguinity and affinity (letting and dissolving matrimony) is contracted as well in them and by them which be of kindred by the one side, as in and by them which be kindred by both sides.

'III. Item, that by the laws consanguinity and affinity (letting and dissolving matrimony) is contracted as well by unlawful company of man and woman as by lawful marriage.'

The Visitation Articles of Cardinal Pole, in 1557, hold the same language, where he makes inquiry, 'Whether any be married in the degrees of affinity or consanguinity prohibited by the laws of Holy Church?'—Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 174. And Dr. Burn witnesses to the same fact, when, after referring to the 'Levitical degrees' and 'prohibited degrees,' mentioned in the Acts of the 25th and 32d of Henry VIII., he adds, 'The degrees specified in these statutes are particularly set forth in Leviticus xviii., whereby not only degrees of kindred and consanguinity, but degrees of affinity and alliance, do hinder matrimony." (Eccl. Law. Phill. ii. 440.)

[2] By the Act of 25 Henry VIII. restriction was taken off all degrees of consanguinity or affinity, except those which were *condemned in express words* in Lev. xviii. The impropriety and evil consequences of such a course were seen at the time by Cranmer, who, by a letter addressed two years afterwards to Cromwell, and quoted by Cardwell (Doc. Ann. i. 282), seems to have remonstrated at the

were retained, the latter as imposed by man, and, therefore, within the power of man to abrogate, were set aside.

Having traced the opinion of our Church to the very time of its Reformation, we would now refer our readers several centuries backward to the times of the early Church. We find in Western Christendom, the Council of Auxerre, (Conc. Antissiod.) A.D. 578, laying down these *analogous* Canons, and so showing the ground of Scripture upon which its view was based:—

'Can. xxix. Non licet ut *relictam fratris* sui quis in matrimonium ducat.
'Can. xxx. Non licet, duas sorores, si *una mortua fuerit*, alteram in conjugium accipere.'

The brother's widow and the sister's widowed husband are placed on a similar footing; in the latter Canon, Lev. xviii. 18 is evidently ignored. A like rule appears to have been laid down in the Eastern Church, for in the *Codex Theodosianus*, lib. iii. tit. xii. *de incestis nuptiis*, we find a law of Theodosius Junior, the Emperor, in the fifth century, which conveys a similar prohibition. And in this case we may remark, that Honorius, the fellow-emperor of Theodosius, had at this very time married two sisters, daughters of Stilicho, successively, the one after the other. The law runs thus (leg. iv.):—

'Tanquam incestum commiserit, habeatur qui post prioris conjugis amissionem sororem ejus in matrimonium proprium crediderit sortiendam. *Pari ac simili ratione* etiam si qua post interitum mariti in germani ejus nuptias crediderit adspirandum.'

A law of Constantius, bearing date of the preceding century, quoted also in the *Codex Theodosianus*, must be referred to in common fairness, as it seems to imply that some had thought themselves at liberty to enter into such unions in previous times. Its words are (leg. iii.):—

'Etsi licitum veteres crediderunt, nuptiis fratris solutis, ducere fratris uxorem: licitum etiam post mortem mulieris vel divortium contrahere

time of the passing of the Act, though to no purpose. His words are, 'By the law of God many persons be prohibited which be not expressed, but be understood by like prohibition in equal degree. As S. Ambrose saith, that the niece is forbid by the law of God, although it be not expressed in Leviticus that the uncle shall not marry the niece. But when the nephew is forbid there that he shall not marry his aunt, by the same is understood that the niece shall not be married unto her uncle. Likewise as the daughter is not there plainly expressed, yet when the son is forbid to marry his mother, it is understood that the daughter may not be married to her father, because they be of like degree . . . . . And as touching the Act of Parliament concerning the degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not so plainly set forth as I would they were. Wherein I somewhat spake my mind at the making of the said law, but it was not then accepted' (Strype's Cranmer, i. 66). Dr. Cardwell proceeds, 'These views, and the frequent applications made to the archbishop for dispensations in cases prohibited in principle, but not forbidden by express words in the statute, led eventually to the formation of "The Table of Degrees," that was set forth by Archbishop Parker.'

cum ejusdem sorore conjugium: abstineant hujusmodi nuptiis universi, nec æstiment posse legitimos liberos ex hoc consortio procreari, nam spurios esse convenit, qui nascentur.'

It is evident, however, that even this law, though it may seem to favour the idea that marriages of the kind prohibited were previously allowed, shows that the permission of marriage with a wife's sister was deduced by analogy, not from Lev. xviii. 18, but from Deut. xxv. 5—10, which contains a provision in exception to Lev. xviii. 16; and, perhaps, even thus it may have followed, from a mistaken idea that the Levitical law, which for certain temporal purposes abrogated in certain cases the law laid down in Lev. xviii. 16, was still allowed to Christians; and if so, that its converse was also allowable. But however this may be, we have another contemporaneous law in another part of the Eastern Church, which speaks plainly upon the matter as it stood then.

S. Basil, A.D. 370, having fixed a penance of fifteen years as the punishment for adultery, lays down the same law for those who have contracted such a marriage as that with two sisters successively:—

'Can. lxxviii. 'Ο αὐτὸς κρατείτω τύπος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ἀδελφὰς λαμβανόντων εἰς συνοικέσιον, εἰ καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους.'

Passing to even an earlier period, and to a different Church-region, we find the Council of Illiberis (A.D. 307) determining, though in milder form than suited the monk Basil, the punishment for the same offence: Conc. Illib. Canon lxi.:—

'Si quis post obitum uxoris suæ sororem ejus duxerit, quinquennium à communione placuit abstineri, nisi forte dari pacem velocius necessitas coëgerit infirmitatis.'

And once more, to quote one of the earliest, if not the earliest, code of Church laws, the Apostol. Canons, dating probably from the third century at the latest, denounce against the same sin, the prohibition from the hope of becoming a cleric:—

Can. xviii. 'Ο δύο ἀδελφὰς ἀγαγόμενος, ἢ ἀδελφιδῆν, οὐ δύναται εἶναι κληρικός.

'The same evil mark,' as Mr. Keble in his Tract, p. 22, remarks, 'which in the 13th and 14th Canons of the same series is set 'upon bigamy, and upon other discreditable marriages, and in 'the 53d upon all kinds of unchastity.'

We have thus, at the risk of wearying our readers, given a sort of catena of Church authorities up to the earliest ages of Christianity. But we have not even yet finished our task, and must ask their patience for a further space, whilst we lay before them some evidence in proof that not only Christians of all ages have thus looked upon this question, but that Jewish Rabbins also, to whom Jewel alluded in the letter which we quoted above, both took the same view of holy Scripture, and

based it upon the same grounds of analogy and affinity. It is interesting, and we believe that it will be found useful to see, if we can, how as a matter of fact the Jews of old, often notoriously lax in their observance of the severer parts of the Law, regarded these matters.

Our first reference will be to Maimonides, a learned Spanish Rabbin of the twelfth century, who, in his celebrated book, entitled, 'The Reasons of the Laws of Moses,' thus writes upon prohibited marriages (p. 310)[1]:—

'Reasons of a similar nature existed also for the prohibition of incestuous marriages (Lev. xviii.); for the persons forbidden to be married to each other being such as usually lived together in the same house, opportunity for criminality would be easily found, and, though associating with each other, the judge could not have separated them from each other; so that if such persons could have married like others who were free and disengaged, and no punishment had been affixed to their marriage, the greater part of men would have been living in a state of constant unchastity.[2]

'Another reason for prohibiting such marriages, I apprehend, was to commend modesty and chastity. For such an union betwixt the *root* and *the branch* is the most glaring profligacy; for instance, for a man to marry his mother or daughter; therefore, marriage betwixt *root* and *branch* was forbidden. Nor does it constitute any difference whether the *root* marry the *branch*, or the *branch* the *root*, or whether they meet in marriage with a third person, as when any one marries both root and branch. On this account a man was forbidden to marry a woman and her daughter, or the wife of the father and the wife of the son, because these were marriages to root and branch.

'*Brothers* were considered as root and branch, and it was *therefore* forbidden to marry a *wife's sister* and a *brother's wife*, because this was uniting two individuals to a third person, who were, as it were, root and branch. Besides, since marriage among brothers was considered as root and branch, and even as one body, and was therefore forbidden, it was likewise forbidden to marry a mother's sister, because she was regarded as being the same as a mother; and a father's sister, who was considered as near as a father.'

So far Maimonides, whom we have quoted at some length, in order that the whole view in which this matter was regarded by him might be laid in its entirety before the reader. We may remark, however, that it is clear throughout, that he considers the connexion between individuals by marriage to be as effectual a bar to marriage as connexion by blood. His arguments may be thus briefly summed up: Brothers are forbidden to marry the same third person, because the husband's brother becomes by marriage as a brother to the wife. Therefore, sisters are forbidden to marry the same third person; because, in like manner, the wife's sister becomes by marriage as a sister to the husband.

[1] Our reference is to an English translation by Dr. Townley (published A.D. 1827), Chap. xxiv. p. 310, &c. 'Precepts of the 14th Class.'

[2] We cannot but commend this paragraph to the notice of those who would take up the social part of the subject.

Nor was this view of holy Scripture any mere invention of Maimonides, or of the Jews of his age, for the *Mishna* (which professes to give the oral law delivered by tradition from Moses, and is at least as old as the time of Rabbi Judah, who lived about A.D. 150) bears witness, though incidentally, and so with more force than if it had been of set purpose, to this interpretation of God's law; for we read in Book xxii., entitled 'Yebamoth,'[1] which treats of the obligation under the Law to marry a deceased brother's wife (Yeboom), and so to preserve his name and family, that there were certain circumstances which were ruled by the Rabbins (whether rightly or wrongly does not affect the question, which is merely one of fact) to render such an observance of the Law unlawful; as, for instance, 'if the parties were related to each other within the degree of 'consanguinity prohibited by the holy Law to intermarry.'

Chapter I. gives instances of such prohibitions. Fifteen classes of women are mentioned, who, on this ground, release themselves from this obligation, and amongst these we find the 12th case in order to be this, 'When the widow of the deceased is his (*i.e.* the surviving brother's) wife's sister.' In that case the law of Levirage was considered not to apply.

But the *Mishna* does not leave us with this general interpretation of the Law; it supplies us with cases in illustration of its actual working. Case 1, from chap. iii. §. 7.—

'When of three brothers, two are married to two sisters, and one to a stranger: if one of them who married the sisters died, and he who had married the stranger marries the widow; and then the wife of the second brother dies, and also the third brother, who had married the stranger; then the widow will be for ever prohibited to the second or surviving brother, because she was for some time prohibited to him [as wife's sister].'

That is, in other words, inasmuch as her sister had by her marriage brought her into connexion of affinity with the man, she can never afterwards be clear from such bond of affinity, and, therefore, *even after her sister's death*, remains as a sister to him.

Or, to make the matter clearer:—Three brothers, A, B and C, marry respectively M and N, two sisters, and S, a stranger. A dies, and C marries the widow M: then N dies, and also C, who leaves behind S and M; then B may marry S, but not M, because she was sister to his former wife N.

Case 2 is similar. (§. 9, at the end):—

'When of two brothers married to two sisters, one dies, and afterwards the wife of the surviving brother also dies, then he may not marry his brother's widow, because there was a time when she was prohibited to him [namely, during the life of his wife, her sister].'

[1] Our references are to the English translation of the Mishna, by 'De Sola and Raphall.' London: 1845.

To exemplify as before. Two brothers, A and B, marry respectively M and N, two sisters. A and N die; then B cannot marry M, because she is the sister of his former wife.

So strongly, then, did the Jews consider the prohibition *upon the warrant of God's law* as binding, that they even made it an exception to the fulfilment of that other particular provision, which, it may be observed, was permissive, and not obligatory, with respect to the 'raising up seed to a brother.' The latter gave way before, when it was found to clash with, the former law. Why, we may ask, was this? Was it not, because they judged that the one was a temporary and individual law, binding upon an Israelite as such, whilst the other was a moral and a general law of God, which bound by its provisions not Israelites alone, but all men. And this consideration naturally leads to that second question, which we laid down at the beginning of this article as necessary to be discussed: viz.—whether if, as we have attempted to show, holy Scripture has spoken in the way in which Christians and Jews have believed that it has spoken,—in denunciation of the marriage with a wife's sister,—such a law be not, after all, a law Levitical, not moral—a law for Jews, but not for Christians. A few words will be all which we shall deem it necessary to employ in answer to this objection, and we again avail ourselves of Dr. Hessey's pamphlet (pp. 4, 5):—

'1stly. The Israelites are warned at the commencement of Lev. xviii. against practising the abominations of the Egyptians and the Canaanites, (ver. 3); and the warning is repeated even more solemnly, so far as the Canaanites are concerned, at the conclusion of the chapter.[1] Now, neither of these nations could have transgressed the Jewish political law. It had not yet been laid down; and if it had, they had possessed no opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. Of course, therefore, they could not have been condemned or punished for transgressing it. Still they are condemned for transgressing the precepts mentioned in the chapter. These precepts, then, must be the reenactment of the principles of God's moral law, which those nations might have known, and which they could and did transgress.

'2dly. If the chapter relates to the Jewish political law at all, it must relate to it entirely. No distinction is discoverable in it by which the moral and political precepts can be separated. If some of them be political, all must be political, and therefore all must be abrogated, which no one will venture to affirm. If some of them be moral, all must be moral, and, therefore, all must be still binding upon Christians.

'3dly. Until nearly the end of the fifteenth century, the Church held the precepts of this chapter which relate to marriage to be moral, and, therefore, not to be tampered with or reversed. And the most ancient table of

[1] Lev. xviii. 24, 25. 'Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you: and the land is defiled; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants.' .... ver. 30. 'Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs, which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: I am the LORD your GOD.'

prohibited degrees, founded upon the chapter, was virtually the same as our own. I may add that the first recorded instance of any one of these degrees being dispensed with, took place towards the end of the fifteenth century, under one of the most infamous popes who ever filled the papal chair. It is true, that from the sixth to the fifteenth century the table of forbidden degrees was much extended; and it is true, also, that the degrees thus added beyond Scripture were frequently dispensed with. But they were dispensed with on the ground that they were merely ecclesiastical, not Scriptural, prohibitions; whilst the degrees in our table were never dispensed with, on the very ground that they were moral precepts, and part of the unalterable Divine law.

'I conclude, therefore, that Lev. xviii. is part of the moral law, and, therefore, binding upon Christians.'

What, then, we have tried to show is, that there is solid ground for believing that God has spoken, and spoken emphatically, in Lev. xviii. 16, against the marriages which it is now proposed to legalise. We have attempted to make it probable, that no Divine permission or allowance is to be deduced in favour of a change in the law from Lev. xviii. 18.

We have further argued that the laws laid down in that chapter were not so much Levitical as moral, binding on Jews, yet not as Jews, but as men—social, moral, religious beings—laws which have a force independent of the Jewish Law, which were in being before that Law was given, which continue equally in being ever since the requirements of that Law have passed away. We have adduced evidence to show that the arguments employed in our proof are such as have ever been held to be sound and valid, both by Jew and Christian,—as well by the early Church as by our own Church since the Reformation,—and have been the grounds upon which the belief and practice of ages have rested.

We would, in conclusion, ask our readers to weigh well the considerations which have been brought before their notice. If there be any to whose minds we have failed to bring entire conviction, to them we would beg leave to say, If your minds are still doubtful, if there be but a secret feeling that at least there is probability, though there may not be certainty, on our side, remember the words of Butler:[1]—

'In questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence is not to be had, or is not seen: if the result of examination be, that there appears upon the whole, any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater; this determines the question, even in matters of speculation; and in matters of practice will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and of interest, to act upon that presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in very great doubt which is the truth. For surely a man is as really bound in prudence to do what upon the whole appears, according

[1] Butler's Analogy. Introduction, pp. xlix. l. London: 1841.

to the best of his judgment, to be for his happiness, as what he certainly knows to be so. Nay, further, in *questions of great consequence* a reasonable man will think it concerns him to remark lower probabilities and presumptions than these; such as amount to no more than showing one side of a question to be as supposable and credible as the other; nay, such as but amount to much less even than this.'

Consider the sides between which you have to choose, on the one hand, the preservation of the present law, with the probability of being on God's side, and on the other, the change in the law, with the chance of standing in opposition to the law of God. Add to the weight, in the former scale, the united voice and opinion of the wise and good of past ages, and your line of conduct can no longer remain doubtful.

NOTICES.

Two 'Catechetical Manuals,' and both bearing the authorship of Ramsay, reach us. The one is Dean Ramsay's (of Edinburgh), which in its seventh edition (Grant), may be supposed to have acquired a dignified elevation beyond the range of criticism. We should not ourselves have assisted to place it in so lofty a position, for we think it coldly correct as far as it goes, which is only about half-way, and heavy.—Mr. Arthur Ramsay, of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his 'Catechiser's Manual,' (Macmillan,) has given us a much more original and thoughtful work: his favourite study is etymology, and some of his little notes on the meaning of words in the Catechism are instructive and important. His taste for these verbal refinements is occasionally overdone: and we were surprised (p. 44) at Mr. Ramsay's adoption of Dr. Donaldson's apparent inversion of the use of the word 'gossip.' He seems to say that the word was used for a sponsor, because it signified, 'the most intimate and friendly conversation.' Whereas, being the technical name for a sponsor—God-sip—it came to be applied to vain and trifling talk, on account of the habit to which such affinities gave rise of indulging in familiar intercourses.

The author of 'Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden,' (Routledge,) has not in the fishing-jacket of former years disqualified himself for the cassock of his present life, as his useful 'Sermons' and 'Guide to Confirmation' show. Mr. Newland, like Walton and Donne, is a fisher of men as well as of salmon. In either character he writes with entire good sense: and his love of anecdote and keen appreciation of character make him agreeable both as a tourist and a preacher. The 'Forest Life' contains more about the Scandinavian social and religious state than most professed volumes of travel. All that Mr. Newland writes flows agreeably.

'An Oxford M. A.' has sent us a pathetic appeal in favour of 'Public Nurseries.' (J. H. Parker.) What is to be said for and against infant schools—and the moral argument is not all on one side—applies to this scheme. It is at work in Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; and its beneficial results on the child are unquestionable; that it throws the mother into an unnatural, if unavoidable, condition, is perhaps as plain.

We are glad to welcome the tenth part of the second volume of 'Instrumenta Ecclesiastica,' (Van Voorst,) a useful set of working drawings, published by the Ecclesiological Society. A list of tradesmen of whom the various articles may be procured would be found useful, particularly to colonial church builders.

Mr. J. H. Parker's 'Scripture Prints'—especially the glazed copies—are a vast improvement on our extant stock. But what is wanted for cottage walls is colour; and the Christian artist who would supplant the ugly but intelligible daubs which, both here and abroad, find such favour with the poor, by good and religious coloured designs, would be a benefactor of no small value. The thing is not impossible, though difficult. Uneducated

eyes are incapable of understanding miniature reproductions of the great Italian master-pieces; the style of fresco, and its broad masses of powerful colour, are alone suited for the common mind.

The 'Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology' (Macmillan) improves as it advances. The third number is the best, though its predecessors were of high promise. The English school of classical criticism is reviving.

Two volumes of Calvin's French Letters have been collected and published by M. Jules Bonnet, from the Archives of Geneva: 'Lettres de Jean Calvin.' (Paris: Meyrueis.) They form a supplement to the well-known Latin Letters, and the chief value of the present collection is, that they are from a recent collation, and form a complete series. The most valuable portion of M. Bonnet's volumes, Calvin's correspondence with M. de Falais, has been long before the world, and the letters on English ecclesiastical affairs are familiar to all students of the Reformation period. The new letters amount to about a hundred and seventy: they confirm occasionally what we had already ample evidence of, that Calvin possessed a remarkable repertory of brutal language. In the way of a contribution to history, we do not detect much value in the new matter which M. Bonnet's pious care has disinterred from the congenial dust of the Library at Geneva; and perhaps the fame of the burner of Servetus had been better consulted, had Calvin's encomiasts withheld this additional proof of their hero's disregard of decency, and proficiency in the vulgar tongue. We pluck, quite at random, a florilegium of Christian and evangelical exhortation: 'Ceste malheureuse beste Orry,' vol. i. p. 373. 'Nous faisons trop d'honneur à ces bestes 'connues de les appeler évesques . . . . ce brigant qui a occupé le siége 'de Dieu,' *ibid.* p. 353. 'Ceste beste sauvaige,' vol. ii. p. 16. 'Ceste 'beste venimeuse,' *ibid.* p. 19. We find that it is by no fault of the gentle Calvin that Servetus and Gentilis had not many companions at the stake and on the scaffold. Writing to a lady, Madame de Cany, we find Calvin expressing the following amiable regrets with respect to an earlier victim: 'Je vous asseure, Madame, s'il ne fust si tost eschappé, que, pour m'ac-'quitter de mon debvoir, il n'eust pas tenu à moy qu'il ne fust passé par 'le feu.' Vol. i. p. 336. The present Editor may well express his curiosity about the person who evoked, to use his own euphemistic language, 'Ces 'paroles empreintes de l'âpre rigueur du réformateur?' John Calvin, however, has his consolations: he thinks that the God of mercy will accept the will for the deed. He and his pleasant lady correspondent find a pious hope in the belief, 'Toutesfois si le bien que nous taschons de faire 'n'adresse comme il seroit à désirer, c'est bien assez que Dieu accepte 'nostre service,' *ibid.* At vol. i. p. 69, note, we find M. Bonnet repeating Beza's foolish fanfaronade of Calvin's volunteering his services to attend the plague patients in 1542. Mr. Dyer, in his recent 'Life of Calvin,' has proved incontestably that Calvin, in common with the whole body of ministers, exhibited the greatest reluctance to attend the hospital and visit the sick; and it was on this occasion, although Calvin had contrived to get a vote from the council keeping him at home, because he was wanted to serve in the church, that the ministers 'refused to repair to the hospital, 'and said they would rather go to the devil.' On this occasion, 'Calvin

'and his brother ministers appearing before the council on the subject, 'were dismissed with the significant resolution, "Resolved: To pray to 'God to give the ministers more constancy in future."' At vol. ii. p. 461, we find a curious letter of reproof to a certain minister, Desprès, who had celebrated a marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister: Calvin remarks, 'Quant au fait en soi, Luther estoit encores assez novice et mal 'exercé en l'Escriture, quand il fait le sermon que vous alléguez. Nous 'avons esté esbahis de l'annotation qu'on a mise sur le 18 du Lévitique.'

We have received from Mr. Van Voorst what we presume is a reissue of his famous edition of the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' with Mulready's illustrations. Many gift-books have appeared since this publication; but taking into account both the especial suitableness of this the most popular fiction in the English language, the powers of the illustrator, combining both delicacy of touch and poetry of conception, and the dignity as well as grace with which the wood has been cut by Mr. Thompson, we think that on the whole the volume may be taken as a model of English attainments, literary and artistic. Mulready's illustrations recall Hogarth's suggestive fulness without his coarseness, and, what is rare in art, they show that the grotesque need not degenerate into caricature. In their truthfulness of conception and honest scrupulous execution, every line cut as sharply as in an etching, the woodcuts are little short of perfection.

In 'A Guide to the Parish Church,' (Deighton & Bell,) by Mr. Harvey Goodwin, many things are agreeably and characteristically talked over, and persuasively enough recommended. The day *ought* to be past, indeed, and in many quarters is so, for dwelling on divers of the points here discussed at large. The book, in fact, is much in the old-fashioned style of Stanley's 'Faith of a Church-of-England-man.' Is it quite so faithful as books of that date were, to the highest and truest aspects of Christian doctrine? Mr. Goodwin, in his definition of a priest, omits his characteristic and determinative,—the power, viz. of consecrating the Eucharist. In critical points like this, he is always just short enough of the truth to be sure to be popular. In all other respects he well deserves to be so.

Mr. Wigan Harvey, in his two volumes 'On the Creeds,' (J. W. Parker,) has done something more than reproduced the labours of Pearson. The treatise is independent, and in many respects is eminently suited for theological students, who are often deterred from Pearson by the ruggedness of his style. In his theology the present writer is decidedly orthodox; and his Hebrew and Syriac acquirements invest some of his commentaries with unusual interest. The Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds are treated in a combined discussion: the Athanasian Creed receives a separate discussion. Here Mr. Harvey proposes, with sufficient modesty, to assign an earlier origin to this illustrious confession than that assigned to it by Waterland. Hilary of Arles is deposed in favour of Victricius of Rouen; and Mr. Harvey argues that S. Augustine, in the Treatise *de Trinitate*, illustrates the Creed as an older document, Waterland's argument being that the Creed was rather compiled from the Bishop of Hippo's previous teaching. In this latter view, antecedent to other points of criticism, we are disposed

to agree with the present author: it is more probable that a single writer should illustrate a formal and accredited document, rather than that an ecclesiastical symbol should be only a cento from a contemporary, however distinguished, author's works. As to the point of attributing the *Quicunque Vult* to Victricius, we are unable to accompany Mr. Harvey. It is certain that he was accused of heresy, certain also that he cleared himself of the charge. But Paulinus of Nola, the only evidence appealed to by Mr. Harvey, does not say once that Victricius published a confession at all. He merely says, writing to Victricius, 'No doubt you said so and so: 'I feel confident that you agree with me in believing and teaching thus 'and thus.' Paulinus does not even profess to have seen Victricius' confession, and bears no witness even to its existence: all that he does is to suggest certain language for his correspondent's avowal. We think this slender ground for attributing any published Creed to Victricius: to connect him with the (so called) Athanasian symbol there is no documentary evidence whatever. Le Brun, the Paris editor of Paulinus, in a particular dissertation on the Life of Victricius, (Paris, 1685,) gives no intimation whatever that he ever composed a Creed on the occasion of the attacks on his orthodoxy. The question as to the age of the Creed within thirty or forty years is, however, very immaterial. We desire to recommend Mr. Harvey without any hesitation or drawback.

The body of Cambridge writers who are engaged in editing the important series of Ecclesiastical Manuals published by Macmillan, seem to be supplying a need which ought to be recognised by the Universities themselves. It is the *Times* Fund supplementing—as they say—a deficient and ill-arranged commissariat. Mr. Procter's 'History of the Book of Common Prayer' is by far the best commentary extant: somewhat of the credit of this must of course be attributed to the fact that it is the last. It is all but impossible not to improve upon Wheatley with the works of Cardwell, Palmer, Maskell, and Lathbury extant. In availing himself of these sources, Mr. Procter only claims to have epitomized their labours. He has done more. He has harmonized them. Not only do the present illustrations embrace the whole range of original sources indicated by Mr. Palmer, but Mr. Procter compares the present Book of Common Prayer with the Scotch and American Forms; and he frequently sets out in full the Sarum Offices. From the recent Parliamentary paper he gives a full account of the mischief threatened in the abominable suggestions of 1689. It seems an especial indication of a providential care over the future of the English Church, that just as the subject of Liturgical revision or readaptation is presenting itself, our sources of knowledge should be at the same junction so much enlarged. There is not a thoughtful or well-informed Clergyman in England who would not denounce, and be enabled to resist, on intelligent grounds, the sort of haphazard suggestions of twenty years ago. The subject is understood: and as a manual of extensive information, historical and ritual, imbued with sound Church principles, we are entirely satisfied with Mr. Procter's important volume.

Mr. George Hill's pamphlet, 'A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Barrow,' (J. H. Parker,) is intended to show that Queen's College has no right to appoint

the Head of S. Edmund's Hall. It is a difficult matter to prove that a power which has been publicly exercised for some three hundred years, of which the grounds disputed were long ago examined, and decided to be unquestionable, is unfounded; and we must say, we think Mr. Hill has failed in his object. He suggests that the Hall should be incorporated, and the Head appointed by a certain number of the members. Of course, if one Hall has this new constitution, all ought to have it; because the Chancellor's power of appointment is, we apprehend, quite as much an encroachment on Aularian rights as that of a College. Whether such a scheme would answer we should think questionable, and its being an interference with vested interests and the claims of property must prove fatal to it. The general tone of Mr. Hill's pamphlet is excellent, though we think his arguments very weak.

'The Cross and the Dragon,' (Smith, Elder & Co.) is, as far as matter goes, a succinct and, as far as we can judge, a trustworthy account of the early attempts to introduce the Gospel into China. On the whole, Mr. Kesson, its author, is fair; but we fail to discover that he has any very distinct religious sympathies. He pronounces all attempts to evangelize China equal failures; and with intrepid impartiality he looks with equal despair both on Jesuits and Tract Societies. To the former he does some justice, especially on the necessity of some sort of compromise with such strange materials. It is painful to find that Church of England missions find no place in the present writer's review; nor do we anticipate much from Bishop Smith's episcopate. Mr. Kesson dismisses with contempt the notion, much cultivated at May meetings, that the revolt in China had a religious, still less a 'Protestant,' purpose. He attributes it only to the secret societies: and it is much more like a Socialist than a religious movement. Does not Mr. Kesson judge of Buddhism in its most unfavourable aspect, when he selects the Siamese and Chinese developments as its typical forms?

A very unpretending tract, by Mr. Philip Freeman, who has transferred his learning and activity from Chichester to Cumbrae, under the title of 'Plain Directions for understanding and using the Morning and Evening Services,' (Edinburgh: Grant,) is really a deep and instructive analysis of the principles implied in the Church's Ritual and Liturgy. It is, we find, and are glad to find, the sketch of a larger and forthcoming treatise on the subject. As sooner or later the revision of, as well as additions to, the extant Services must come before us, Mr. Freeman's labours in showing the deep principles upon which our Offices are constructed are especially well timed.

Reckoning among our readers the Vicaress as well as the Vicar, we desire to introduce with all commendation the work of a lady (S. W.), 'Directions for cutting out and making Articles of Dress,' published by the S.P.C.K. We regret, speaking from our own experience, that needle-work has of late years been too much neglected, and too much mechanically taught, in our national schools. And as we suspect, the visit of the inspector has not a little helped to discourage needle-work. The lady who sends us this little manual has met this necessity of our schools, and

we desire to recommend it. Those in our own confidence—better qualified to speak than ourselves on this subject—assure us, and this after experiment, that we can accredit S. W.'s little manual with entire confidence. It is very intelligibly and sensibly written, in which respect it forms an agreeable contrast to the questions and answers in a publication of the same purpose, 'Plain Needle-work,' (Masters,) one of the Finchley Manuals of Industry, which, however, is also a very useful little work.

The war has called out some poets. Mr. Lushington, of whom we spoke last quarter—the Laureate in verse is not equal to his fame—and one or two clerical bards. Mr. R. Milman, one of a poetic race, has printed 'Inkermann, a poem,' (J. H. Parker,) to which we apply Goldsmith's safe formula of criticism,—the author could have done better if he had taken more pains. Some stanzas—the poem is in a ballad form—of absolute meanness, are more than relieved by other lines, which dash on cheerily with the true war tramp. Mr. Milman seems to have tired of his subject towards the conclusion, which is tame.—'Duty, or the Heroes of Balaklava,' (Masters,) is in blank verse. Considering all the painful controversy and other distresses which are connected with Lord Raglan's famous order, sent to Lord Lucan by Capt. Nolan, it would perhaps surprise the military hero to find, on the authority of Π. Δ., the author of 'Duty,' &c. that it ran in these words:—

> 'Knights, to the rescue! Ho! advance, and watch
> Each hostile movement. England looks to you!'

—'Christmas Dawn, 1854,' and 'New Year's Eve, 1855,' (Macmillan,) by H. R. F., also in blank verse: pretty, but not above the average.

Mr. Burgon's 'Century of Verses in Memory of Dr. Routh,' (J. H. Parker,) is of a more artistic character. It recalls, and successfully, Tennyson's more domestic—and many think his happier—style. These lines are most truthful:—

> ..... 'Let me long
> Cherish thy precious mem'ry! long retain
> The image of thy venerable form,
> Stooping beneath its century of years,
> And wrapped in solemn academic robes,
> Cassock, and scarf, and buckles, bands and wig,
> And such a face as none beheld before,
> Save in an ancient frame on college walls,
> And heard of as "the portrait of a great
> And learn'd Divine, who flourish'd years ago."
>
> 'Yet would thy sunken eye shine bright as day
> If haply some one touch'd thy favourite theme,—
> The martyr'd monarch's fortunes and his times:
> Yet brighter, if the mem'ries of thy youth
> Were quicken'd into sudden life; but most
> 'Twas joy to hear thy solemn voice descant
> Of Fathers, Councils, and the page Divine:
> For then thy words were precious and well weighed,

Oracular with wisdom. Or if men
And manners were thy theme,—scholars and wits,
The idols of past years,—how rich thy vein!
Thy speech how courteous, classical and kind!
Each story new, because so wondrous old:
And each particular exactly given,
The name, the place, the author, yea, the page—
Nought was forgotten. "But I tire you, Sir."
(So would he say:) "I fear I tire you, Sir?
An old man, Sir!"—while one's heart danced for joy.'

'Arnold's School Classics. Horatii Opera.' We can speak in very favourable terms of this edition. It is well adapted for the use of schools. The text is kept free from all matter to which reasonable objection could be made, and the difficulties occurring in it are fully and clearly explained. The introductions to each ode are much to the purpose; while the notes keep the limit of the immediate want in view, giving all that the student could require for the elucidation of the text, but no more. It is an additional recommendation to the edition, that the notes are placed at the end of the volume.

In 'The Champion, a Course of Lectures on the Temptation,' (Rivingtons,) Mr. George Richards shows that he has taken a great deal of pains with his subject. He seems to have read very largely before he began to write; and there is consequently more fulness and stuff in his sermons than usual. The style is, we think, stilted.

Broken catechisms are the ordinary apology for idleness in the teacher and cause of ignorance in the taught. Mr. C. J. Heathcote's 'It is Written,' (Rivingtons,) however, illustrates the Catechism from Scripture in such a way that it exercises rather than supersedes the intellectual process. It is for its size the fullest manual which we are acquainted with. Mr. Heathcote, we observe, and the practice is usual, grounds his little book on the Sixth Article. But how does this apply to the necessity of receiving the whole of Scripture? The Sixth Article is entirely negative: it tells us what not to believe, and tells us that Holy Scripture contains all that we have to believe: but what we want in these days is a Fortieth Article, announcing not the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, but the necessity of receiving the whole of it. If, as we are often told, the 'continent' of our faith is in the Thirty-nine Articles, it is worth a thought that they say nothing about the inspiration of the Bible.

Mr. Ernest Hawkins has added to his many other services the publication of a very simple and intelligible collection of 'Family Prayers.' (Bell & Daldy.) Its object is to give a devotional manual which has no references or complications in it. Its arrangement is one of continuous reading: and, what we much like, there are prayers and intercessions for special purposes.—'A Manual of Prayers for Working Men,' (from the same author and publishers,) is among the most practical and intelligible which we have seen.

Protection has found its bard; one who combines both functions of the *vates*. Prophet and poet and priest, Mr. W. Smith Marriott, Rector of Horsmonden, Kent, contrasts 'The Olden and Modern Times,' (Rivingtons,) in some very vigorous antitheses between sundry 'Cotton Lords,' who are the reverend gentleman's abomination, and the

'Olden time,
Ere mad reform deform'd the clime.'

Here are his views of railway travelling:—

'But then for trav'ling!—How reject
The wondrous *march of intellect!*
I grant its speed—but where the view,
If lovely scenes you *whistle* through?
Green, red and blue—their colours ope,
And mix, as in Kaleidoscope.
I grant its speed—for, scarce begun,
Your journey seems well nigh half done;
And ah! too oft, *life's* journey too!
You race the birds—and *I' crus flew?*
Now for the Church!'—P. 12.

which we cannot find room for: and now for something else, 'A Tribute to Dorset,' p. 47:—

'Few counties can with Dorset vie
In ancient aristocracy.
Her yeomen are an honest race;
Oh! may they ever know their place!
Ne'er strive to ape their betters, who
Despise their claims whene'er they do.
Ye Yeomen! if ye would be wise,
Seek not for foreign luxuries,
Stick to your DOUBLE DORSET BEER,
And all the world ye need not fear.'

The poet seems to practise what he preaches; for in presenting us with 'A Song sung at the Stanhope Festival, at Maidstone, in 1850,' in which, speaking of poor Lord Stanhope, we are told that

'He loves his country, and he thinks 'tis honest at the core,
Though there is something rotten in't which makes him very sore.
The *Peel* is very bad indeed, so bad, that o'er and o'er,
He says, when *off*, he wishes ne'er to hear it mention'd more,
Like a fine old English nobleman,' &c. &c.—P. 105.

Mr. Smith Marriott goes on to inform us 'that he was to have presided on this occasion; but though prevented, he had the pleasure of *indicting* the memorial.'—P. 106. This is not the only indictment with which Mr. Smith Marriott ought to be connected: common sense and common decency have a heavy charge against him.

Mr. Alfred Barrett's 'Little Arthur's Latin Primer,' (Longman,) strikes us as both sensible and really useful. A teacher who tells us that 'it is 'much better to begin with lessons which inspire the pupil with the idea

'that he is above rather than below his work,' and who goes on to say that 'want of confidence in a pupil will terminate in want of power,' is to be trusted.—Mr. Barrett's 'Latin Exercises for the Lowest Form' is a supplementary school-book, and will be found useful in quarters where we are glad to think that the study of Latin—chiefly as a medium of learning universal grammar—is spreading: we mean, in the girls' school-room.

'Historic Notes on the Books of the Old and New Testaments,' by Samuel Sharpe, (Moxon,) ought to be labelled, Infidelity for the Use of Schools. In his Preface, the writer observes that he 'avoids the difficult subjects of the inspiration, miracles, prophecies of a Messiah, &c.' One can hardly understand how a subject is avoided by its existence being denied and argued against: for example, the subject of inspiration is scarcely 'avoided,' when it is quietly pronounced that much of the Pentateuch is of the age of Josiah.

'Nicholas Ferrar. Two Lives, by his brother John and by Doctor Jebb,' (Macmillan,) is the first instalment of a series of illustrated biographies, styled 'Cambridge in the Nineteenth Century.' This is an undertaking of large promise; and judging from the first specimen, the promise will be worthily fulfilled. Mr. Mayor is a very accomplished editor: he exhibits immense research, and in the monograph of Ferrar he presents us with the life of a most remarkable person, which has often been told, but never so fully or with such entire sympathy. No minute particular escapes Mr. Mayor's research: it is critical as well as historical; and it quite supersedes Dr. Peckard, Dr. Wordsworth, and Mr. Macdonogh, to say nothing of a better work, Sir George Wheler's 'Protestant Monastery.' Ferrar being dead yet speaketh: and if Gidding Church now reflects the image of days which have thrown a saintly halo around it, and if the estate once more presents a smiling contrast to the neighbouring parishes, all is owing to the impression made on the boyish sympathies of Mr. Hopkinson, the present proprietor, some sixty years ago, by a perusal of Ferrar's Life. The friend of Herbert and Crashaw, the host of King Charles, and one who left behind him such personal witnesses of his holy life as Bishop Williams, Jackson, Bishop Cosin, and Oley, Fuller and Walton, may well leave a memory which it is a singular discredit to Mr. Carlyle to have been almost the only modern to disparage. We may add that the volume is beautifully printed; and it only wants some pictorial illustrations of Gidding and a portrait to make it complete.

'An Inquiry by the light of Scripture into the doctrine of our Lord's Presence in the Holy Communion,' (Rivingtons,) denies 'that there is a 'real though invisible presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the 'Holy Eucharist under the form of bread and wine,' p. 8, and expressly argues 'that our Lord's words cannot be understood in any other than a figurative sense.'—P. 4. To support this view, it is significant enough that the writer is obliged to misquote and falsify the Church's doctrine on the subject. He says, p. 8, 'The Church of England holds that Christ's 'Body and Blood are in heaven, and cannot be in more than one place at 'a time.' The Church of England says no such thing; but does say 'the

natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here;' but says nothing of the sort of the spiritual or glorified Body.

A vigorous and closely argued 'Apology for Secular Recreations,' (Rivingtons,) appears in the form of a pungent letter to Mr. Close, of Cheltenham. Argument and wit are thrown away in this quarter. It was, we think, Fénelon who put the whole subject in the clearest way. 'You 'and I, my good friend,' said he to the puritanical, though Papist, *curé*, 'are not called upon to dance on Sunday afternoon; but the rule for us is 'not the rule for your poor labourers.' And so is it with the secular denouncers of balls and cricket-matches. They aim at a consistent logic, of which the inconsistency is the most glaring, because if really carried out it would compel its advocates one and all to bitter herbs and sackcloth; and would not only forbid all recreation, but every other life than that of an Egyptian anchoret. The present writer puts this with great point; and writing from Cheltenham, carries the war into the enemy's country. 'Let me tell you, and the young ladies who follow you, that if they think 'they are safe from vanity and envy because they do not go to balls, and 'that no pursuits can engross or intoxicate the intellect except reading 'novels and plays, they are most fatally mistaken.'—P. 24.

'The Recent Decree on the Immaculate Conception, &c.; a Sign of the Times,' (Bosworth,) is an 'Irvingite' sermon, 'preached at Albury,' of considerable power. It argues that the decree trenches upon the right belief in the Incarnation. 'If,' says the preacher, 'the Virgin Mary was 'conceived and born without original sin, then Christ did not take upon 'Him the seed of Abraham; his flesh was not part of our fallen nature, and 'we were not redeemed by Him.' In a sense this objection has its value; but there are indications throughout the sermon that the body whose opinions it must represent have not yet worked themselves free from the heresy of him by whose name they are known. Edward Irving held the doctrine of the peccability of our Lord's human nature; and the following passage from this sermon is important:—'It is now more than twenty 'years since a controversy, substantially the same with that which is now 'raised, was brought forward on a different platform and amongst the 'members of other communions than that where it is now discussed. 'Many that are still living remember how great a conflict took place when 'the practical consequences of our Lord's Incarnation were opened and 'set forth by one who has long since fallen asleep in Christ, and who, with 'whatever alloy of imperfection it may have been accompanied, yet bore a 'mighty witness to this fundamental truth.' Is this an avowal, or disavowal, of Irving's specific doctrine?

In almost all the observations and criticisms to which the recent Report on Church Services, presented to Convocation, has given occasion, we observe, and with thankfulness, a sober and reverential spirit. A pamphlet, under the title, 'What is Convocation going to do for our Church Services? By a Fellow of a College,' (Oxford: Vincent,) is characterized by the feeling. It deserves reading, not so much for its practical suggestions, which are not many, as for its tone.

The cheap and useful edition of Hume and Smollett, with Hughes' Continuation, published by Bell & Daldy of Fleet Street, goes on regularly. After all, and acknowledging all its defects, Hume maintains a ground which he did something to win.

Mr. Oldknow's 'A Month in Portugal' deserves to take rank with Mr. Meyrick's work on Spain. It is, however, more graphic and ecclesiological; and contains some curious verses by his fellow-traveller, Mr. Neale.

Such as think the Archbishop of Dublin the Bacon or Selden of the day, will welcome a volume, and another is promised, of 'Detached Thoughts and Apophthegms of Archbishop Whately.' (Blackader.) We do not think so, and therefore we do not treat this collection as of especial value: but that it contains a number of smart and ingenious things cleverly put, there can be no question. A sayer of good sayings, however, if wise, has the greatest reason to complain of this fragmentary exhibition of himself. Few of us would like to be judged by our knuckles, or by a lock of hair.

On the observance of the Sunday question, we have several publications. 1. Abbé Mullois' 'Sunday of the People in France,' translated. (Masters.) A remarkable movement, to which we have already called attention, is going on in Paris, headed by the Clergy, for the better observance of Sunday. —2. 'The Present State of the movement for the Suppression of unnecessary Sunday Trading in London,' (Rivingtons,) is a sequel, and an important one, to a previous publication, 'The Extent, Evils, and Needlessness of Sunday Trading.'—3. 'The Crystal Palace: Reasons for and against the Admission of the Public on Sundays.' (J. H. Parker.) All these publications, the last least so, keep entirely clear of the Sabbatarian view of the Lord's death. We can therefore go with them entirely. What makes us so often hesitate about petitions on this subject is the unfortunate argument which, as many of our readers will remember, and, as the subject increases in importance, all ought to remember, extorted from Thordike the memorable words:—

'The second monstrous imposture is, that the first day of the week, 'called Sunday, is the Sabbath by the force of the Fourth Commandment: 'a mistake so gross, that it may well serve for an instance, what faction 'can do with men that are otherwise sober. That God, by commanding 'the Jews to keep the seventh day of the week, to wit, that day on which 'He ended the creation of the world, and for that very reason commanding 'it, should be thought to command Christians to keep the first day of the 'week, on which He began the creation, and our Lord Jesus Christ arose 'from the dead; that is, that the same words of the same commandment in 'writing should oblige Jews to rest on the Saturday, which oblige Chris-'tians to rest on the Sunday, is a thing which, when this fit of frenzy shall 'be past us, will scarce be believed that ever any man would believe. True 'it is this first day hath been observed in and ever since the Apostles' 'time; but not by virtue of that law, which their office was to declare 'expired and out of date; but by the act of their own authority, whereby 'they gave laws to Christ's Church.'—*Thorndike, Letter concerning Religion*, 7. *Works*, vol. v. p. 17. Compare also, Due Way of composing Dif-

ferences, § 39. Epilogue, book i. c. xxi. §§ 10—13. Laws of the Church, book iii. c. xxi. § 2. Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiii. § 6.

Mr. R. I. Wilberforce, it seems, has a follower. A pamphlet has appeared, which, excepting its name, (with which we do not charge Mr. Wilberforce,) is little else than a *rechauffé* of his 'Principles of Church Authority.' It is called 'One more Return from Captivity,' written by the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, a late Fellow of Jesus College. We hope, for his sake, that *Return* is a misprint for *Returned;* for that one gentleman should consider himself sufficient to constitute *a return* in his own person, would savour as little of humility as the rest of the title does of sobriety of thought. The greater part of the pamphlet consists of quotations from Mr. Wilberforce, and approval of his sentiments. But Mr. Foulkes is not unacquainted with Ecclesiastical History, and he seems to have found considerable discrepancy between Ecclesiastical History and Mr. Wilberforce's representations of Ecclesiastical History. Accordingly he asks, in a puzzled way, in page 2, 'Can truth be served by distorting facts?' *We* think not, but, according to Mr. Foulkes' showing, Mr. Wilberforce thinks otherwise; for the former points out that the latter has 'distorted facts' relating to the Council of Sardica, the Council of Ephesus, the Council of Chalcedon, and in respect to the 'Imperial Edicts,' which, 'without doubt, 'enforced the jurisdiction of the Roman See much more effectually than 'the Sardican Canons.'—P. 6. He says, too, truly enough, that 'to hide 'one side of history from view is surely to represent the other unfairly;' and proceeds to point out that Mr. Wilberforce has 'hidden one side of history from view,' in respect to the Second and Third Councils of Constantinople, and with regard to 'the spurious donations of the emperors,' &c. There are, however, other 'distortions of fact,' (p. 20,) and 'concealments of one side of history,' (p. 10,) to which he yields a placid acquiescence; and it would seem that he will not probably long continue to ask uncomfortable questions of this sort, for he has adopted the principle on which history is falsified on 'religious' grounds. Here it is: 'I had 'traced the historical development of the Papal supremacy over and over 'again laboriously, but it had never before struck me, that *whether or not it* '*could be proved from history*, it was stamped with the living assent of the 'Universal Church.'—P. 22. Let that principle sink in deeply enough, and Mr. Foulkes' next history (he proclaims himself on his title-page as the author of a Manual) may be as true as M. Rohrbacher's. In p. 35, we find that Mr. Foulkes has been made to take a fearful oath that he will never rejoin the Anglican Church, and to pray before God and the Holy Gospels that he may be damned eternally, if he ever allows 'arguments' to convince him to do so. Those who required him thus to bind his soul with a curse, must have had very little confidence, either in his stedfastness and strength of mind, or in the inherent goodness of their cause, when they thus thought it necessary to guard against the possible and legitimate effects of 'arguments.' 'Should it ever happen,' he was made to say, '(which God forbid) that I should, for any pretext or argument's sake, 'separate myself from this unity, and incur the crime of perjury, may 'I fall under the sentence of eternal condemnation, and have my portion

'with the author of schism in the next world! So help me God and these 'His Holy Gospels!' Mr. Foulkes tells us (p. iv.) that he 'contemplates travelling upon a large scale.' We recommend him to go in quest of the Ææan Island, and when he has reached it, to dig for the herb Moly. It may be that, if he dares to walk through the windy mountain-tops of thought (δι' ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας), the golden-rodded god of speech may vouchsafe even yet to meet him, and point out where it grows.

A little monthly serial, under the title of the 'Old Church Porch,' deserves notice for a course of valuable papers, in which a most respected and competent writer is refuting the claims of Irvingism. We may express a hope that, when this series has been finished, the subject of Mormonism may be treated by the same pen in an equally simple but convincing manner.

Among the very best, perhaps the very best, Bible prints, is a German series in wood-cuts by Schnorr, 'Bibel in Bildern.' They are of a high and dignified school, roughly but not coarsely cut in wood, with the power but not the mannerism of what is known as German art. They tell more than Overbeck's over-refined conceptions, and are frequently as suggestive as Reztsch. Above all, they are very cheap, and for family purposes, not for cottage walls, we know of no successful rivals. They may be had of Williams & Norgate, the English agents.

One of the prettiest as well as most learned and interesting architectural publications which it has been our good fortune for a long time to see, is now in the course of publication in Paris. We refer to the 'Dictionnaire Raisonné of the Architecture of France,' (Bance,) from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, from the pen and the pencil of that accomplished mediæval architect, M. Viollet le Duc, which is appearing in numbers. As might have been supposed, from the antecedent reputation of the writer, the ecclesiastical department is the most fully treated. Nevertheless, the military architecture of the middle ages is copiously illustrated with a multiplicity of wood-cuts, exhibiting M. Viollet le Duc's peculiar felicity of drawing. The law of the ground-plans of cathedral and collegiate churches is considered under the double aspect of architecture and of ecclesiology, properly so called, while the head '*autel*,' comprising some exquisite illustrations from S. Denis, the Ste. Chapelle, &c. &c., lays down the remarkable fact, that until the period of the Renaissance, altars were never made merely constructional adjuncts, but always preserved the use of a table conjointly.

'Convocation: Remarks on the Bishop of Oxford's Charge.' (Rivingtons.) This is a pamphlet by Dr. Maitland.—'Church Questions: A Letter to a Friend.' (Hatchard.) This is an anonymous pamphlet. Besides the names of their respective publishers, these two little publications fit into each other both by way of contrast and complement. Dr. Maitland is high, and certainly not dry: 'the Writer,' as he signs himself, is as dry as the Zaharah, and as flat. Each of them is decidedly opposed to the revival of Convocation. Dr. Maitland questions 'the existence of any individual who maintains the perfection of our present

'system,' p. 29, and yet declines to introduce formal and authoritative reforms into it. Mr. Hatchard's anonymous scribe, as he sonorously expresses it, 'feels that he is only assuming a fact almost universally 'acknowledged, when he regards that specific organization of our common 'Christianity, which has been happily and authoritatively established in 'this country, as more extensive in its action, as potentially more influential for good, as commanding larger resources, material, substantial and 'moral, than any other system, indeed than all the other systems of 'religious machinery in existence."—P. 3. Dr. Maitland will not hear of Convocation attempting the remedy of the Church's grievances, because with a sarcastic complaisance he reminds the Bishop of Oxford that an active Bishop can do everything that the Church wants in the way of extension. The author of 'Church Questions' will let well alone for the very opposite reason; not because the Bishops do so much, but because happily they have nothing to do: 'it appears to me that the duties of 'a Bishop, though in the highest degree solemn and important, are not 'very numerous.' Still each writer makes an exception in favour of his own favourite scheme, or selects his own especial grievance. The letter-writer proposes the sale of the Chancellor's livings: and Dr. Maitland selects 'dilapidations' as one of the two most pressing evils of the Church. We had forgotten. The letter-writer, being, as internal evidence suggests, an incumbent of serene temper and plump proportions, in person and preferment, thinks that the only 'Clergy Discipline Bill' which is wanted, is one which shall compel the Bishop of Exeter to ordain and license certain individuals of the letter-writer's principles. 'Among the questions which 'would fall within the province of such a court [*i.e.* a court for criminous 'Bishops] would obviously be that of reviewing the ground on which a Bishop might refuse ordination to a candidate, or a licence to a curate; not that of 'incompetency, irregularity, or manifest unsoundness in the recognised 'faith of the Church—on such matters the Bishop must have a discretionary power—but that of a difference of opinion on questions which 'either the Church has left open, or has decided, through its legal tribunals, 'in favour of the appellant. It is but little relevant to the question to say 'that it is not to be supposed that a Bishop can act in a manner to demand 'such interposition, when it is a fact of more than single occurrence that 'the Church must have been deprived of the services of men of devoted 'piety and unimpeachable excellence, if through the wisdom—the *mitis* '*sapientia*—of a superior prelate, the door had not been opened, which had 'been closed through the wilful pervicacity of an inferior. It is to the 'honour of the generally revered prelacy of our Church, and no feeble 'testimony to the discretion usually employed in their appointment, 'that there have been comparatively few who could have been justly 'obnoxious to such a tribunal.'—Pp. 14, 15. Dr. Maitland, with an oversight most extraordinary in one of his sagacity, taunts the Bishop of Oxford with calling attention to the law of clerical discipline as one of the matters requiring the immediate attention of Convocation, because it is a subject on which 'there is not, as far as he knows, much 'strong feeling in the Church;' and then goes to wonder that 'in these '*agenda* we are not met with the question of the Real Presence ....

'the Gorham case or the Denison case or the Maurice case, not a hint of 'any attempt to stem the current of blasphemy, or the least suggestion of 'any opposition to any form or shape of false doctrine, heresy, or schism; 'no, but Convocation is to sit down in the midst of these *neglecta incendia* to 'discuss . . . . the discipline of criminous clerks.'—P. 24. Has it not occurred to Dr. Maitland that one, and a most important, subject of clerical discipline, is the faith of the clergy, and that any measure of clerical discipline, and any attempt to construct a court of appeal, must in the very first rank place questions of doctrine? *In limine* Dr. Maitland attempts to fasten an error in logic on the Bishop of Oxford. The Bishop had said in his charge, 'The revival of Convocation is spoken of as a party 'movement, to which we must answer, that this is only so far true, 'as that it is the movement of *that party* which believes in the Church's 'life, and seeks for its perfection,' (p. 6,) 'for amongst its adherents 'are to be found the names of men such as Mr. Kempthorne, identified with the Evangelical party.' On this Dr. Maitland asks, how the fact of the revival of Convocation being advocated by men of both parties 'can be made to prove that those who wrote in that advocacy 'form an exclusive party, characterised by its believing in 'the Church's 'life?' which is precisely the inference which the Bishop did not draw. He argues:—'We are called a party; this I deny. We are no party: 'we only consist of men of all parties, who believe in the Church's life: 'evangelicals and orthodox alike have argued for the revival of Con'vocation. Their common feature was that they believed in the Church's 'life.' The Bishop does not say that the Convocationists exhaust the class of those who believe in the Church's life; he does not say, what Dr. Maitland wishes him to say, that they who oppose the revival of Convocation do not believe in the Church's life: he only says that they who advocate it do believe in it. Dr. Maitland says,—'Here is a plain line of demar'cation.' How so? I drive none but bay horses: is this equivalent to saying, Everybody else's horses are grey? Dr. Maitland goes on to meet the Bishop's reply to the argument 'that councils are mischievous, be'cause ecclesiastical history proves that they have ever ministered to strife,' by saying that 'he does not know who made the objection.' We answer: Dr. M'Caul, among others. Dr. Maitland then proceeds, with that pleasant, brilliant, and airy tone which is so characteristic of him, to criticise the Bishop's Charge, and to suggest that either Convocation is to be a very great, and, therefore, mischievous thing, or a mere mockery and a sham. It occurs to us to confront Dr. Maitland himself with the same sort of teazing ingenuity. He also suggests a long list of *gravamina*—they are Mr. Kempthorne's—on patronage, discipline, the revision of the Prayer Book, false doctrines, clerical education, internal union, comprehension of Dissenters, and the rest, pp. 14, 15. And then Dr. Maitland proceeds to say,—'Is your Convocation going to take up all these subjects, or not? If 'so, when and how? and how is all this secret purpose connected with your 'thin edge of the wedge?—your "adaptation of services," and your '"criminous clerks bill?"' To which we answer—What is your opinion, Dr. Maitland, on all these subjects? You are prudently silent: you reserve the question. You also specify 'dilapidations' as a serious and imminent

evil: what is your opinion about discipline, and patronage, and false doctrine? It seems that if the Convocationists have a *doctrina arcani*, we may ask Dr. Maitland if he has no reserved *gravamina*, or whether he is making a clean breast of it by specifying 'dilapidations' as the sin of the Church? Let him declare his sentiments on all these points, and we are ready with our answers. We have a right to ask a censor who charges us with hypocrisy and rancour, and double dealing, to be plain-spoken himself. We say, then, is Mr. Kempthorne's list of grievances a real one? If so, how does Dr. Maitland propose to deal with them? Does he think that under the present system of things a remedy is likely to present itself? If not, what else? The Bishop of Oxford has suggested Convocation; Dr. Maitland will have none of it. What will he have? For ourselves we must say that the merely critical, destructive, contradictory, negative method of dealing with Church difficulties, such as Dr. Maitland has pursued in this—like all his publications—very clever pamphlet, is little likely to attract the sympathy of any party in the Church, except that disreputable one with which it would be a libel to associate Dr. Maitland.

On the Marriage Question, we have received, since our own article was in type, a pamphlet by Mr. F. Newman Rogers, 'An Attempt to discover the true Scriptural Argument in the question of Marriage with a Wife's Sister.' (Rivingtons.) Mr. Rogers is by no means in accord with our own arguments: he will not endure the least submission to the alleged testimony of the Church: and with reference to the passages in Leviticus, he decides, somewhat peremptorily, 'that the appeal to such passages on the side of prohibition is worse than useless.'—P. 8. But after all, Mr. Rogers is very strongly opposed to the relaxation; and this on Scriptural grounds. We attach much value to his argument; because after he surrenders much more than we are disposed to relinquish, he comes to our own conclusion. He brings the case down to its simplest elements: and here he finds enough, and more than enough, on which to protest against any change. A witness of this sort has a peculiar value. He argues that the Jewish law is silent on the question, and that because it does not prescribe, it does tacitly forbid such unions. From its particular point of view, Mr. Rogers' pamphlet has a special value and interest.—We may here add that it will probably become the immediate duty of the Clergy to bring this subject before their parishes and flocks. We must certainly meet our opponents in Parliament by their own weapons: and petitions against the relaxation, that is, against Mr. Heywood's Bill, now in the House of Commons, ought to be sent in without delay. It is to be hoped that the Clergy will be on their guard against the very coarse and palpable bait which is offered in the clause relieving them from any 'action, suit, censure, or punishment,' for refusing to celebrate the proposed marriages. Scotland has already won, by the boldness of its language, the defeat of the measure as far as it is concerned: it will be the fault of the Church of England if the same energy is not displayed by our Clergy on behalf of the purity and sanctity of the domestic and social institutions of our own country.

We cannot do so much justice to Mr. Conington's able 'Inaugural Lecture,' (J. W. Parker,) delivered by him on assuming the chair of the new Latin Professorship in Oxford, as by presenting a specimen of it:—

'Those who are accustomed to a careful study of the classics, will see 'that I have by no means exhausted all that could fairly be said on these 'lines, [the first four lines of the Æneid;] in other words, all that is 'required for a complete appreciation of them, at the same time that I have 'been careful not to make them mere pegs on which to hang irrelevant 'questions in philology or æsthetics. Yet, surely the amount of education 'which such a study pre-supposes or imparts is very considerable. In 'considering his author's general character in itself, or in contrast with 'that of another, the student is led to take broad views of rhetorical or 'poetical art; in analysing particular expressions, and disclosing the 'images which they involve, he is made to trace that art in its details. He 'has to skirt the undefined bounds which separate rhetoric from grammar, 'and ascertain the conditions under which words, grammatically appro-'priated to one conception, can be put for those denoting another. He is 'frequently called to investigate grammar itself, by the occurrence of con-'structions which have to be explained by some general law, or left unex-'plained under the shelter of some unquestionable idiom. At other times, he 'will have recourse to comparative philology to illustrate a word or usage 'of the true nature of which the writer himself, learned as he may have 'been in the antiquities of his country's language, had but a dim confused 'consciousness. The casual allusions scattered through the work will 'familiarize him with much historical knowledge; the subject of the work, 'even though it may have no direct bearing on history, with much also. 'This enumeration is a very imperfect one, even as compared with my own 'conception and experience; yet it will be seen that it includes many of 'the elements which are usually held to constitute a general cultivation, 'thus ensuring a discipline of the various parts of the mind, more com-'prehensive, probably, than can be afforded by any other single subject of 'knowledge. But this is not all. These several lines of thought and 'research are not followed for themselves, but as means to something fur-'ther; they make up the method by which the truth of the writer's mean-'ing is to be attained. However great their heterogeneity in relation to 'each other, in this point they all converge. It is difficult to secure any-'thing like completeness in the method, as no man can hope to realize all the 'aspects in which a word or conception has appeared to the mind of an-'other, especially when separated from him by a gulf of centuries; it is 'seldom that we can expect to make the best even of our incompleteness, 'as in any single track of investigation we are liable to meet with failure, 'or at any rate, with only partial success. Such defects, however, do not 'destroy the value of the results which *can* be obtained; and it only requires 'a careful use of the various means in our power to convince us that the 'method of interpretation is one that really deserves the name, leading not 'to specious plausibilities, but to substantial truths. I know not how it may 'be in the case of other sciences, but I can testify to the genuine intellectual 'satisfaction which the mind receives when some discovery, in itself, per-'haps, of quite minor importance, a latent metaphor, a concealed imitation, 'the substitution of one insignificant word or inflexion of a word for another, 'or even the mere position of a word, hitherto overlooked, and now noticed 'accidentally, has flashed light on an entire passage, and a vague sense of 'disproportion has given place to a clear perception of harmonious sym-

'metry. Or again, where the lighting up has been not sudden, but gradual, 'it is not the less reassuring to recal the first aspect of a sentence, seem-'ingly complete in itself, and sufficient to the eye of the ordinary reader, and 'compare it with the full appreciation which is gained at last, when every 'point has been accurately scrutinized, and the student once more comes 'to survey it as a whole. Thus the exegetical study of the classics, as it 'appears to me, fulfils the two great conditions of an educational instru-'ment; it gives at once a general and a special discipline; it encourages 'exuberant variety of interest along with severe precision of aim. I do 'not say that it has always had this effect on the mind of the student, but 'I believe that where it has failed to do so, the fault has not been in the 'method, and that if even really great scholars have sometimes been nar-'row and one-sided, they have been so far less complete, not only as men, 'but as scholars. I believe also that, like all methods, it has a salutary 'tendency to equalize human capacities, so that though the greatest reward 'will always fall to his lot who, having the greatest natural powers, econo-'mises them most prudently, and disposes them to the best advantage, 'there will yet be an abundant harvest which inferior minds are certain to 'reap, by the mere fact of their honest compliance with prescribed rules; 'while those who go out in their own strength, disdaining all labour that 'appears uncongenial, find for the most part barrenness and comparative 'scarcity.'

Mr. C. J. Ellicott, in his edition of the 'Epistle to the Galatians,' (J. W. Parker,) has done very much to retrieve the character of English scholarship. It consists of a literal and grammatical commentary, together with a revised translation. We must pronounce it to be a work of a very high order, of sound learning, extensive research, and excellent principles. Mr. Ellicott has availed himself much more than his predecessors or contemporaries have done of continental researches: less adequately, we think, of patristic literature, especially of S. Augustine. The revised translation we are not asked, we suppose, to receive under any other form than that of an indirect commentary. In this aspect it has great value, as presenting an exegetical whole, in which the argument may stand out clearly; otherwise we should demur at some of the phraseology, which has, we think, too modern an aspect. *Ex. grat.* in enumerating the works of the Spirit, v. 20, Mr. Ellicott translates *ἐριθεῖαι*, 'caballings:' this may be a fair illustration, but the political and very recent origin of the word, a mere anagram, makes it admirably unsuitable as a translation of Scripture: *αἱρέσεις* is translated, and we think inadequately, in the same passage 'factions.'

Bishop Ken's 'Exposition of the Creed,' and his 'Approach to the Holy Altar,' have been beautifully reprinted in sumptuous type and published by Mr. Murray. They appear to be the labour of love of one whose 'Life of Ken' the author has illustrated both in practice and in editorial care.

Mr. F. Trench's 'Lecture delivered at Reading, on Conversation,' (J. W. Parker,) is a pleasant little brochure. The writer means to be reverent, and is to our mind much the reverse, when, by way of a 'tag' to his dis-

cussion, one ranging over social relations exclusively, he refers to our Lord's conversations—which were simple revelations, from the most sacred source—with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman.

Mr. John David Chambers, in his republication of Thorndike's 'Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist,' (Masters,) has done a permanent service to the Church. Directly, the publication has only a temporary value, in relation to Archdeacon Denison's late case; but the body of notes which Mr. Chambers has selected and arranged, has a permanent and technical importance. So skilfully is the catena set out, that it becomes a conspectus of Anglican doctrine on the subject; and, as such, we thank the compiler for it,—thanks not the less sincere because he has made a stumble, at starting, in speaking, in his preface, of Sir George Wheler and William Law as laymen.—Of considerable value, also, is a catena of authorities on the same subject, published by J. H. Parker, 'The Doctrine of the Real Presence, Part I.,' which it is known was drawn up by Dr. Wright. It is curious, as containing extracts from an extraordinary and forgotten poem—Dr. Beaumont's 'Psyche.'—Mr. Grueber's excellent analysis of the Twenty-ninth Article, which we spoke of in our last number, has been published in pamphlet form by Masters.

'The First Five Years of the House of Mercy, Clewer,' by Mr. T. T. Carter, (Masters,) is a sign of the times. It shows what earnest patience may do, and it displays the blessing attendant on the day of small things. Here is a work now coincident with the Church of England, spreading on all sides, accepted on all hands, of the plainest necessity, yet from its nature difficult and even dangerous: a neglected duty, entirely neglected, yet, as it seems, entirely retrieved. And why should not this be an omen of future successes in other directions? That we have had any share in this good work, is one of the very few consolations attendant upon our duties as a public organ.

Mr. Arthur Stanley's 'Historical Memorials of Canterbury,' (Murray;) four essays on, 1. the Landing of S. Augustine; 2. the Murder of Becket; 3. Edward the Black Prince; and 4. Becket's Shrine, make a very interesting volume. Some of the Essays have been published before; altogether they exhibit an unusually attractive specimen of a sympathizing criticism, combined with original and conscientious research.

Mr. Charles Marriott's Sermon, 'The Unity of the Spirit,' (Masson,) preached for the Patriotic Fund, deserves special commendation.—Mr. Harvey's 'Suspense,' (Groombridge,) preached at Hornsey, is in a nice tone.

'Elements of a Plan for the Liquidation of the Public Debt.' (Longman.) These Essays, the first of which was published in the year 1819, were written with the sole view of harmonizing daily life with the precepts of the Gospel, by poising the political action of society on the basis of justice. Some of them have appeared in a curious work, called 'Postulates and Data.' The demonstration attempted throughout is, the dependence of the

individual, whatever may be his social condition, upon the due consideration of the rights and position of his neighbour, and the well-being of the body politic upon sound civilization; and that each and all must have a direct regard to the dictates of truth and justice, or the law of righteousness will not be fulfilled. Such has been the impelling motive to intense thought and severe application on the author's part during the progress of a life now extended to eighty years. Without committing ourselves to all his speculations, we may call attention to the sincerity and right-mindedness of his purpose. It is rare to find political disquisitions addressed solely as an endeavour to bring the purest morals to bear upon the regulation and adjustment of our social duties, as a corollary from the first and higher duty, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God 'with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' the spring and source of all happiness, present and future. Mr. Heathfield considers that what is called the Peel policy has led to the great prosperity now enjoyed throughout the empire; and as this prosperity is coincident with the development of principles essentially just and beneficent in operation, and which in act and deed reflect the light of truth, and, in as far as they be just, make manifest the wisdom which is from above, social justice—or righteousness, so reduced to practice, and not preserved in theory only—cannot be a scheme unfit for the consideration or, if need be, the cooperation of the minister of the Gospel. He instances the case of clandestine trade, and especially that of the Clergyman—in a parish of notorious smugglers.

Mr. Henry Drummond's 'Reply to the Rev. R. J. Wilberforce's Principles of Church Authority,' (Bosworth,) is as vigorous as we should expect everything to be which proceeded from his pen. Had he confined himself to the destructive portion of his work, his book would have been very telling: but the constructive parts take off the force of the others. When we find ourselves referred to government by Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, as the instrument for preserving unity in the Church, our feeling is rather that of *incredulus odi* than of conviction. We give two or three extracts, as specimens of his style:—'The Bishops of the Roman sect act 'like Railway-directors, tell all to get into the carriages, not to trouble 'themselves about the generation and condensation of steam, the probabilities of accidents, or any other contingencies; but to have faith that 'somehow or other they will arrive at their journey's end.'—P. 144. 'The 'most extraordinary assertion on this page 91, is, that "through the minis-'try of the Bishops the Apostles still sit upon Twelve Thrones judging the 'Twelve Tribes of Israel." First: the Apostles are in their graves, and 'not sitting upon thrones anywhere. Secondly: there are no thrones to 'sit upon until the restoration of the kingdom of Israel. Thirdly: the 'Bishops exercise no authority over the Twelve Tribes of Israel, although 'the Popes for many centuries past have treated and continue to treat all 'the Jews who are resident in Rome with brutal barbarity.'—P. 54. 'In 'p. 50 he says, "The members of Christ answer to the seed of Adam: 'Christ is incarnate in history because he was incarnate in His flesh." 'Again in p. 66 he says, "In this work" (*i. e.* building the Church), "the

'Apostle had borne the first labours, and through them did He, whom they 'had seen incarnate in the flesh, become mystically incarnate in the con- 'gregation." Incarnation in history, is neither more nor less than rank 'nonsense. Incarnation in the congregation is the same. God uniting 'human flesh to himself, so that God and man are united in one 'Person, is Incarnation; and to nothing else in heaven or in earth is the 'word applicable.'—P. 41. He has pointed out some incorrect theological statements on the part of Mr. Wilberforce, and several historical misrepresentations. He has himself made a confusion between 'Froude's Remains' and his brother's 'Nemesis of Faith.' (P. 181.) The latter part of the book consists of a history of the iniquities of the Popes from the Tenth to Sixteenth century, related often in the very words of the ancient authorities. But Mr. Drummond does not confine himself to attacking the popes: *more suo*, he strikes a blow at every one as he passes along. But we cannot dismiss Mr. Drummond without a word of special remonstrance. Mr. Drummond has, we believe, according to his distinct convictions, a solemn and awful office in this, the Church of Christ. No matter to us what Mr. Drummond believes to be the Church. The more he disparages the rest of the brethren, the more he ought to estimate the Saviour's home in his own conventicle; the more he ought to be careful of speech and language, as himself the almost solitary sharer of the great secret and purpose of the Most High. Just as much as he vilifies us ought he to respect himself; if, as he tells us, p. 141, 'it is true of all Christen- 'dom that there is no church, no body, no temple, no kingdom, no army of 'Christ's; that there is [*sic*] in all the sects of Christendom many individual 'believers, but that is not a church,' &c. &c.; 'if all that we are told 'about the body of Christ and the indwelling Spirit has no sense, nor 'meaning, nor practical operation, but amongst a set of people despised by 'all, amongst whom, nevertheless, God is preparing a body throughout 'Christendom which shall shortly be translated to meet the Lord in the 'air;' (p. 180,)—that is to say, if there is no visible church of Christ upon earth except hidden in his own scanty religious community; and if this community is on the very point of consummating the great ingathering of the harvest of souls, how careful in speech, how pure in thought, how anxious lest unconsciously he make one of Christ's little ones to offend, should he especially be who bears his the highest office among the true believers. This, however, is Mr. Drummond's own affair: what concerns us is not whether Mr. Drummond's ordinary aspect towards English society, especially in the House of Commons, is or is not consistent with his personal claims; but we must say, that Mr. Drummond's peculiar taste in collecting together, and copying out, and parading and extracting obscenities and indecencies, is a serious offence in the eyes of common decency. No doubt it is an argument which has its weight against the particular claims of the See of Rome, that its pontiffs have been men of immoral lives. But there is more than one way of stating this objection. Mr. Drummond has, in this publication, to the extent of ten pages, raked together into one hideous compost of abomination all the crimes and vices which, truly or falsely, have at various times been objected, in the coarsest language, against the Popes and Roman Clergy; and whenever Mr. Drummond writes, he

pursues this hateful subject in the same hateful way. Against this unhappy habit of mind we protest. On minor points we know that a remonstrance would be useless: otherwise it were tempting to inquire what right, moral or other, the mystagogues of Gordon Square have to complain of the assumption by others of 'priestly power?' or why the devotees of the most extravagant and pedantic ritualism in existence, should affect to scorn questions about altars and surplices, lights and flowers in churches, and the like?

The 'Californian Crusoe,' (J. H. Parker,) is much better as regards purpose than execution. We consider it overcharged, and at the same time dull. If there is any evidence for connecting the Jesuits with Mormonism, let it be produced. But so serious a charge ought not to be embodied in a fictitious narrative merely to give zest to a tedious narrative.

'Leonard and Dennis,' (Masters,) 'a Tale of the present War,' is rather a collection of tales; at least, the various plots seem to have a very slight connexion. It exhibits some strong and effective writing, but little dramatic skill.

'Mother and Son, a Tale,' (J. W. Parker,) is clever and forcibly written. It is the first specimen of a series, 'Tales for the People,' and owns the authorship, we believe, of Mr. Paget. Its successor, 'The Strike,' is common-place.

Miss Sophia Brooks has printed 'Twenty-one Verses, recommending Boys' Borough Schools upon a more extensive scale.' (Palmer.) As a curiosity in more ways than one, we extract some of these verses. The boys are to be taught—

'To learn about the fields, the herds of kine and sheep,
From books of simple husbandry, for future labour mete;
The names of tools of husbandry, and uses if they can:
The lad who daily goes to school must strive to be a man.

'Must learn to fully know each varied sort of wood;
This tends to what is great, and real essential good;
For carpenters and shipbuilders ne'er failing to agree,
The ship or floor to have been once a sturdy forest tree.

'The rudiments of gard'ning could amply here be taught,
It draws the mind towards fresher scenes, of finer active thought:
The time, the proper time, to sow each vegetable seed,
The time to prune the branches in, lest a hasty lop recede.

'The properties and qualities, of iron, tin, and lead,
Before the sight of ruder youth could easily be spread;
Because too soon they oft get sent apprentice lads to be:
'Tis neither wise, nor is it kind to sow perplexity.

'With sorrow let us speak of the reckless use of steam;
You catch a whizzing sound, and then a fever scream.
Oh! for visions less distracting, and needs be less appalling,
Than human brains destroy'd, and mangl'd bodies falling.

'O, learn of colours light, of triple kinds of gasses;
Learn how to use the dye, to clean the knighthood sashes;
Slate quarries and coal mines, could rouse a vacant mind,
And fit it to endure, work of a heavier kind.

'Most growing children need health in the midst of rule!
As growing infants will, and exercise in school;
A run or skip at morn and eve, could easily be found,
If added to the Borough School a copious yard or ground.

'A large and full height school, with water well supplied;
Not costly all without, and artificial pomp inside:
But that which must be had, have in sufficient store;
Pens, books, slates, ink, and over-funds for whatsoever more.'
Pp. 13—15.

'Compline, after the Use of Sarum,' (Hayes,) is a useful manual for private use, taken from authentic sources.

Cardinal Wiseman's 'Fabiola, a Tale of the Catacombs,' (Burns & Lambert,) is a touching tale, exhibiting great skill in composition, and consummate knowledge in the history of the Primitive Church. The monuments and life of the early Church are exhibited in a story of deep pathos: and, as it is written in accordance with the doctrine of development, there is scarcely anything inconsistent with the convictions of an English Churchman in the volume.

'The Palace,' (Bosworth,) is a little brochure—from internal evidence we pronounce it to be by Mr. White, a clever architect of the day—which contains, in the shape of the writer's impressions on the opening of the Crystal Palace, some careful hints on the subject of colour. Mr. White has a theory—some will call it a crotchet—on the proportions of buildings. In the Crystal Palace he finds a multiple of some number. This is true of every shed. He observes that 'there is *historical evidence* of the Egyptian artists, at least, having set out all their work by squares.' There is pictorial, and in this sense historical, evidence that Egyptian draftsmen, in copying a design, used a ground-plan of lines intersecting each other into equal squares; which is exactly what engravers and copyists do in reproducing a picture at the present day. But the process is merely mechanical, and founded upon no laws of proportion.

Bishop Selwyn's 'Four University Sermons,' (Macmillan,) only require an acknowledgment at our hands. They are, we are convinced, in the possession and in the hearts of all our readers.

In 'English: Past and Present,' (J. W. Parker,) we are presented with a brief yet interesting set of five Lectures, not very consecutive, on the changes of the English language, the elements of which it is composed, and certain of its archaisms, and the secondary and derived senses of words. These Lectures were delivered to Mr. Trench's class in King's College, and exhibit much information in philology and etymology, not drily put, but illustrated by the author's elegant and multifarious reading. These

are studies which very much interest the young; the unexpectedness of the derivation of a word, and its lurking affinities of meaning, seem to attract those mental faculties which in childhood are applied to games of chance and puzzles. This little work must be read in connexion with the writer's previous publication, 'On the Study of Words.'

'The Seven Ages of a Christian's Life, (Rivingtons,) is a meditation of a very common-place character, on the different stages of human life, connected, in some way which we are unable to discover, with Shakspere's Seven Ages. It is by the Dean of Norwich. Speaking of youth, Dr. Pellew observes (p. 11),—'The Church justly concludes, that at the age of 'fifteen or sixteen years the children of Christian parents become . . . en-'titled to a nearer approach, &c. after receiving the holy rite of con-'firmation.' We are unable to discover this conclusion of the Church. The Church requires children to be confirmed, as soon as they can say three short formularies; and although this order is by some of our Bishops construed to mean at the age of sixteen, yet the construction is a very recent one. Nicholas Ferrar was confirmed at the age of six years; and, as we find from Bishops Hacket and Taylor, it was the custom of those days to admit children at a very early age to confirmation and communion.

A second edition of 'Lent Readings from the Fathers,' (J. H. Parker,) compiled by Mr. Bennett, and recommended by Dr. Pusey, will, perhaps, if ever reasonably read, teach gainsayers what depths of spiritual and practical religion are to be found in writings which they are disposed only from ignorance to condemn and disparage.

Of a like tendency,—that is, to simple edification,—we welcome Mr. H. Dunwell's 'Lectures on the Psalms.' (J. H. Parker.) They are composed chiefly of the thoughts and running commentaries of S. Augustine, and the early Fathers: and they embrace the first twenty-four Psalms, the xlv. and cx. By the way, Theodoret has no claim to the title of Saint.

'The Golden Spell, and other Poems.' (Exeter: Holden.) This collection has reached a second edition, and exhibits considerable thought. The writer would, we think, do well to cultivate simplicity: there is a depth of meaning in many of his poems which exhausts the attention, and we are free to confess that we cannot always fathom him. He composes on a theory, which, if we are sometimes unable to appreciate,—perhaps we had better say, to understand,—we can award him our conviction that it has enabled him to give us a volume which is on the whole of high promise.

Dr. Townsend, of Durham, has taken some pains to accomplish a work which some of our readers may believe might as well have been left undone. In his 'Flowers from the Garden of the Church,' (J. H. Parker,) he has turned all the Prayer Book Collects into verse. We suppose there is something in the air of Durham which makes this sort of ingenious labour indigenous. Sir George Wheler, who turned the English Communion office into heroic verse, &c. was a prebendary of Durham; and Dr. Tye, the organist, who did 'the Acts of the Apostles into English metre,' was, we think, connected with the same church.

The third, and, as it turns out, the concluding part of the work, undertaken, we believe, by Mr. Isaac Taylor, 'The Restoration of Belief,' (Macmillan,) has appeared. It hurries to a conclusion; and presses as a summary argument against modern infidelity, the argument from the Miracles. It confronts unbelief, changing as it is in character and vacillating in purpose, on a single issue, that of the Miracles of the Gospel. The present writer does not consider the argument from the Miracles in its common aspect, as a mere series of supernatural events, isolated in their purpose, and unconsequential beyond a single object, that of 'launching a new religion in the world, and for giving it an initial impulse' on its first and unwilling hearers; but he considers that the Miracles have a permanent and prolonged purpose, and have special and eternal relations with all the objects of the scheme of salvation. Superficial readers might, and not unreasonably, be alarmed at the somewhat meagre enumeration of these objects of the Saviour's mission, in which that of propitiation for sin and His sacrifice as a vicarious atonement, appears to hold a very ill-defined if even a palpable position. But Mr. Taylor's object must be borne in mind: he takes up disbelief at its own account of itself; and at p. 318, he plainly professes his distinct belief in all the articles of the Nicene Creed. We do not share in the writer's anticipations, but his view has not often been better expressed than in these words:—

'I look forward to a time when national distinctions of race, language, and geographical location shall continually be melting away, at least so far as they may ultimately be obstructive of the brotherhood of the human family. That centralization—apart from universal *empire*—which a true understanding of the conditions of social well-being tends to bring about, and which it is now in the course of bringing about, is, I think, embraced or implied throughout the prophetic writings. On the same grounds I look for a future time when Right for the many, or, better expressed, when RIGHT for ALL, shall be the sovereign and irresistible principle in every community. As to Right for the *many*, it has taken to itself a conventional meaning, which differs little, if at all, from a periodic overthrow of society, such as may give the undermost class their time of plunder. But RIGHT for ALL, means social *stability*; and this one idea of STABILITY, as opposed to anarchy and to periodic convulsions, meets us everywhere on the prophetic pages. Then, as the consequence of this my first anticipation, I look for a time when the material welfare, or, as we say, the earthly and daily comfort and enjoyment of the many—or let us rather say of all, so that we may exclude that banditti meaning which radicalism clings to—when this well-doing for all—this secure holding of the most needful things of life, shall be so much thought of as shall in fact realize it in a continually more and more complete manner. Between the two cooperative influences of an iron sense of right and justice on the one hand, and of humanizing and soft-hearted sympathies on the other, an intense feeling shall pervade the social mass, under the operation of which, want—still incident as it must be to man—and squalor, and houseless discomfort, and, what is worse, cellared wretchedness, and disease—the child of filth shall always be in process of sublimation, and shall be driven off, as one may say, from the social mass, by its high internal

'temperature. A strong feeling of uneasiness at the sight or thought of 'privation and bodily misery shall be always ridding the world of these 'ever-recurrent evils. I look for a time, not fabulous and impossible—not 'rosy and celestial, but earthlike and sunny, when every man—absolutely 'secure from violence, and moderately at ease, shall sit in home style 'under, or near to, as he likes best, his vine and fig-tree, none daring, or 'even wishing, to make him afraid. I do not look for a time on this earth 'when there shall be no surgeons' work—no hospitals, no infirmaries, no 'police; but I do believe in an age of individual and domestic bliss, such 'as is pictured in some sweet odes and stirring paragraphs of my Bible. 'I believe in a time yet to come, when HE who—eternal shame upon 'Manichees, upon Ascetics, upon Fanatics of all sorts—"manifested His 'glory" first, by being a willing guest at a wedding, and then and there 'showing that Creation is His own—when HE shall bless the world by 'bringing at once His iron sceptre of righteousness and His law of love 'to bear upon the *temporal* good of all men. I look for a time when He 'who is "King of Peace" and "King of Righteousness," shall rule the 'nations under both titles; and when, as a consequence of the establish-'ment of uncontradicted Truth and of Reason, safe from sophistry, and of 'Right, bowed to and enforced, there shall be abundance of earthly felicity, 'to last until this planet has wound up its destined story.

'In the course of those events that have marked the years of this cur-'rent century—that is to say, those *ostensible* matters which history takes 'account of—I scarcely discern any indications of the coming on of such 'an era of mundane welfare. One may imagine, to-day, that things are 'taking a turn in this better direction; but to-morrow (as so many past 'to-morrows have done) will perhaps scatter every supposition of the sort, 'and break it up as a dream. But though the evolving fortunes of 'nations do not clearly, if at all, foreshow the golden age at hand, yet it is 'true that those who have been watching the unrecorded movements of 'the human mind—in Europe, throughout these fifty years, and who have 'been used to let down a line into the under-current, and have noted its 'shiftings, have come to think that those preparations—intellectual, moral, 'and political—which would be the proper precursors of a new and better 'era, have not only had a commencement, but have been making progress 'at a rapid rate.'—Pp. 208—311.

Here, too, is a fine passage on the belief in the Resurrection from the dead:—

'In the first place then, an unhesitating belief of the resurrection of 'Christ—if I allow the meditative faculty to dwell upon it—leads me forth 'from a region of interminable surmises that are comfortless, appalling, or 'worse; and it brings me upon a ground that is firm to the foot, and 'where those objects that are already familiar to me, stand out distinctly, 'and are sharply defined; and they show themselves, not in the glimmer 'or in the blaze of a vague phosphorescence, but in the every-day sober sun-'light of this present world. If I carry myself back, as I may easily do, 'to that Garden under the walls of Jerusalem wherein was a sepulchre, or 'enter an upper chamber, within the city, or go on to a house a Sabbath-

'Those who are accustomed to a careful study of the classics, will see 'that I have by no means exhausted all that could fairly be said on these 'lines, [the first four lines of the Æneid;] in other words, all that is 'required for a complete appreciation of them, at the same time that I have 'been careful not to make them mere pegs on which to hang irrelevant 'questions in philology or æsthetics. Yet, surely the amount of education 'which such a study pre-supposes or imparts is very considerable. In 'considering his author's general character in itself, or in contrast with 'that of another, the student is led to take broad views of rhetorical or 'poetical art; in analysing particular expressions, and disclosing the 'images which they involve, he is made to trace that art in its details. He 'has to skirt the undefined bounds which separate rhetoric from grammar, 'and ascertain the conditions under which words, grammatically appro-'priated to one conception, can be put for those denoting another. He is 'frequently called to investigate grammar itself, by the occurrence of con-'structions which have to be explained by some general law, or left unex-'plained under the shelter of some unquestionable idiom. At other times, he 'will have recourse to comparative philology to illustrate a word or usage 'of the true nature of which the writer himself, learned as he may have 'been in the antiquities of his country's language, had but a dim confused 'consciousness. The casual allusions scattered through the work will 'familiarize him with much historical knowledge; the subject of the work, 'even though it may have no direct bearing on history, with much also. 'This enumeration is a very imperfect one, even as compared with my own 'conception and experience; yet it will be seen that it includes many of 'the elements which are usually held to constitute a general cultivation, 'thus ensuring a discipline of the various parts of the mind, more com-'prehensive, probably, than can be afforded by any other single subject of 'knowledge. But this is not all. These several lines of thought and 'research are not followed for themselves, but as means to something fur-'ther; they make up the method by which the truth of the writer's mean-'ing is to be attained. However great their heterogeneity in relation to 'each other, in this point they all converge. It is difficult to secure any-'thing like completeness in the method, as no man can hope to realize all the 'aspects in which a word or conception has appeared to the mind of an-'other, especially when separated from him by a gulf of centuries; it is 'seldom that we can expect to make the best even of our incompleteness, 'as in any single track of investigation we are liable to meet with failure, 'or at any rate, with only partial success. Such defects, however, do not 'destroy the value of the results which *can* be obtained; and it only requires 'a careful use of the various means in our power to convince us that the 'method of interpretation is one that really deserves the name, leading not 'to specious plausibilities, but to substantial truths. I know not how it may 'be in the case of other sciences, but I can testify to the genuine intellectual 'satisfaction which the mind receives when some discovery, in itself, per-'haps, of quite minor importance, a latent metaphor, a concealed imitation, 'the substitution of one insignificant word or inflexion of a word for another, 'or even the mere position of a word, hitherto overlooked, and now noticed 'accidentally, has flashed light on an entire passage, and a vague sense of 'disproportion has given place to a clear perception of harmonious sym-

the dialogue is not conducted with that deep Socratic irony which refutes an opponent by his own admissions, and which compels his reluctant witness to the truth. 'The Infidel' in Mr. Morgan's book only stands up to put his worst and most assailable arguments. However, Mr. Morgan writes in a clear and popular way; and his arguments are always intelligibly and intelligently put. His own principles are sound; and for general purposes he has furnished a useful manual, which is highly creditable to his argumentative powers. — From the same writer we have received two other publications—we decline to specify them—one relating to his own grievances and alleged wrongs; the other consisting of a very stirring appeal against the sins and errors of the administration of the Church in Wales. Whether the latter protest is not the result of Mr. Morgan's own position we shall not here say; and with respect to his case we must decline to give an opinion on an *ex parte* statement. This much, however, we can afford to say,—that the state of things which permits either the charge made by Mr. Morgan, or the charge made against Mr. Morgan, to stand as it appears to stand, merely as a charge uninvestigated, and therefore of course unrefuted, is the heaviest possible censure of that system of clerical discipline which Dr. Maitland is so surprised that we are Quixotic enough to think that even a body so ineffective as Convocation might mend; or at least try to mend.

It is not often that we see the sermons of English Churchmen in French. We have, however, had forwarded to us a very good French Sermon on the Conversion of Zacchæus, by the Rev. F. Godfray. It was first printed in 'L'Ami de la Religion, ou, Messager Evangélique des Iles de la Manche,' (Jersey: Gosset; London: Masters,) which we have already taken occasion to commend.

Mr. Claude Magnay has published a volume of Sermons, (Masters,) which he designates as 'Practical and Suggestive.' All that they suggest to us is the question, why they were printed. As we looked through the volume we had hopes of the writer: the Sermons are certainly not so bad as the Preface.

Mr. Harvey Goodwin's 'Four University Sermons,' delivered during the present spring, (Deighton,) make us thankful that such really sound and impressive cautions should be addressed to undergraduates from a Cambridge pulpit. This is the valuable part of the sermons: in their doctrinal aspect we see, or fancy that we see, the amiable object of conciliation somewhat overruling the sterner and more rigid duties of the preacher. It is with something like *naïveté* that on one occasion Mr. Goodwin expresses great surprise that, with reference to some of his speculations on the Temptation, 'no trace of it is to be found in such of the Fathers as I have been able to consult.'—P. 146. Mr. Goodwin, however, falls back on the countenance which his views receive from Mr. Farmer, a dissenting minister, and a pupil of Dr. Doddridge. We are surprised, in the fourth Sermon, to find the preacher arguing that the petition in the Litany, 'In all time of our wealth,' referred to 'temptations from being rich in silver and gold.'

A single sermon, of considerable power, 'The Year that King Ahaz died,' (Rivingtons,) is by Professor Claughton, and puts very nicely the social and political, and therefore the religious, lesson to be drawn from the death of the Emperor Nicholas.

A set of 'Practical Sermons,' published by Masters, on the Old Testament Saints, we can speak of with entire approval. The sermons on Scripture characters have, and very undeservedly, been too much lost sight of.

A series of 'Papers and Sermons on the War,' (Rivingtons,) is in course of publication. 'A Manual of Prayers for the Wounded'—'Sermon to the Wounded'—'Sermon to the Dying'—'Sermon to those at Home,' are before us, and we can speak highly of them. With all the complaints which are urged, and too often, we believe, for selfish and party purposes, our conviction is that no British, or any other Christian, army ever went upon active service so amply provided with temporal and spiritual appliances as that now serving in the Crimea; and therefore no war has been conducted under auspices so hopeful.

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THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JULY, 1855.

ART. I.—1. *The Public Function of Woman. A Sermon. By* THEODORE PARKER. John Chapman.

2. *Woman and her Wishes. An Essay. By* THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. John Chapman.

3. *Remarks on the Education of Girls.* J. Chapman.

4. *A Brief Summary of the Laws concerning Women.* John Chapman.

5. *Bertha and Lily; or, the Parsonage of Beech Glen. By* ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH. Aird & Tunstall.

AMONGST the most interested and intelligent of our readers we confidently reckon many of the class whose social position is to form the subject of the present article;—Women of mature minds, cultivated tastes, and high aims, possessed of education, thought, and refinement, who are habituated to the consideration of great subjects, and with whom all the leading questions of the day are matters of interest, and present materials for the exercise of thought and judgment. Yet we think it probable that to many even of these, alive as they are to the existence of numerous social evils, it may yet be a matter of surprise, that their own public position is becoming one of these great public questions; that their own grievances, their own disabilities, the oppressions and injustice to which they themselves are subject, are collectively, in the judgment of many of their sex, the most crying evil of the day—the great bar to progress; and that male politicians, and social regenerators of name and weight in their own circles, support them in this opinion.

So little, perhaps, have they entered into this dark view of the circumstances of their being, that a totally contrary impression may hitherto have been the habit of their minds. Respected, cherished, beloved, feeling themselves the centre

and attraction of home, their affections exercised, their faculties called out; their time employed in the performance of congenial duties, whose importance cannot be overstated — the mainstay of husband, children, dependents; *ubi Caius, ibi Caia* —the active agents in every more private scheme of kindness or charity—the organizers and directors of cultivated social intercourse, cognisant of no restrictions, and feeling no restraints;— we need not wonder that the yearnings of the aspiring sisterhood have struck no secret mystic chord of sympathy in them, have communicated no electric shock to heart or brain. Nor can any one call ours a fancy-picture—it is the English matron's natural position, if her station in life admit of all these relations. Any less favourable state of things is an exception to a rule. We describe the matron, because in her centre all the conditions of womanhood, and her lot is equally, perhaps more, a matter of complaint with this regenerating school than that of women with fewer ties; but in her degree, and with the limitations which altered circumstances imply, every Englishwoman, by her birthright, shares this condition of honour and usefulness; and amongst those whom we may hope to include in the number of our readers, we do not suppose that any difference of condition will affect the views they may take on this question. We feel confident, then, that the majority of our countrywomen, and those best fulfilling the duties of their several stations, have no sympathy whatever with these agitators, and are disposed to regard with repugnance the movement which we have intimated is beginning to stir society. They want no more liberty than they possess, they assert no 'claims;' the rights they have are enough for them; they find in their present position room for the free exercise of their highest gifts. This being so, the first conclusion certainly is to leave things as they are, and to oppose all change as such:—in fact, to let well alone; and if we reverence and love female excellence as it shows itself at present, to object to every suggestion of change. But, on second thoughts, it may be questioned whether, because good women, those who most realise to us what women should be, do well, and are well as things now are, the supposed consequence follows. The best people are independent of laws—indeed we may question whether people of highest practical wisdom ever trouble themselves much with anything but to make the best of existing institutions, which they can always adapt to their needs. Therefore it is that reforms never originate in the wisest men. It needs some element of contrariety and perverseness to fall foul of time-honoured customs or observances of any sort. Erratic genius stumbles against impediments which sensible men patiently go round, or unconsciously evade.

Bearing this in mind, we conclude that though the wisest and best women are absolutely content with their present position, and probably dread change, as wise people generally do, we need not take for granted that no improvement is needed. It is not improbable that some such conclusion may be come to at the end of our investigation, but the argument does not of itself prove that there should be no investigation at all.

When more than sixty years ago Mary Wollstonecraft published her 'Vindication of the Rights of Women,' it is evident that she neither expected nor received the sympathy of any class of her countrywomen. She awoke, as far as we can judge, no echo in any female bosom, but only the disgust which tone and matter were alike calculated to excite. Yet that very repulsive work contains some home truths. A gradual return to common sense (through no instrumentality of hers) has justified many of her strictures on the prevailing notions of her day on female education and the legitimate province of women;—their sphere of thought and action is enlarged since those narrow-minded and conventional days; yet women are not less feminine now than then; they have lost nothing in delicacy or refinement of character, though mind and body are trained in a stronger mould than was at that particular time thought fitting for their sex. Therefore, though the remonstrances and advice which now lie before us come from most uninviting quarters, we will not allow our prejudices to reject at once every suggestion; we will listen to the complaints of the 'oppressed.' Possibly some unjust limitation and restraint in our social system may press hard on impulsive minds, and goad them on to these violent and rebellious measures for their emancipation.

Though Mary Wollstonecraft is, as we believe, the first promulgator of these views; yet, as we have said, she has had no disciples amongst her countrywomen. American ladies are the legitimate heirs to her arguments, and it is from America that the present movement in our own country takes its rise. The leading pamphlets at the head of our article are reprints from America; our copy of Mary Wollstonecraft's work is printed at New York (we believe it would be difficult to meet with an English copy), and with its original dedication to Talleyrand looks as un-English as possible, while it is the infidel, or semi-infidel school amongst ourselves, avowedly in alliance with American unbelievers, that are agitating it here.

Yet the tone of demand in the two countries is not identical. Our sympathies, we confess, run most with the transatlantic sisterhood; they seem to us to have a good deal to say for themselves, if not on the ground of demands, yet of grievances. But it is right to grant precedence to the appeal of our country-

woman, who gives us her views in a very succinct form. The writer of 'Remarks on the Education of Girls,' as might be expected, has to form a school of complainants. Englishwomen now, as in the days of Mary Wollstonecraft, hug their chains, and do not want more liberty than they have. Education, then, is her lever to stir the inert mass. Girls must be differently trained, and then they will not be content in their present bondage. And, first, their physical training must be reformed. Strength and growth are to be the sole aim. No attitude is to be deemed unbecoming; no distinction of sex in these matters is to be acknowledged. The words 'ladylike' and 'decorous' are no more to be named, as 'miserable restrictions on the individuality of the individual.' In short, muscular development is the one desideratum. Then follows 'mental training,' which is to be even on a freer scale; 'fully to investigate, and 'fearlessly to adopt the whole truth, is the leading principle of 'Protestantism as opposed to that of the Catholic Church,' and on this axiom is built the claim to universal knowledge. Not only is the whole field of science to be laid open to girls, but they must, by all means, be instructed in the knowledge of evil. 'There must be no concealment, and they must know what is 'going on around them;' and to this end a course of George Sands is rigorously prescribed. From the calm, dispassionate 'investigation of human relations,' the term applied to the reading of French novels, they are to proceed to the study of political economy, with a view, amongst other things, of making them more agreeable and intelligent companions to their future husbands; while, in connexion with the subject of marriage, they are to be allowed a freer and more unrestrained intercourse with the other sex than is sanctioned by our customs. Then they must learn responsibility by being placed in responsible situations, which naturally leads to advocating a wider sphere of employment than public opinion now allows to women; arguing for a wife's right to the exclusive possession of the earnings she is thus in a situation to acquire. The pamphlet concludes with an animated address to 'young women in society, on whose brave upholding the social success of all reform greatly depends;' bidding these young ladies 'never to forget, day by day, and hour by hour,' that they are the trustees for this generation of the great Protestant principle of individual research. 'You are Dissenters,' she adds, 'not because you *have* the truth, but because you have, and shall ever have, *freedom to find it*.' Another pamphlet in connexion with this, and especially with its latter topics, gives a summary of the English laws concerning women, including the legal condition of spinsters; the laws concerning married women, and the disposition of their property; those on separations

and divorce, and on the maintenance of illegitimate children; with remarks on their supposed injustice, especially in the matter of property. And this concludes the English plea for change.

In spite of the appeal we have quoted to young women as the pioneers of progress, there is no indication, as we have said, of any general active sympathy with the views here laid down. In cases of individual hardship in this country, women suffering under the existing laws or usages may, and in some instances do, desire a change, but, as a rule, silence speaks consent to things as they are with us. It is not so in America. There the free daughters of a free country make known their discontent by unmistakeable signs. The malcontents probably form a very small minority even there, but it is a very noisy, active, and clever one, composing a compact and influential party, which it is worth the while of male factions to encourage, flatter, and fraternise with. Nor are they content with complaints and appeals; they take the privileges they plead for, and wait neither for man's consent nor woman's acquiescence. They hold conventions—they make speeches—they preach—they lecture—they physic, and, in the fearless exercise of these assumed rights, they affix to their names titles and distinctions which men have hitherto believed their exclusive privilege. Nor can they be dispossessed of the masculine decorations, which, indeed, it would seem are fairly earned.

Many of our readers may not have read, and others may have forgotten, the history of the Convention of Syracuse, which appeared two or three years ago in our leading journal. The whole is too long for insertion, but it puts us so readily in possession of the aims of the fair assemblage, and shows so forcibly the spirit and determination which animated the meeting, that we are tempted to introduce this phase of our subject by some graphic extracts. That the view taken should be a masculine and *ex parte* one is not more than must be expected, and probably was a matter of indifference to these enthusiasts, who required publicity rather than sympathy from men who had usurped the world too long, and put them off with fair speeches instead of just rights.

'Among other "dangerous classes" in the United States there is one at this moment in a highly insurrectionary state. More ambitious than the "Lone-star," more deeply indignant than the African, more excitable than the Celtic immigrant, and at least as numerous as all the rest of the population, the "better half" of the Union is asserting its long denied rights. Half the human race has just held its third or fourth annual convention at Syracuse. Brother Jonathan is well known to have a good many notions of his own, and there is no place where a good strong opinion is so likely to take root as somewhere or other between California and New York; so the female movement—we beg its pardon, the anti-male-and-female movement—thrives on that generous soil, and forms all sorts of alliances

with other classes struggling for emancipation. And who can have attended such a convention? What manner of women can they be? We can form a pretty distinct idea of a Roman Senate, of a conclave of Cardinals, of a British House of Commons, of a Parliament of German philosophers, and even of Louis Napoleon's Senate; but a petticoat Parliament—what sort of thing can it be? A much prettier sort of thing, gentle reader, than, perhaps, you imagine. True, there were some "strong-minded women." True, there was Anne Partiman, a venerable widow, tall, in widow's weeds, who had preached "the everlasting gospel," as Shaker preacher, for sixteen years, and a few others of the same calibre; but the great majority of them were pretty girls in their teens, rather precocious, perhaps, in their habits and tastes, but very formidable specimens of Young America. A large proportion of them were Bloomers. As to the movers, the constitution, the objects, and operation of these Amazons of the New World, suffice it to say that everything is hitherto undetermined and free. The law of liberty, which impels them to seek emancipation from all female servitude, forbids also any organization and definite plan. Once a-year the struggling spirit of the sex—if we may venture to use the term—vents itself in a great meeting. As Doctor Miss H. K. Hunt very properly observed on the late occasion at Syracuse, "She did not like arbitrary organizations. Spontaneity is the law of life. Individualism is the only basis of responsibility. In going to Worcester, to the two first conventions, she was a mere baby, but she had grown since (as it appears, to rather bulky dimensions). Organizations and societies had performed their functions, and their day was gone by. We are organized and linked together like nature, and electrical sympathy is the only safe organization."'

After some further remarks on organization—a word apparently in great disfavour—the business of the meeting commenced with 'the first morning session:'—

'The first morning session before us was opened by Mrs. Dr. Fowler, one of the secretaries, a lady apparently not more than eighteen, and "who was taken for unmarried by most persons present." She had to read the minutes of a former session, and did so from the free and easy report of a newspaper. On being taxed with this slipshod mode of discharging her office, she replied that she had minutes of her own, and would read them if desired; but on attempting to do so she blushed deeply—in such a company, of course, an unpardonable offence—and was accordingly released from all further discharge of her office. A committee of finance was then appointed, and a rev. gentleman having nominated "Mrs. Stephen Smith," the president called him to order, "Women's-rights' women do not like to be called by their husbands' names, but their own," on which the objectionable appellation was corrected to Rosa Smith, that lady being still obliged by the state of the law to sign herself by her husband's surname. These preliminaries concluded, Mrs. George delivered a long address, in which she enumerated all the distinguished women in the world, including Queen Victoria, Sappho, Jenny Lind, and Miss Dr. Blackwell of the State of New York. Whatever the first in this list may say to her company, it is some satisfaction to us that we possess in this island at least one woman whose character and position fulfil the women's-rights' idea of individuality, spontaneity, and other feminine qualities. The next speaker was Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, with a strong western accent and an Irish face, who expressed herself rather new to the subject, but being in the habit of addressing large audiences on various subjects, was glad "to mingle with the free spirits of that hall." She said, "she was not in the habit of *talking* much about women's rights. She was one of those women who, instead of

talking about women's rights, took the rights without saying anything about them." Mrs. Jones, it appears, occupies the pulpits all over the country five days out of seven in lecturing on science. What she wanted, however, was the right to *vote*, which included all other rights. She wanted "to go into the legislative hall, sit on the judicial bench, and fill the chair of the Executive." Universal applause and energetic movement of fans followed this bold flight of feminine ambition.'

* * * *

'After the Rev. Miss Antoinette Brown had cited some cases that bore on this question, Mrs. Davies returned to the wider field of discussion, and instanced many lady-lecturers and preachers that drew largely wherever they went, and whom St. Paul himself would not have commanded to cover their faces in the assembly. "Woman's sphere," she observed, "is now wherever she makes it." Miss Lucy Stone went as far as the rest, but saw a practical difficulty. It was not so easy to go and take their rights; and she mentioned that Miss Harriett K. Hunt went to claim her right in the college where she had obtained permission to study from the heads of it, but the students "sacrificed" her. The lady herself, a jolly looking woman, upwards of forty—fat, but not fair, resented this rather ambiguous expression. It is evident, however, that whatever conquest she might have made among the heads of the college, the students were blind to her attractions, and Miss Hunt experienced some ungallant usage.'

That the ladies whose names are here recorded are distinguished amongst the party, we gather from the independent witness of Mr. Thos. Wentworth Higginson, whose essay on 'Woman and her Wishes' is one of our subjects, where we find many of them placed in his list of worthies. 'The test of sphere,' he says, 'is success. If Miss Millar can walk the quarter-deck—'if Madame Grange can argue cases in court—if Mrs. W——'can conduct the complex business transactions of a great Paris 'house—if Maria Mitchell can discover comets, and Harriett 'Hosman carve statues—if Apollonia Jagiello can fight in one 'European revolution, Mrs. Putnam vindicate another (besides 'having the gift of tongues)—if *Harriet Hunt* can really cure 'diseases, and *Lucretia Mott* and *Antoinette Brown* can preach 'good sermons, and *Mrs. Swisshelm* and *Mrs. Nichols* edit successful newspapers, then all these are points gained for ever, 'and the case is settled so far' (p. 8). And to *Miss Lucy Stone* he elsewhere gives this eloquent—we must not say gallant—testimony (p. 20):—'Often at conventions of men, amid the 'roughness and the gruffness of tone, the stammering and the 'hesitating, when I have recalled to memory the clear delicious 'voice of Lucy Stone, "gentle and low,—an excellent thing 'in woman," yet penetrating with its quiet fascination to the 'utmost corners of the largest hall—never loud to the nearest, 'never faint to the furthest, bearing in its quiet current all pure 'womanly thoughts and noble aspirations—I have almost wondered at the tolerance of Paul in suffering a *man* to speak in 'public.' But to return—

'The ladies now retired, and assembled again in the afternoon, when Mrs. Paulina W. Davis delivered an eloquent address on marriage, the conclusion of which was, woman was "the redeeming agency" of the world, and therefore now was the time for her to do "her proper work, and contribute to the peculiar elements of the new civilization now opening upon the world, in which love shall overrule force, and equal liberty and justice shall replace the degradation of castes and the oppression of individuals."'

Here followed—

'A magnificent burst on the wrongs of woman and the tyranny of man by Mrs. Ernestine Rose, a Polish Jewess by birth, who, after denouncing husbands, household duties, and tobacco, proceeded: "Her imagination was not large, but she had enough of it to see how the sexes could be united, that the whole might be regarded as man in the highest title that the race is capable of. Kings, and priests, and archbishops, and other titles, invented to amuse children, are nothing compared to the title man, and that includes woman." Mrs. Lucretia Mott then showed the degrading character of the marriage relation, and the false vow of obedience on the part of the woman made in some churches. Yes, woman was degraded by the times and by the monopoly of the church. According to a "Commentary on Blackstone," the law made both man and wife one, but the man was that one. It was from Lucy Stone she first learnt the degradation of women, even after her husband's death. She was called "the relict," or what remained of him. After a Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Nichols was announced as the editor of the "Wyndham County Democrat," and said, "So, you see, I am a politician." She entered at great length, and "with much ingenuity and tact," as we are told, into the legal wrongs of woman in regard to property. She had no legal existence. In the words of "Blackstone," "her existence is suspended during coverture."

* * * *

'The evening session of this day was opened by Miss Lucy Stone reading a letter, addressed to her by Mr. Brigham, who had had the temerity to point out that man had his sphere and woman hers, and that they were equal in their several positions. Miss Lucy, who appeared to know a great deal about it, maintained, in reply, that the "arts and sciences were matters of genius, not of sex." "She denied that there was any peculiarity in the male that distinguished him from the female. The sexes were both alike by nature." Mr. Brigham, who chanced to be present, said in defence of his letter, "All the ladies wanted was better taste, and they would find their sphere at last in the domestic circle;" whereupon a host of single ladies jumped up, and "Miss Dr. Harriett K. Hunt" became their spokesman. "What was *she* to do?" She was living a life of single blessedness—what was to be her sphere? Mr. Brigham replied rather weakly, and soon found he had disturbed a hornet's nest. In the midst of the uproar, while, if not sticks and stones, at least very grave words were flying about, a *vir pietate gravis*, in the shape of the venerable Anne Partiman, mentioned above, rose up and plunged into the mysteries of the question. "A clergyman once said to her, that woman was the wickedest thing God ever made. Her reply to him was, that if the one rib taken from man was so awfully wicked, what must the whole body of man be?" This led the way to the "Bible argument" in favour of the equality of the sexes, which was thereupon ably taken up by the Rev. Antoinette Brown. No sooner, however, had the clerical lady sat down, than the gentle Miss Rose gave her views on scriptural authority. "She did not want appeals to the Bible. Anything might be proved from that book. When the people of Boston turned their harbour into a teapot, there were plenty to quote Scripture to

prove them wrong. She wanted to appeal to no written authority for self-evident truths and natural laws." After some remarks on the Emperor of Russia, the Pope, and other great personages, Miss Rose came down like a thunderbolt on our own excellent countryman, Mr. Roebuck, who, while acknowledging that to woman he was indebted for the formation of his mind and the consolation of his sorrows, nevertheless would not accede to the proposition for giving women the 5*l.* franchise.'

Miss Rose, confident in the world-wide importance of the movement, boldly challenges Mr. Roebuck through the press, 'that mighty power, that will bring my words to him on the wings of the lightning, as quick as I speak them;' a daring prophecy, which we doubt not was fulfilled.

'This finished the evening session of the second day. We must make short work of the third day. Dr. Harriett K. Hunt took the lead by moving certain resolutions for the admission of female students into medical colleges, with a special view to raising the public morals and correcting certain abuses of the public press by "*a new medical infusion of the woman element*"—a threat which, as it is directed against editors, perhaps we ought to understand. Miss Anthony, described as a slender girl, of about twenty years of age, never known to smile, then moved a resolution on her own hook, to sustain journals edited by women in preference to those edited by men. She instanced the 'Lily,' edited by Miss Bloomer; the 'Genius of Liberty,' by Mrs. E. Aldridge; and the 'Democrat,' by Mrs. Nichols. Then ensued a very long debate about organization, both as a law of nature and a mode of diffusing opinions. The ladies took very strong views on this subject, for and against. Mrs. Rose thought all organizations Chinese bandages. They were the incubus of our nature. Others argued from the Jesuits, from the English Universities, and all conceivable analogies, that organization, though a bandage, was necessary to effect. The few gentlemen present were generally in favour of the principle, but did not gain much attention. Mr. James King, losing his temper at the clamour raised against him, shouted out, "You would keep us out of your conventions if you could. The physical element rules the world, and it ever will; and the male being predominant"—No more was heard, and Mr. King ceased to predominate in that meeting. At the afternoon session the Rev. C. L. Hatch, of Massachusetts, congregational minister, asked leave to address the meeting, and did so from a paper. He began with much apparent tact, commenting in a mild and candid tone on certain published letters, and defending the ministerial order from the attacks of "women's-rights' women." Whether he was feeling his way, or whether he was warming with his subject, certainly there was a progression in his remarks. "Miss Stone," he said, had asserted "that men shut up their wives. Women have the same right, if they are able. I knew a woman who shut up her drunken husband, and sewed him up in the sheets, and whipped him till he got sober." This was received with roars of laughter, and "Served him right, too!" "I hope she will always do the same!" After observing on the precedence given to women, he observed, "Miss Stone has also said that nothing is peculiar to woman but her maternity;" and with that surplusage so common to clerical speakers, he proceeded to develop the idea of maternity with unnecessary distinctness. Receiving a check he drew in a little, but soon reminded his fair hearers that "if women run against horses they must expect to be betted on." He then boldly contrasted the true feminine element with "the shrill clarion and the brazen trumpet" of the voices around him, and amidst a storm of indignation, sar-

casm, and rebukes from the chair, he concluded, "God fend the time when this feminine element shall be laid aside, and our sisters shall bustle in the crowd with their brothers and mix in the rough and trouble of life."'

Continuing his offensive speech in terms which overwhelmed his hearers with indignation and confusion—

'He reiterated the idea with tedious minuteness and studied impropriety. Brought to a standstill by the blast of feminine execration, he humbly begged that he might be permitted to finish his paper—there were only three lines more. But considering the abyss he had been deliberately descending into, it is fearful to think what these three lines might have contained, and we must say the "women's-rights' women" were justified in refusing to hear them, and in expelling him in a storm of hisses. Do they not see, however, that such a *finale* exposes the absurdity of the convention? There is, then, a moral as well as a physical difference between the two sexes. Even at Syracuse there are expressions that would fall unobserved and harmless in a company of men, but are intolerable in the hearing of women. Mr. Hatch applied rather a coarse test, but it was sufficient to prove that his hearers were women in spite of themselves.'—*Times, Dec.* 30, 1852.

In this Report are included, either by express mention or implication, *all* the demands the movement party amongst American women are set upon obtaining. All that is understood by the 'rights of women:'—and these are briefly comprehended in an absolute equality between the sexes, and, in most senses, a subversion of all the preconceived notions of a natural division of duties. Women, as a sex, cannot help, it is true, being the mothers of the human race; but this is not admitted as any exemption from active public service. Therefore, they demand, first, an education which shall fit them for this sphere, and an admission to schools and colleges of men, and all the dignities and preferments annexed to these, at present, close foundations. Next, they claim political rights, not only the liberty of voting, but access to every public office. This naturally implies an assertion of equal fitness with men for every calling, clerical, professional, legal, medical; and for every art or craft they may incline to. 'Let them,' exclaims Margaret Fuller, 'be sea-captains if they will.' It is needless to add, that in social life all ideas of subjection are boldly discarded. Especial stress is laid on the rights of property. No woman shall forfeit her independence of action by marrying. She shall be at liberty to earn money by any calling, lay or clerical, she may choose, and her earnings shall be absolutely her own. The idea of obedience is, in fact, wholly disowned, as an antiquated figment; for submission to reason, which they substitute in its stead, proceeds from an entirely different principle from obedience to authority; the first is submission to *self*, the last to *another*. Woman is henceforth to be a 'self-sustaining

thing of power.' Nor does she want male advocates to support all these pretensions: Mr. T. W. Higginson thus sums up their case:—

'It would seem that, under the circumstances, the rising protest of American women, though it may annoy men, can hardly surprise them. I have chosen to begin with the consideration of education, because that is a point commonly conceded, and therefore a good fulcrum for the lever. But much more remains behind. It is not the sole grievance of woman that she has not even her full share of school-education.

'Nor is the complaint only, that any system of "education" is utterly imperfect which provides for women only schools, and not functions.

'Nor is it the whole of the grievance, that the employments easily accessible to women are few, unintellectual, and underpaid.

'Nor is it all, that the denial of equal political rights being an absolute wrong, must necessarily be in many ways a practical wrong. Is not each individual, male or female, a unit before God? Has not woman, equally with man, an individual body to be protected, and an individual soul to be saved? Must she not see, feel, know, speak, think, act, for herself, and not through another? We hear much said of the value of the "franchise of a freeman," say women; but why should Franchise belong to Francis more than to Frances, when the three words are etymologically the same, and should be practically so,—all signifying simply, Freedom? Nay, as things now stand, Frank may grow up a vulgar, ignorant ruffian, and Fanny may have the mental calibre and culture of Margaret Fuller or Mary Lowell Putnam,—the self-devoted energy of Dorothea Dix or Mary Ware: yet it will make no difference. The man must count as one in the State, the woman counts zero; a ratio, as mathematicians agree, of *infinite* inferiority.

'But this is not all. Nor is it all, that this exclusion is a thing done without "the consent of the governed." "The body politic (says the Massachusetts Constitution) is formed by a voluntary association of individuals." Accordingly, we think it a daring responsibility to hold a Constitutional Convention, or even to pass a Liquor Law, without a popular vote thereon. When was the popular vote taken, in which women relinquished even the rights conceded to them by their English ancestors? At any given moment there is probably a clear majority of women over men in this commonwealth. Have this majority consented to their present subjection? No, they have had no opportunity to consent; they have never been asked; they have only *acquiesced*, as the black majority in South Carolina acquiesce, because that very subjection has made them both ignorant and timid.

'Nor is it all, that we lose the services of the purest half of the human race from our public offices. Not one of these admirable women, whom I have just named, may have a direct voice in legislating for a hospital or a prison; not one of these accomplished ones can have a place in even a school-committee; to say nothing of those grander cares of state, which were yet freely granted to Elizabeth of England and to Maria Theresa.

'Nor is it all, that female labour thus loses its guarantee of protection, which political economy has always recognized as an important feature of free institutions. "To give energy to industrial enterprise," says one American writer, unconscious of the covert satire, "the dignity of labour should be sustained; the franchise of a freeman should be granted to the humblest labourer who has not forfeited his right by crime. In the responsibilities of a freeman, he will find the strongest motives to exertion. Besides, so far as Government can by its action affect his confidence of

a just remuneration for his toil, he feels that a remedy is put in his hands by the ballot-box." Indeed, John Neal asserts that the right of suffrage is worth fifty cents a-day, in its effect upon the wages of male labourers, in this country. But where are all these encouragements for women?

'Nor is it all, that with the right to labour, all the other rights of woman, as to person and property, are equally endangered by this exclusion from direct power.

'For the great grievance alleged by all women who make complaint of grievances is this,—that all these details are but part of a *system*, which lies at the basis of all our organizations, assumes at the outset the inferiority of woman, merges every married woman in her husband, and imposes upon every single woman the injustice of taxation without representation;—symbolical of the general fact, that she incurs most of the responsibilities of freedom, without its rights.'

* * * *

'The protest of women, therefore, is not against a special abuse, but against a whole system of injustice; and the peculiar importance of political suffrage to woman is only because it seems to be the most available point to begin with. Once recognize the political equality of the sexes, and all the questions of legal, social, educational, and professional equality will soon settle themselves.

'It is not to be denied, that the subject is coming rapidly into discussion, and bids fair to be ably handled. On the one side are the reports of three large and estimable "Woman's-Rights Conventions," in Worcester and Syracuse, together with a series of ten tracts by the same indefatigable band of agitators. On the other side are the fixed observances of Church and State.'—*Woman and her Wishes*, pp. 14—16.

Thus far Mr. T. W. Higginson, Minister of the Worcester Free Church. Theodore Parker, a name too well known for the advocacy of infidel opinions, but here designated Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, takes the same line of argument:—

'The Family, Community, Church, and State, are four modes of action which have grown out of human nature in its historical development; they are all necessary for the development of mankind—machines which the human race has devised, in order to possess, use, develop, and enjoy their rights as human beings, their rights also as men.

'These are just as necessary for the development of woman as of man, and as she has the same Nature, Right, and Duty as man, it follows that she has the same right to use, shape, and control these four institutions, for her general human purpose and for her special feminine purpose, that man has to control them for his general human purpose and his special masculine purpose. All that is as undeniable as anything in metaphysics or mathematics.'

* * * *

'I rejoice at the introduction of women into common schools, academies, and high schools; and I thank God that the man who has done so much for public education in Massachusetts, is presently to be the head of a college in Ohio, where women and men are to study together, and where a woman is to be professor of Latin and Natural History. These are good signs.

'The business of public lecturing, also, is quite important in New England, and I am glad to see that woman presses into that,—not without success.

'The work of conducting a journal, daily, weekly, or quarterly, woman proves that she can attend to quite as decently, and as strongly, too, as most men.

'Then there are what are called the Professions,—Medicine, Law, and Theology.

'The profession of Medicine seems to belong peculiarly to woman by nature; part of it, exclusively. She is a nurse, and half a doctor, by nature. It is quite encouraging that medical schools are beginning to instruct women, and special schools get founded for the use of women; that sagacious men are beginning to employ women as their physicians. Great good is to be expected from that.

'As yet, I believe, no woman acts as a Lawyer. But I see no reason why the profession of Law might not be followed by women as well as by men. He must be rather an uncommon lawyer who thinks no feminine head could compete with him. Most lawyers that I have known are rather mechanics at law, than attorneys or scholars at law; and in the mechanical part, woman could do as well as man—could be as good a conveyancer, could follow precedents as carefully, and copy forms as nicely. And in the higher departments of legal work, they who have read the plea which Lady Alice Lille made in England, when she could not speak by attorney, must remember there is some eloquence in woman's tongue which courts find it rather hard to resist. I think her presence would mend the manners of the court—of the bench, not less than of the bar.

'In the business of Theology, I could never see why a woman, if she wished, should not preach, as well as men. It would be hard, in the present condition of the pulpit, to say she had not intellect enough for *that!* I am glad to find, now and then, women preachers, and rejoice at their success. A year ago, I introduced to you the Reverend Miss Brown, educated at an Orthodox Theological Seminary;—you smiled at the name of *Reverend Miss*. She has since been invited to settle by several congregations of unblemished orthodoxy, and has passed on, looking further.'

For purposes of their own, these gentlemen claim a new field for women. They know that the movement party amongst them would further their own views, while the conservative element in the sex would on principle remain quiescent, and thus the whole *weight* of women, as a political engine, would be on their side. Mr. Parker wants women to be preachers, public theological teachers, because he knows the majority of women who would undertake these offices, would be opposed to dogmatic religion. We will not venture to quote the train of vital doctrines which he is confident women would discountenance, mixing with these, however, opinions which we are accustomed to call Calvinism, but which he affects to trace to monks and celibates. 'Why,' he exclaims, triumphantly, 'you could not get 'a woman that had intellect enough to open her mouth to preach 'these things anywhere.' 'Women think they believe them, 'but they do not.' From which we only gather that he is fully alive to the fact that the preaching ladies would be at odds with their sisters who think it their duty to be in subjection and learn at home. Of course it would be the same in politics. Nevertheless, as men, they cling to the old, feminine, gentle,

yielding, we may almost say, dependent idea of woman. They assert a difference between the sexes, and feel that difference a charm. We have seen how Mr. Higginson indulges in compliments to Miss Lucy Stone's soft voice, 'an excellent thing in woman.' Elsewhere, in recording a school contest between boys and girls in the field of conic sections, he finds pleasure in drawing a contrast between the personal characteristics of the combatants. 'I have seen *delicate* girls, whose slight fingers could scarcely grasp the huge chalk bullet.' This picture of graceful weakness enhances the pleasure of the triumph. There is still something to patronise and defend. He would not have cared for the success of these young mathematicians so much had they been formed in the mould of those female guards of the 'Princess,' the—

> 'Eight daughters of the plough,
> Huge women blowzed with health, and wind, and rain,
> And labour; each like a Druid rock.'

And Mr. Parker betrays the same predilection for a contrast of mental qualities in analogy with the differences of physical conformation. 'I think man,' he says, 'will always lead in 'affairs of the intellect, of reason, imagination, understanding,— 'he has the bigger brain; but that woman will always lead in 'affairs of emotion, moral, affectional, religious,—she has the 'better heart, the truer intuition of the right, the lovely, the 'holy;' and further on he betrays the old notion of man's more comprehensive vision. Man's moral action he calls a sort of general human providence; 'woman's moral action is more 'like a special human providence acting without general rules, 'but caring for each particular case.'

But these assertions of a *difference*, however cautiously asserted and accompanied by compliment and eulogy, are distasteful to the 'women's-rights women' of every land, and rejected as a covert assumption of superiority; and justly, for, veil it as carefully as you will, there lies this assumption underneath. The authoress of 'Remarks on the Education of Girls,' quotes the last passage from Mr. Parker as showing that he is still behindhand. It is education alone, she assures us, that makes the difference, and not till the '*special*' view is exploded will women exercise their full influence on the moral well-being of the world. This lady, too, will acknowledge no sisterhood with 'delicate girls' and 'slender fingers.' She adduces the full physical development of Madame Grisi in her maturest years as the proper type of womanly grace, and on this head appeals to Mary Wollstonecraft, who may well indeed be set forth as the unflinching champion of the cause in all its bearings, and as such her views demand some distinct mention here.

On whatever field the battle is fought, man is with the foundress of the sect the aggressor—the natural enemy of woman. Especially is she awake to the treachery of all the ordinary forms of gallantry and politeness (what she calls 'the insolent condescension of protectorship') as insidious chains and golden fetters. 'I lament that women are systematically degraded by receiving 'the trivial attentions which men think it manly to pay to the 'sex, when in fact they are insultingly supporting their own supe-'riority. So ludicrous do these ceremonies appear to me, that 'I scarcely am able to govern my muscles, when I see a man 'start with eager and serious solicitude to lift a handkerchief or 'shut a door, when the *lady* could have done it herself had she 'only moved a pace or two.' 'I do earnestly wish to see the 'distinction of sex confounded in society.' A few more of her vigorous defiant sentences will not be misplaced here. '"Educate women like men," says Rousseau, "and the more 'they resemble our sex, the less power they will have over us." 'I do not wish them to have power over men, but over them-'selves.' 'I presume that rational men will excuse me for 'endeavouring to make them (women) to become more mascu-'line and respectable. Indeed, the word masculine is only 'a bugbear.' 'I love man as my fellow, but his sceptre, real 'or usurped, extends not to me.' '*Men* have submitted to 'superior strength to enjoy with impunity the pleasure of the 'moment,—*women* have only done the same; and therefore, till it 'is proved that the courtier, who servilely resigns the birthright 'of a man, is not a moral agent, it cannot be demonstrated that 'woman is essentially inferior to man, because she has always 'been subjugated.' 'Strengthen the female mind by enlarging 'it, and there will be an end of blind obedience.' 'Connected 'with man as daughters, wives, and mothers, their (women's) 'moral character may be estimated by their manner of ful-'filling those simple duties; but the end, the grand end of 'their exertions, should be to unfold their own faculties, and 'acquire the dignity of conscious virtue;' and so she dismisses what she calls 'the *prevailing* opinion that woman was created 'for man.'

Apparently, no woman had as yet realized her ideal, therefore her contempt of her own sex is as freely expressed as her jealousy and suspicion of ours, and with the same forcible language; and as men are charged with the desire to render women 'gentle domestic brutes,' so women who submit to such treatment are told in very plain, unvarnished language, how disgusting themselves and all their virtues are to her. 'Gentleness is abject;' 'docility is a spaniel-like affection;' patience, docility, good-humour, flexibility, are virtues, she assures them,

incompatible with any vigorous exertion of the intellect. The 'obedient wife,' they are told, makes an 'indolent mother,' and a 'meek wife, a foolish one.' The 'divine right of husbands' is boldly contemned, and pictures are drawn and illustrations given to show the fatal consequences of indulgence in obedience, meekness, submission, and the whole train of weak, mawkish, and dependent virtues.

She was ready, in fact, to fight the battle of equality on the principles of abstract reason, desiring fair play and no favour. She disdained the weapons of her sex, looked forward to the time 'when women will resign the arbitrary power of beauty,' and discarded, nay, even loathed, every pretty wile. The coquetry of dress she abhorred; would not think so ill of her sex as to believe it possible they were born with a love for dolls in babyhood, and fine clothes in youth: this was one of the monstrous charges brought by men against a nature that they had ruined, degraded by their tyranny, and narrowed by a corrupt education.

This is a line we can understand; defying man's power and rejecting all compromise: it is followed, we have seen, in main points by the Convention of Syracuse, and also by our own countrywoman in her 'Remarks.' But there is a more imaginative school of these energetic spirits, who claim more than an equality, who wish to be the equals of men in all social and civil rights, and yet to be the objects of their tenderness, protection, and solicitude. Margaret Fuller, plain and personally unattractive as she was, exacted her dues as a woman with all the tenacity of those of her countrywomen who make no other claims than what are termed 'the privileges of their sex.' Those attentions that were despised by the pure reason of Mary Wollstonecraft, were indispensable to her comfort and self-appreciation. Nor did she disdain the 'borrowed charm that dress supplies.' Her female disciples complacently record the magnificence of her toilette on certain show occasions. She would have fully approved of the gorgeous hues in which Tennyson decks his female academics:—

'In colours gayer than the morning mist.'

And this poetical aspect of the movement, in which women leave the deductions of severe logic, and, scorning any notion of *compact*, or exchange of one advantage for another, grasp all in their eager fancy; and aspire to a future, wherein their sex shall possess more than their present feminine influence, and equal man on his own ground, leaving him no exclusive sphere,—this view of their claims brings us to another work on our list, the Romance of 'Bertha and Lily,' wherein we find the

'coming woman' pictured forth with many circumstances of picturesque effect, and designed for universal sway:—

> 'This is such a creature,
> Would she begin a sect, might quench the zeal
> Of all professors else; make proselytes
> Of who she but bid follow.
> How, not women?
> Women will love her, that she is a woman,
> More worth than any man; men, that she is
> The rarest of all women.'

The authoress is a mystic and transcendentalist, and her heroine embodies these qualities or opinions, and is an eclectic of the freest pattern. All forms of worship and belief, Pagan, Protestant, Catholic, Rationalistic, are hers by turns, and the personages of the story, who are living in an American village in the west, with a railway passing through it, are so elevated and glorified by her presence amongst them, that supernatural visitations and mysteries of all sorts are as common with them as the engine's whistle and its accompanying puffs of steam. There is a spiritual child in the story, after the pattern of American novels; but 'Eva' and the 'Pearl' of Mr. Hawthorne are creatures of gross flesh and blood compared to the 'Lily' of this story. Yet, through these absurdities there shines out much shrewd observation, and sometimes good sense, though this is a commodity quite alien from the design and conduct of the story. The principal characters are this Bertha, a woman transcendently intellectual and beautiful, of an age nearer thirty than authors often venture upon. But this maturity is necessary not only for the plot, but to support the dictum of the party, that female beauty does not attain its height till that age. With regard to her previous history, we are early informed in her own language, that she has 'overstepped partial relations;' and again, that she has found 'the past rough, because 'a great soul must learn to know its power from a great expe-'rience.' In fact, a disgraceful stain attached to her youth, which would have disabled her for a heroine in less liberal eyes, but was thought needful as a protest against existing prejudice. At the opening of the book we are allowed this insight into her journal:—

> 'But am I happy? I ask again. Not quite. Now, however, I am fit for happiness. Now I am *worthy of love*. Yes, that is it; I am unselfish, I am truthful, I am courageous, I am individual, I am wise. Yes, I feel that I am all these, in a degree according to my capacities. I have sorrowed, but am not embittered. The largest life should bring the noblest love, and yet I prefer my single blessedness above all things.
>
> 'As these thoughts passed through my mind, I loosened my long hair, and sat up and drew the glass to me, and took a clear inventory of my charms. A pale clear complexion, regular features, a bust and arms that

I dare call beautiful, small feet and hands: "This is well," I said. "I hope never to grow old 'Thou hast the dew of thy youth,' is the most beautiful of benedictions, and youth is in the soul." '—*Bertha and Lily*, p. 19.

There is another lady, 'Julia,' designed to be the type of the 'feminine,' which involves with this authoress all that is flirting, flippant, selfish, pretty, and fascinating. The hero, pourtrayed with a good deal of cleverness and some humour, is the pastor of the village; and we presume is the authoress's type of man, for he marries Bertha at the last, after being in love with both ladies all through the book. We beg to disown him as our representative, yet feel obliged for the portrait, as frankly significant of the ulterior designs of this party against our sex, and of the position they hope to reduce us to. This 'milk-sop of a parson,' as he is candidly designated by one of the characters of the piece, recognises his subordinate place by slow degrees. As where he writes:—

'I find so many prejudices and opinions of mine, which I had conceived to be well-grounded principles, melting away under the intuitive truths of Bertha, that I begin to think a clear, true woman, one of God's oracles, whose utterances are to be treated most reverently. I am having strong doubts as to the immaculate superiority of men to women. *They* are far holier than *we*, I am sure. The truth is, Bertha has a way of taking the conceit out of man—entirely a *way* of her own.'—*Ib.* p. 45.

And his own weaker intellectual organization, lamented in such confessions as the following,—'My sensibilities are too pre-'dominant, they weaken and distress me,' elicit her reproofs; 'Ernest, you are not self-poised, you are lacking in courage.' On the whole, however, the relative position of the parties suits each equally well, which we find well stated in Bertha's journal, just before the denouement:—

'The one who answers to our thoughts is ours. Ernest penetrates to the very soul of my speech, and answers thereto. He grows a lovely, inspired man-child when in my presence, and he does not know that only love can effect this.'—*Ib.* p. 257.

The course of the book exhibits faint struggles on Ernest's part against this female supremacy. As a popular and orthodox preacher, he ventures feeble remonstrances against her heterodoxy. She had made him adopt and domesticate in his parsonage two pauper children, and they are discussing their training:—

'"You have named the paupers' pew. Did you ever think, Ernest, what an infamous thing it is in the house of God? But tell me if you are quite certain what you will teach these children."

'"Why, what I preach every Sunday from the pulpit, to be sure."

'"You are quite sure you are preaching a gospel there?"

'I wasn't sure of any such thing. I was preaching just what my predecessors had done; I was doing no more, and no less.

'"If you had been bred in the Episcopal Church, you would be teaching em the Thirty-nine Articles, like the forty stripes save one of the ancient

discipline! but as you belong to the Dissenters, you will addle their poor brains over free will and predestination, and all the rough-shod trampings of Calvinism!"

'"Bertha! you quite unsettle my life with your heresies. I will do away with the paupers' pew in Beech Glen at once! I am ashamed never to have thought of it before; but as for these doctrines—"

'"You will consider them, Ernest," said Bertha, with perfect simplicity.

'Upon my word, Bertha begins to be very disagreeable. She talks to me as if I were a stupid boy. I have to remember that I have passed through collegiate and theological honours, and am regarded as fully competent to the office I fill. Somehow she sees behind all these considerations, and presents me a glass before which they all fade quite away, and I see a simple, majestic image of divine truth. But it is disagreeable to be made to feel this at the bidding of a woman.'—*Ib.* pp. 49, 50.

Considering their objection to theology, the yearning of these ladies for the preacher's office is something remarkable. The question is a good deal discussed between Bertha and Ernest. On her first settling, a wealthy and independent woman, in 'Beech Glen,' she abstains from going to church on the ground of the excessive dulness of sermons; but Ernest's voice and manner reconcile her to the practice, though she early asserts her right, in her argument with 'the Deacon,' to occupy the pulpit herself. On her concluding with the Quaker plea, 'There is neither male nor female,' we find the following comment:—

'As Bertha uttered this, in her clear musical voice, with exquisite intonation, her serene face, radiant with her inward convictions, I felt that a woman thus inspired must be a more effective expounder of truth than a preacher of our sex is likely to present; but I confess to a repugnance also. I trust in God *envy* has no place in my mind—but I will look to it.'—*Ib.* pp. 41, 42.

As his convictions strengthen, we are left to infer that he feels men have had their turn, and that his office was slipping from him:—

'It is now Thursday night, and I have no sermon written, and feel very much as if I never should be able to write another. Everything has been said worth saying upon the doctrines I preach; and as for daily life, why, my people are savagely virtuous. I do not know where to catch them tripping. I can't preach at them for the life of me. As I look down from the pulpit, the array of respectable, moral, dull faces is appalling to me. Every well-ironed cravat looks like a barricade; the stiff waistcoats, and long, tight silk boddices, are so many shields and cuirasses to ward off the sharp arrows of conviction. The people say good morning to me, piously, and speak of the weather with a sort of religious unction, and declare "things are better than we deserve." My predecessor in Beech Glen has left nothing for me to do. He has so swathed, balsamed, and glued them into orthodoxy, that they are perfectly mummified therein; and now they need somebody to poke them, as I have seen, when a boy, the keepers in a menagerie stir up the lions with a long pole, whereat the beasts would fetch a great yawn and lie down again. I must get the deacon waked up for the sake of an example.'—*Ib.* pp. 55, 56.

Bertha probably thought so too, but from her stand-point of calm superiority she would not willingly wound his self-love, and, like all great minds, desired rather the reality of power than the show of it. She therefore thus delicately seeks his cooperation, when, towards the close of the volume, her plans are matured:—

'Bertha now proposed that a small chapel, or whatever I might choose to call it, should be built near the junction, for the purpose of instruction.

'"I could wish," said Bertha, "once a-week, or oftener, to meet our people here. I will prepare readings, or lectures, upon such themes as shall best provoke thought and culture. And you, Ernest, will you not aid me—aid our women to think, feel, and act as women should, when so much of the world's destiny lies at their mercy?"

'I winced after my old fashion. This looked like an encroachment upon my prerogatives, and seemed to imply also that my people needed teaching beyond what I was imparting to them. I think I reddened. I know I looked foolish; for the mean feeling in the soul, however disguised, will impart itself to the face. But Bertha went on with a serene sweetness.

'"In the pulpit the clergyman is not altogether free. He is confined to a round of prayers and labours, that often have little effect in elevating or ennobling his people. I desire this little temple to be a spontaneous offering to God, where the form shall be more or less elaborate, as the spirit of true worship is realized within us. I would have it decorated with flowers. I would have it sacred to all that is pure and beautiful. No man or woman should enter it with foul feet, or desecrate it by a spit."

'I smiled, and Bertha opened her eyes in her earnest way.

'"You will make your little temple holier than our place of worship," I said.

'"Assuredly I would. It must be dedicated to the deepest sentiment of truth and beauty. The speaker must present the best example of taste. Ernest, I would not have even you enter this temple in the every-day suit of black, with a slight tinge of rust."

'I reddened again, but Bertha did not see it.

'"But I would have you wear a robe of lawn, for I am persuaded that in elevating a people, the dress of the teacher is of no mean import."

'And so, under the shadow of a mountain, grew a lovely temple designed by Bertha—a sort of portico, consisting of colonnades surrounding a circular building, terminating in a dome, through which the light entered, softened by ground glass. A delicate stand, like the unfolding of a white scroll, faced with crimson, composed the speaker's desk, leaving the person in full perspective, while vases filled with flowers ornamented the shafts and niches of the wall.

'When all was completed, Bertha, at the close of the Sabbath exercises, with my permission, explained her plan to the people. There was much staring, some whispering, and attempted tossings of the head, amongst the feminine portion of the congregation; but the calm earnestness of Bertha at length allayed prejudice, and I had the mortification to see that her lectures were better attended than my own. Women had learned to understand somewhat of the pure, unselfish nobleness of her character, and sought her teachings from a genuine interest. She taught them botany, horticulture; she suggested new modes of industry, improvements in housekeeping, in dress; she gave them higher subjects for thought, and encouraged them to question her. Soon old and young, men and women, learned to prepare eagerly for Bertha's days in the pretty rotunda; indeed, nothing could be more picturesque than her audience, in their improved costume,

garlanded with flowers, and their faces wreathed with content.'—*Ib.* pp. 191—193.

Unwillingly is the Pastor forced to own woman's greater fitness for the teacher's office, but candour compels the admission:—

'Bertha has done more in a few months than I have done in years of labour. She has seemed to pour oil upon the troubled waters of Beech Glen, and all has become not only peaceful but harmonious.

'All this is well for the people; but how for me, who should have done this lovely work myself! I am ill at ease. * * * *

'Bertha is the true genius of Beech Glen. She sees into the souls of others. She does not wait for others to move first; but, no matter how great the wrong, her clear voice and wise counsel are freely imparted, and the evil disappears.'—*Ib.* p. 194.

We must not dwell on this fond picture of what is to be, for we are not reviewing a romance, but discussing what may be regarded as a political movement. There is, however, a comparison between the ideal women of the piece, in the shape of two portraits from the fluent pen of the hero, which, with some abridgement, are worth extracting, as exhibiting the two contrasted types of woman as she should be; the first as she is supposed to be most pleasing to the vanity of man, the other as she harmonises with the aspirations of her own sex:—

'Julia is a full beautiful woman—

"Not too wise nor good
For human nature's daily food."

She imparts a charm to the simplest thing. She breathes an atmosphere of poetry about her, a soft, lovely repose—and yet it is not repose. I would be the hero of some castle of Indolence, with her by my side, smiling and weaving melodies, and floating in curves never wearying to the senses. She multiplies my thoughts; she quickens my fancy; she gratifies my self-love. I am not sure but half the love, so called, arises from the gratification of this egotism. We love a woman, not because she is a noble or beautiful creation in herself, but because this self-love of ours receives no check through her.

'I am not miserable at the uncertainty of a return on the part of Julia, now that I stand in true relations with myself. I am sure that a nature so exquisitely sensuous as hers must cover a deep passionateness; but her character is so flexible, and her "variety" so infinite, that I grow glad in beholding her. * * * * * *

'While I thought these things, I tried to think wherein the beauty of Bertha consists, but I cannot do it. She is wondrously beautiful; but it is of a kind that recedes and shades into something so intangible to the senses, that I cannot tell how nor what it is. I would call her serene. I would say that she stands a queen in the soul of nature, not as part and parcel of her. I would say nothing could detract from her sublime self-hood. Time will but ennoble her. Sickness stands aloof and rebuked before her. Poverty cannot touch her. She is herself—she is sovereign to all that breaks down and mars the integrity of others. I recall the scene in the church, but Bertha outlives all that is hurtful. Ah! so gloriously does she bear her cross upward, that it has become a crown and sceptre. The thorn precedes the cross—the cross

presages the crown. Let me but kiss the hem of thy garment, Bertha. Let me but know that I am not contemptible in thine eyes. I follow thee afar off.'—*Ib.* pp. 179—181.

No style ever betrayed more clearly the female hand than does every page of this story; yet it joins in the general aim of the movement—or we should say of the movement's female advocates—in asserting an absolute sameness of duties, and of moral and intellectual qualities in the two sexes. Bertha is a nondescript—neither man nor woman can properly claim her; but she is designed to represent all manly excellences, and a great deal beside, and also to be *without* all strictly feminine qualities. She has no fellowship with those whom she designates as the 'household women, fair, limited, and submissive.' And from the mystic and ideal to the most matter-of-fact of the party, the same assumption and repudiation is evident. Whatever qualities have been fondly dwelt upon as the peculiar charm of woman's nature, these Amazons rudely disown for themselves, and discard for their sex.

Take, for example, the theological Grace of Faith. An inborn sentiment of devotion, an implicit uncavilling reception of divine truths, an aptness to believe, a readiness of trust, an awe and reverence of the unseen, an unquestioning surrender of the heart and affections, a spirit of self-sacrifice consequent on this realizing of things not seen as yet: these have hitherto been esteemed qualities of woman's religion, so far as she is religious. Her part has been not to argue, but to believe, and to show forth the fruits of a lively, undoubting faith, 'holy both in body and spirit.' And men, whom the necessities of controversy may force, not without risk to themselves, into an opposite course, leading them to exercise reason upon the deep things of God, and to pry into mysteries before which angels veil their faces, have thought themselves gainers by the presence among them of a simpler, intuitive, child-like faith, maintaining the calm sanctities of religion amidst those who might otherwise lose their awe of creeds and doctrines, and forget them as actuating principles in the business of investigation and defence.

But this is a position which has always been peculiarly offensive to the pretensions of this school of aspirants; and they parade the right of an independent exercise of the reason on all subjects, the most inscrutable and awful, with an audacity which is rarely found equalled in the rival sex, whom the inherited experience of many failures may teach a little reticence of expression. The foundress of this sect, in controverting the statement that woman was made for man, which she would not believe though an angel from heaven were to assure her of it, expresses herself thus:—'Having no fear of the devil before

'my eyes, I venture to call this [her disbelief] a suggestion of '*reason.*' And in her chapter on 'Duty to Parents,' she equally disregards any obligation which reason does not enforce. 'The 'absurd duty too often inculcated of obeying a parent only on 'account of his being a parent, shackles the mind, and prepares 'it for a slavish submission to any power but reason.' Margaret Fuller, a more attractive specimen of the school, discusses all questions of faith with the same air of absolute trust in her own understanding, and of superiority to every revelation, though possessing belief in certain facts in such guarded formulas as 'I believe *in my own way,*' in such and such truths. 'I will not 'loathe sects, persuasions, systems,' she says, 'though I cannot 'abide in them one moment, for I see that by most men they 'are still needed.' But we need not go on to prove a point which will be obvious enough to all who have followed us so far.

Again, modesty, as it betrays any colouring from their sex, they carefully eschew. A purity that fears contamination from the contact, or mention, or bare knowledge of evil, is with them a very weak and cowardly virtue. If it may not be put to the proof of a little rough usage, they can see no use nor purpose in it. As the authoress of the 'Remarks' expresses it, 'If 'women be as pure in nature as they are invariably repre-'sented, they will act on pollution like chloride of lime.' And again, 'Excessive timidity is not purity.' 'Children,' says Mary Wollstonecraft, 'I grant, should be innocent, but when 'the epithet is applied to men or women, it is but a civil 'term for weakness.' Margaret Fuller we find commended for having no 'false shame;' and certainly she never confined the subjects of her conversation or speculation within feminine limits. Bashfulness and shamefacedness, those graces whose livery is a blush—the whole family of timid, shrinking instincts—are affirmed or implied on all hands to be the fruits of ignorance; they are weaknesses which keep women from exercising proper control or influence in the world. They *can* have no good in them, because they fade and lose their bloom if exposed continually to the rude touch of evil. Now, the modesty which alone they will acknowledge as part of the unshackled woman's nature, is a bolder, more actively aggressive quality, haling all evil and impurity before the light of day, and the scrutiny of impartial reason; that being analyzed, and its root fully investigated, it may then, if found guilty, be judicially condemned; a process which *men*, however enlightened, cannot yet desire to be carried on at their own hearthstones.

Again, constancy has hitherto been unanimously regarded as a virtue. The only question has been which sex may lay the greatest claim to it, and women have eagerly asserted their superiority.

But these modern ladies deny that there is any superiority in the matter, and are on the whole anxious to disclaim constancy as a womanly grace or instinct. They will have men understand that they must not hope to be beloved in the new era, beyond the moment when they are regarded as the highest ideal of excellence that has yet been encountered. 'At present,' says one, 'a mistaken education, a narrow, uncultivated mind, and 'many sexual prejudices, tend to make women more constant 'than men.' Margaret Fuller, in her cool account of Made. George Sands, who is notoriously *not* constant, says—'She 'needs no defence but only to be understood, for she has bravely 'acted out her nature, and always with good intentions. She 'might have loved one man permanently, if she could have 'found one contemporary with her, who could interest and 'command her throughout her range; but there was hardly a 'possibility of that for such a person.' And we find it stated in 'Bertha,' 'we must love the highest representative of the 'ideal that comes across our path, let the former loves be what 'they may.' When Julia begins to detect that her lover's deepest heart is Bertha's, and sounds her on the subject, that sybil replies:—

'"Ah, Julia, life is very mysterious. I wait patiently for God's truth in me. I would say to my lover, if there is one in the world to awaken a higher life in thee, any angel to breathe to thee a better revelation, go; God forbid that I should be a hindrance. I would send him on from angel to archangel if I could. It is true, I may hold back the throbs of my poor anguished heart lest it break. I may breathe softly lest the heart-strings rupture—but what then? I would give him a God-speed to the very gates of heaven, though I myself sink down into some dim valley, and shed unavailing tears—tears that would scorn to call him back. He has passed *out of my sphere*, just as I *might* have passed out of his."'—*Ib.* pp. 240, 241.

To say the least of it, a very unsettling theory, and, should this school gain ground, opening an alarming vista of uncertainty in the marriage relation, to all who have not the magnanimity to believe themselves the highest ideal. Nor, alas! can we speak of these views as mere theory. Already in our own country, amongst the few, we trust, that hold them, they are bearing their natural fruits, as all theories on so vital a point must very soon do. One case of open defiance to the laws of God and man, notorious enough to have reached many of our readers, was begun and justified on the lady's part, and is persisted in by all concerned, on this identical train of reasoning. And as these several virtues are disowned, and m
in their train, such as obedience, meekness, humi
womanly glories and privileges are rejected, as i
the main end of emancipation. In claiming th

the world as their own, these women willingly resign the lesser dominion of household and home, and disparage and invade without scruple the wife's and mother's rights and office. One main end of the 'Vindication of the Rights of Women,' is to persuade them that the sentiment of warm, devoted, conjugal affection, all 'exclusive affections,' prevent women fulfilling the duties of their station with dignity, by preoccupying and narrowing the mind. Bertha takes up her abode in the house of an old dependant of her family, though fully aware how disagreeable her presence is to his wife, whose existing and valued 'rights' are thus summarily treated, while she is occupied in gaining others for her for which she had no taste or desire:—

'I spoke in this wise: "My dear Mrs. True, you mistake me altogether. I only wish to help you in thought, as well as many ways. I am quite alone in the world, and could wish to pass the rest of my life with the only person whom I have found true in his very soul, as is your husband, and he knows more of me than any person living, has been very faithful to me, and I am grateful to him beyond expression."

'As I said this the tears came to my eyes, an unwonted thing for years. Defiance took up my unlucky words—"Yes, and so you come here to make unhappiness between John and me."

'"Woman!" said I, but she went on,—

'"Yes, John thinks you're a saint on earth, though I've never seen you pray; and he thinks there's nobody like you under the sun; and so I, his lawful wife, am made to feel sneaking where you are. Oh! if it wasn't for my religion, I should die."

'The miserable petty thorn! I cried to myself. Will the world ever behold a race of women—true women, deserving the name? No wonder men are base and mischievous, nursed at such a fountain. If I could have my way, I would insist that women, now, at this moment, weak and ineffective as they are, should be admitted to all the burdens of legislative responsibility, that they might be brought to feel their lack of noble culture, and thus set themselves in earnest to amend. While these thoughts swept through my mind, and kept me silent, Defiance went on, in a sharp whining voice, uttering all sorts of absurdities.'—*Ib.* pp. 31, 32.

The sacred rights of maternity are in the same way invaded, and women are to exchange their control over their own children for a vote in the legislature.

'Bertha was right. The mother is not the best teacher to her children, in the present aspect of society. She is exhausted with the pangs of maternity. She is oppressed and servile with much bearing, as was Leah—her children fret and annoy her—whereas the teacher should be calm, cheerful, self-sustained. The child ceases to love the mother because of the perpetual interdict—the "do not" of the household law. A few generations of children, reared under the "do thou" of the new covenant, would transform the whole social aspect.'—*Ib.* p. 46.

The rights, too, of the *matron* are infringed in the same way. She is [illegible]hority over her sex. Young women are pro-[illegible]ed. Mere girls are assured that everything that *they* must look into the present laws

concerning women, with a view to a truer union between husband and wife, 'because all points connected with this 'subject are the legitimate interests of young women; it 'depends on *them* to mould public opinion on this point.' (*Remarks*, p. 15.) We need not run through the other advantages renounced in the same cause: the tenderness which is the due of those who acknowledge dependence, the immunity from many of this world's most anxious troubles, the small pleasures, the light relaxations, and gentle amenities which make home cheerful, and for which there would be no time and no patience in the new order of things: all these are sacrificed without a thought, for the sake of fighting the noisy battle of life side by side with men—doing their work, joining in their occupations, sharing their rights.

We have said that our sympathies go rather with the American portion of the present movement than with our own, a sympathy, it need hardly be explained, which belongs not to their demands, but to their existing position. It may surprise those accustomed to regard America as the land of freedom, emancipated by its newness from old-world prescriptions and vested rights, to be told that in no country of the civilised world do women occupy so subordinate a place in the institutions of their country as in America; in no country are social habits so much opposed to their legitimate influence. For ourselves, we hold that the women of America are to be pitied. In that land of absolute political equality, with the word 'liberty' for ever sounding in their ears, and where there are none of those subordinate degrees of power as in the old world, which teach all people, male and female, to be patient at exclusions of which every one has his share, they find themselves with no political existence, absolutely excluded from public affairs, their existence as part of the body politic ignored. In the perpetual pother of public interests and political agitation they keep silence; they have no voice, public or private; while 'every hearth' in England, we are told, 'is a little parliament,' and each household here is keenly and warmly interested in public events. Mr. Emerson informs us that in America 'the female politician is unknown,' and Mr. Higginson makes the same admission:—

'It is said that women are not now familiar with political affairs. Certainly they are not, for they have no stimulus to be. Give them the same motive for informing themselves, and the natural American appetite for newspapers will be developed as readily in women as in men.'—*Woman and her Wishes*, p. 19.

The history of America proper, it is true, does not include many generations, but it does great events. Surely it is the only history wherein women play no leading part, where they

have no place, where they are not named. There are women distinguished for genius and for literature; there are women of our day notorious for struggles against their insignificance of position, and for eccentric and often repulsive efforts to change this, to them, humiliating state of things; but there are no *historical* American women. There are no records of women exercising actual power, possessing popular acknowledged weight; and we much doubt if they are in the way to get it, whatever theorists and modern philosophers may say. For is not society in America too shifting and restless a scene for female influence? Are the men who are engaged in perpetual party struggles, every year, almost every day of their lives, immersed in the ups and downs of politics, and thrown *together* constantly for these purposes, in a state for the slow, gradual, insinuating influence of woman? Much is said of the superior education of American women, of the vast range of science which their teaching leads them through, of the literature with which they are early imbued, and the languages in which they become adepts. In all these points it is insinuated that they are not unfrequently superior to their husbands and their brothers. But mere acquirements, the learning that may be attained before sixteen or eighteen, bring no great moral weight with them; it is not learning only, but learning joined with something else, that brings influence. In some circles in England (more especially the mercantile middle classes), the women devote more time to education, and are much more conversant with literature, than the men; but we do not see that their influence is greater in their own society or families for this difference in their favour. Such we apprehend to be the case in a wider sphere in America. The women read Dante and Goethe, and the men are occupied in business and politics, and trouble their heads with no language but their own. The attainments of their wives and daughters bring them no nearer to sharing this real power; there is no connexion between the two ideas. Some of them see this, and are willing to sacrifice accomplishments and elegancies for a place and a name.

It is this *place* which the women of America seem to want, and for the want of which they are to be pitied. Mary Wollstonecraft raved for a democracy, and attributed all the wrongs of her sex to an hereditary monarchy. She never made a greater mistake. Democracy is essentially *against* a woman's legitimate influence. The great comedian of Athens, in his most offensive plays, the Ecclesiazusæ and Lysistrata, connects, truthfully enough, the revolt of the Attic harem with the wildest periods of political anarchy. Woman's rule, wherever we see it in due exercise, is itself a little kingdom. She has dependants and

obedient subjects for whom she makes laws, and in proportion as these are obeyed, and her rule acknowledged, does her kingdom prosper. Whether Margaret Fuller knew it or not, here lies the reason of the differences she discovers between the women of her own day and those of the old monarchical times, while her country still owned King George's sway. 'Women,' she says, 'are now taught at school all that men 'are; they run over, superficially, even *more* studies, without 'being really taught anything. When they come to the business 'of life, they find themselves inferior, and all their studies have 'not given them that practical good sense, and mother wisdom 'and wit, which grew up with our grandmothers at the spinning-'wheel.' These grandmothers *ruled* their households; but what kingdom has an American woman? where are her subjects? She married early, probably, and perhaps began her conjugal life in a boarding-house—an effectual blow to the wife's domestic authority over her husband, her first subject. But if she takes house, where are her legitimate subjects, her servants, over whom, exercising a wise and beneficent control, —not labouring but directing—constantly acting in a superior capacity, she is learning the art of power? In America women are the victims of their servants, who disown the title, and with it the subjection. She has children, but from infancy the principles of democracy and restless liberty are at work to nullify the mother's authority, or at least to remove them prematurely from it, and the whole practice of society is to make children independent of their parents.

Let us illustrate and endeavour to prove these positions from various sources. We may appeal to some prejudiced ones, but they are matters of notoriety. The system of living in boarding-houses is taken for granted in all American pictures of manners. Mrs. Trollope thus expresses herself on the effect the custom has on the domestic influence of women:—'I can hardly imagine 'a contrivance more effectual for ensuring the insignificance of 'a woman than marrying her at seventeen, and placing her in 'a boarding-house.' Then follows a history of a day at one of these places, concluding with the comment:—

'It is not thus that the women can obtain that influence in society which is allowed to them in Europe, and to which both sages and men of the world have agreed in ascribing such salutary effects. It is vain that "collegiate institutes" are formed for young ladies, or that "academic degrees" are conferred upon them. It is after marriage, when these young attempts upon all the sciences are forgotten, that the lamentable insignificance of American women appears.'—*Mrs. Trollope's America*, vol. ii. p. 80.

This lady's lively strictures upon the little influence of women on society in America are probably in the memory of our

readers; we will not therefore adduce more from her pen. Nor will they have forgotten the troubles so graphically recorded by our countrywoman arising from the independent class of '*helps*.' American writers themselves are eloquent upon the evils of the present aversion to domestic service, as derogatory to their dignity, which characterises the poorer classes in America; and from all these we gather that the ladies of that country still suffer from the same inconvenience. Mr. Theodore Parker, as a theorist, argues that in the present advanced state of science American women have an immense deal of time upon their hands unemployed, and indulges in the following comparison between past and present:—

'When all manufactures were domestic—when every garment was made at home, every web wove at home, every thread spun at home, every fleece dyed at home—when the husband provided the wool or the sheepskin, and the wife made it into a coat—when the husband brought home a sack of corn on a mule's back, and the wife pounded it in a mortar, or ground it between two stones, as in the Old Testament—then the domestic function might well consume all the time of a very able-headed woman. But now-a-days, when so much work is done abroad—when the flour-mills of Rochester and Boston take the place of the pestle and mortar, and the hand-mill of the Old Testament—when Lowell and Lawrence are two enormous Old Testament women, spinning and weaving year out and year in, day and night both—when so much of woman's work is done by the butcher and the baker, by the tailor, and the cook, and the gas-maker, and she is no longer obliged to dip or mould with her own hands every candle that "goeth not out by night," as in the Old Testament woman's housekeeping—you see how very much of woman's time is left for other functions. This will become yet more the case. Ere long, a great deal of lofty science will be applied to housekeeping, and work be done by other than human hands in the house, as out of it. And accordingly, you see that the class of women not wholly taken up by the domestic function will get larger and larger.'—*The Public Function of Woman*, pp. 8, 9.

As a theory, this is plausible. Indeed it would be true if women, freed from their household labours, were content to live on in the homely way necessary when all these cares fell upon them. But as it is human nature to rise in our desires as our facilities increase, as a taste for elegancies and luxuries will come with the wealth to obtain them, and as fashion is infectious, we find that the ambition of American ladies to equal in style of living their sisters of the old world, entails upon them the same amount of labour as before, only bestowed upon different objects, and without the same amount of help that formerly could be reckoned on. So far from its being a common idea that these labours are indeed lightened, the practical experience of a democracy tells quite a different tale. Mrs. Beecher Stowe is pathetic upon the loss of early bloom, and the ravages upon health and beauty, which the domestic toils of a modern American lady entail upon her:—

'There is one thing more which goes a long way towards the continued health of these English ladies, and therefore towards their beauty, and that is the quietude and perpetuity of their domestic institutions. They do not, like us, fade their cheeks lying awake nights, ruminating the awful question who shall do the washing next week, or who shall take the chambermaid's place who is going to be married, or that of the cook who has signified her intention of parting with the mistress. Their hospitality is never embarrassed by the consideration that the whole kitchen cabinet may desert at the moment the guests arrive. They are not obliged to choose between washing their own dishes, or having their cut-glass, silver, and china left to the mercy of a foreigner, who has never done anything but field-work. And last, not least, they are not possessed with that ambition to do the impossible in all branches, which, I believe, is the death of a third of the women in America. What is there ever read of in books, or described in foreign travel, as attained by people in possession of every means and appliance, which our women will not undertake single-handed, in spite of every providential indication to the contrary? Who is not cognisant of dinner parties invited, in which the lady of the house has figured successively as confectioner, cook, dining-room girl, and lastly, rushed up stairs to bathe her glowing cheeks, smoothe her hair, draw on satin dress and kid gloves, and appear in the drawing-room as if nothing were the matter? Certainly the undaunted bravery of our American females can never be enough admired. Other women can play gracefully the head of an establishment; but who, like them, could be head, hand, and foot all at once?'—*Sunny Memories*, p. 251.

And again, writing from Paris, where she is visiting some compatriots, and admiring the smooth waxed floors as so suited to a hot climate, she asks if they could not be introduced into America:—

'L., who is a Yankee housekeeper, answered with spirit, "No, indeed, not while the mistress of the house has everything to do as in America. I think I see myself, in addition to all my cares, on my knees waxing up one of these floors."

'"Ah," says Caroline, "the thing is better managed in Paris; the *frotteur* comes in before we are up in the morning, shod with great brushes, and dances over the floors till they shine."'—*Ibid.* p. 509.

These are her household cares, anxious, vexatious, absorbing, and yet so far undignified, that a wise woman will brood over them in secret, and say as little about them as may be. We have said that a mother's authority over her children is more short-lived in America than elsewhere, and never so stringent. For this we adduce not one book or one opinion, but the universal literature of America. Every book or story written for the instruction of young people that we have seen—and America is peculiarly prolific of these—practically ignores the mother's office, and teaches children to do without her altogether. They are all told to make themselves and each other good and wise. The mother has no hand in it. Little motherless girls, with only their own sense to guide them, are the salvation of households. They are wise, expert little women of business. They buy and sell, and conduct affairs. They are

discreet in conduct, well-informed in mind, graceful in carriage, all without a mother's training. Indeed, we cannot call to mind a single mother beyond the first few pages of an American child's book, unless she happen to be an unwise one, whom the child has to reform. Jacob Abbot, author of 'The Mother at Home,' has lately written a series of children's books, 'The Franconia Stories,' all based on this motherless principle of showing children how they are to train *one another*. Some of the children must have parents, but they never seem to presume to exercise any control, and the children do perfectly well without it. The parental office might seem a superfluity; and it *cannot* play the same part, it cannot fill the general mind, in a society whose literature makes this grand omission, as it does with us; and besides, the fact of the early dispersion and independence of the sons, and early marriage of the daughters, would necessarily and without design conduce to the same unfavourable results. In both cases the mother has lost her charge, and sinks in importance.

Judging, then, not from observation, but from general report and from all these data, we see that the social position of American women is not as noble and dignified as it ought to be, and that those who desire a change have some plea; though we believe the remedies they propose are neither practicable in any large sense, nor tolerable if they were.

It is not a little agreeable to our patriotism to perceive the envy with which our institutions are regarded by these candidates for emancipation. We have queens, regents, peeresses. They have hunted through our archives, and find that women *may* be anything with us, and bring to light facts which we certainly did not know to be such before. In more than one document it is stated that women in England may be parish clerks; and it gives no small idea of the eagerness for office amongst our fair neighbours, that this apocryphal distinction should be so coveted and dwelt on. The following list, gallantly collected by Mr. Higginson, may, perhaps, open a new view of their privileges to the ladies whom we hope to class among our readers:—

'In England, "in a reported case, it is stated by counsel, and substantially assented to by the court, that a woman is capable of serving in almost all the offices of the kingdom; such as those of queen, marshal, grand chamberlain, and constable of England, the champion of England, commissioner of sewers, governor of a workhouse, sexton [parish clerk], keeper of the prison, of the gate-house of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, returning officer for members of Parliament, and constable, the latter of which is in some respects judicial. The office of gaoler is frequently exercised by a woman."'—*Woman and her Wishes*, p. 12.

Going on to cite examples of noble dames in our chronicles,

who were champions, judges, sheriffs, grand chamberlains, returned members to Parliament, and gloriously did what they pleased; while, in America, it is pathetically proved that their public documents forget the existence of the sex altogether. An able commentator on American institutions remarks,—'In the 'Free States, except criminals and paupers, *there is no class of* '*persons* who do not exercise the elective franchise. Women are 'not even a *class of persons;* they are fairly dropped from the 'human race.'

We have stigmatized democracy as a form of government opposed to the influence of women: we believe Puritanism to be not less so. Queen Elizabeth felt this, and kept it down. Knox set himself against the 'monstrous regimen of women.' Milton struck a blow, in his character of Eve, at the intellectual pretensions of the sex, and made her, even in Paradise, an inferior creature, a 'fair defect;' and for a hundred years and more this epithet expresses the universal sentiment; veiled in the tender monitory gallantry of the *Spectator*, more scornfully and openly avowed by the poets, novelists, dramatists, and humourists of that age, and borne with apathetic submission by the sex itself, content with the extravagant homage paid to their beauty, and apparently resigning themselves for this equivalent to the reproach of frivolity, vanity, lowness of aim, and weakness of purpose. As far as the literature of an age shows its spirit, never was woman's state and consequence in a Christian country at a lower ebb than in the eighteenth century. All their advisers—the moralists who devoted themselves to their amendment—thought another and inferior set of motives necessary for their very subordinate place and intellect, than were offered to men. Women were not to be influenced by a frank love of right and hatred of wrong, but by a code of lower morals, involving artifice, concealment, suppressions; and unscrupulously recommending selfish interest and a desire for conquest as motives of action. When Mary Wollstonecraft denounces this class of teachers, she carries our sympathies wholly with her. It is incredible to our ears by what low inducements the preachers and teachers of that age sought to win women to a love of virtue. Fordyce's Sermons formed part of every young woman's library. There he addresses his country women, 'smiling innocents,' 'beauteous innocents,' 'the British fair, the fairest of the fair,' recommending them to the practice of piety by such persuasions as these: 'Never, perhaps, 'does a fine woman strike more deeply than when, composed 'into pious recollection, and possessed with the noblest considera-'tions, she assumes without knowing it, superior dignity and 'new graces; so that the beauties of holiness seem to radiate '*about her,* and the bystanders are almost induced to fancy her

'already worshipping amongst her kindred angels.' This same divine also tells his fair and youthful disciples—for it is evident he would own to no other—to regulate their health and physical development solely with a view to what is admired by the opposite sex. 'Men of sensibility desire in every woman soft fea-'tures and a flowing voice, a form not robust, a demeanour 'delicate and gentle.' Such passages as these reconcile us very cheerfully to the use assigned to this moralist in the 'Rivals,' where Lydia Languish is preparing her room for company:—

'So so, now lay Mrs. Chapone in sight, and leave Fordyce's Sermons open on the table.'

'*Lucy.* O burn it, Madam; the hair-dresser has torn away as far as Proper Pride.

'*Lydia.* Never mind—open at Sobriety.'

Dr. Gregory, in his Legacy to his Daughters, advises them: 'Be ever cautious in displaying your good sense. It will be 'thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. 'But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound 'secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a 'jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a 'cultivated understanding.' On which we find this just comment: 'If men of real merit,' as he afterwards observes, 'are 'superior to this meanness, where is the necessity that the 'behaviour of the whole sex should be modulated to please 'fools?' But this was a level to which women were deliberately condemned, though they are consoled by the assurance that 'the 'power of a fine woman over the hearts of men, and of men of 'the finest parts, is even beyond what she can conceive.' This 'power,' not over herself but *man*, is the great aim set forth; for this every art and dissimulation was to be practised, for this woman was always to *seem* to be something different from what it was her nature to be. Rousseau followed in the same track. The celebrated women of the day took up the strain—Mrs. Piozzi, Madame de Stael, Madame de Genlis. 'Maiden meditation fancy free,' 'the step of virgin liberty,' were charms not appreciated by that narrow, trifling, and artificial generation; and though, doubtless, innumerable women were doing their duty in all dignity and simplicity because it *was* their duty, yet the historical aspect of the women of the period was universally tinctured and lowered by these debasing motives of action.

Puritanism and the licence that succeeded it were alike opposed to the sex's just influence; but the earlier ages of Christianity were free from this jealousy. Then high motives were acknowledged, though they might be mistaken ones, and women were allowed a sphere independent of man, and were reverenced in it. Men never talked of 'woman's rights,' it is true, but

wherever they saw zeal and power working in a sacred cause, they owned the inspiration, and submitted as willingly to a woman's guidance as to a man's, if they were satisfied only that the impulse came from on high. Their poets delighted in the embodying of courage, wisdom, strength, and power, in woman's form. In chivalry, their knights endured defeat from a feminine hand. Proud barons submitted themselves to a woman's rule, and female saints were accepted by the Church as guides and teachers.

We can well imagine a sentiment of envy amongst the Theresas and Britomarts, the 'great Matildas' of the new world, as they survey the position of great-minded women in the despised dark ages and its abhorred feudal system. These women by no self-assertion, only because greatness was acknowledged as a heaven-sent gift peculiar to neither sex though modified by it, attained a place which these female aspirants pant and strive for in vain. When will the Church yield *them such* homage? when will *their* decisions be received by men with such submission as we find accorded to a mediæval saint?—

'What dignity of rank, what eminence of genius, what pride of learning, did not yield lowly and devout homage to the meek Hildegard? Pope Anastasius writes to her, his beloved daughter in Christ, to beseech her prayers and those of her sisters on the mountain of S. Robert, near Bingen. Pope Adrian writes to her to confirm her in her good resolutions unto the end. Pope Eugene and Alexander the Third also wrote to her. Arnold, Archbishop of Mayence, writes to her, the devout virgin and abbess, not doubting the gifts of God, and asking her prayers, that by their assistance his days may pass in the fear and love of his Creator. A multitude of Bishops from all countries, even from Jerusalem, as also the innumerable monks, philosophers, and learned masters from Italy and France, wrote to her in terms of humility, begging her prayers, and desiring to have the consolation of her mystic and angelic salutations; to whom her answers breathe a solemn strain of prophetic counsel, which announce in no disguised tone the need of amendment in which some of them stood. Thus to Arnold Archbishop of Mayence, she says: "Wherefore do you hide your face from God, as if in perturbation of your angry mind? For I do not offer mystical words from myself, but according to what I behold in that living light; so that often what I desire, and what my will does not seek, is shown to me in a manner which constrains me to see it." Her answers are always received in a spirit of humility and penitence. Rudolph, the Bishop of Liege, writes to her as follows: "In great distress of mind and body I have desired to write to you, because I greatly need the clemency of God, whom I acknowledge I have offended and irritated by innumerable evils. Therefore, beloved sister, since I know that God is truly with you, I beseech your sanctity by His mercy to stretch out a hand to me in this distress. Be it your care by devout prayers to withdraw me from negligence, and in answer to me write whatever has been shown to you from that unfailing and living light, to awaken my sleep. May the most merciful God grant that I may receive consolation from your writings, and that by the help of your intercession I may attain to the last mansion of eternal quiet!'—*Ages of Faith*, book viii. p. 63.

Even without the higher gifts of S. Hildegard, a pious woman some thousand years ago had only to cause her confessor to brick her up in her cell in some populous place, leaving her no outlet upon the world than her small window; and to this window would flock the devout of every sex and condition, to receive her instructions, to profit by her teaching, and to emulate her example, with a deference which Dr. Antoinette Brown might hope for in vain in all her circuits of preaching. It is true that the mediæval confessor in one case of this practice suffered death from the Huns, which shows at first sight an advantage on the side of the modern Doctor, till we reflect that, beyond all doubt, deriding Huns are not wanting from her congregations, vexing her spirit without procuring her the glory of canonization after her decease.

The modern school are, as a body, *esprits forts;* yet it is alone on the principle of faith that women can ever obtain this coveted respect and wider field. The male dictum which so offended the ladies of Syracuse, that the 'physical element rules the world,' will universally prevail where the higher principle is not acknowledged. But women have always been allowed an unlimited range of action; no work, no honours have been deemed unsuited for or above them, where men have recognised in them, whether rightly or wrongly, evidences of an inspiration, an express *call,* or even the lower inspiration of genius, in admiration of which we find the universities of the middle ages pressing their honours upon distinguished women.

'Who can enter the solemn halls of Padua,' writes Mr. Kenelm Digby, 'without being reminded of Helena Piscopia 'Cornaro, that fair, illustrious, and holy woman, clad in the 'habit of S. Benedict, who possessed a perfect knowledge of the 'Spanish, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic lan-'guages, who was a poet, theologian, an astronomer, and who 'was admitted doctor in philosophy in that university? It was 'in obedience to the will of her father, in whose house she 'resided, though always wearing the monastic habit, that she 'consented to this act, which by its publicity and singularity 'wounded her exquisite sense of what belonged to the retiring 'modesty of her sex!' 'All ordinary kinds of glory have been 'reaped by our family,' said her father; 'nothing remains but 'this surpassing honour, which shall be ours on your compliance.' 'I obey you,' replied the saintly daughter, 'but I feel that it is 'making the sacrifice of my life.'—(*Ages of Faith*, vol. vi. p. 76.) Celebrated men from all parts of Italy assembled to hear the exercises attendant on these ceremonies, which Helena accomplished to the delight and astonishment of all present; but her words proved prophetic, she died after receiving the laurel crown.

In our own less impulsive age it is the same; amongst those,

at least, not tied down by either of the jealous principles we have mentioned. For Puritanism still shows its original bias in denouncing any departure in women for any purpose from the ordinary routine of domestic duty, even though it be to shield the orphan or to tend the wounded and the dying. But to men obeying their natural impulses, there is still a glory and a fascination round woman's heroism, genius, or self-devotion, as having in them something heaven-born and divine. Doubtless there are broad distinctions between this state of feeling and that recognition of *equality of sphere* demanded from mankind by these propagandists. It is *because* they are exceptional, and therefore indicative of some sacred or extraordinary influence, that men's enthusiasm is roused by unusual displays of energy and power in women; and success must crown these unusual efforts (as evidences, as it were, of a mission), to justify the effort being made. A woman who undertakes a man's office and fails in it, who gives up her own retired sphere to bungle in a public one, will have no sympathy from *any* class of men. Such as seem to encourage them now for their own purposes appeal to these exceptional cases, affecting to assume that they will become common ones; but impartial minds have intuitive perceptions on the subject, against which all the battery of the most elaborate theory thunders in vain.

And this natural sentiment of mankind is supported by that 'appeal to the Bible,' of which the ladies of the Convention were so apprehensive. Ranging through various dispensations and modes of life, as a simple record, as legislating, instructing, admonishing; the subordination in which their physical inferiority places women, and which is universally taken for granted, is never in the Sacred Page assumed as an argument against freedom of thought, independence of action, or the highest efforts of heroic daring. Milton's Eve is certainly no embodiment of womanhood as we find it pictured in the Bible. The good wife there has 'claims' which she will not forego, and which the husband is divinely taught to submit himself to. 'In all that Sarah hath said unto thee hearken unto her voice,' are words which convince us that the wives of those patriarchal times held no timid or uncertain place in the social economy, that their rights were clearly defined and universally acknowledged. Nor do we find in the ages when angels conversed with men, that women were either excluded, or excluded themselves, from that high intercourse, after the pattern of her whom the poet of Democracy and Puritanism sets forth for the example of her sex, and who left the presence of Raphael, because

> 'Her husband the relater she preferr'd
> Before the angel, and of him to ask
> Chose rather.'

On the contrary, it would seem they were sometimes chosen to receive supernatural communications rather than men, from some superior fitness in themselves for the revelation, apparently for a simplicity of faith which preserved them from servile mortal fear. As where Manoah's wife has to encourage and strengthen her husband by arguments against which his terror had blinded him: for he had said to her,—

'We shall surely die, because we have seen God. But his wife said to him, If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would he have showed us all these things, nor would as at this time have showed us such things as these.'

Nor were all the godly women of old formed in one mould of 'soft attractive grace;' they had individual characteristics as sharply defined and varied as men. They did not say to their husbands,—

'God is thy law, thou mine,'

but felt personal responsibility. If needs were they 'put themselves forward,' as the phrase now runs, and did a man's work when called to it, wisely and effectually. But powers thus vigorously exercised and acknowledged on all hands, never inspired them with any ambition permanently to change or even enlarge their sphere. They did not despise their appropriate work because they could succeed, and were even occasionally divinely appointed to labour beyond it. Under the Gospel dispensation, however, there may not unlikely have been dawnings of another spirit. S. Paul's sharp admonitions to the Corinthian women seem to indicate this. Born in the bondage and subservience of heathenism, and suddenly admitted to the liberty of Christ, it would appear the female converts in the first rapture of emancipation were disposed, as all enthusiasts are, to disregard the teaching of nature, and to assume permanently and as a right a place in the Church for which their sex unfitted them: and by this assumption gave cause for the stringent and repressive enactments which have since guided the Church, as the most direct legislation on the subject which the Bible furnishes. It was when the gifts of the Spirit were most freely poured out, and sex and condition seemed alike disregarded in these miraculous dispensations, that men needed to be taught anew the sacredness of the primary laws of our being, and that the moral teaching of nature was as much the will of God, and as such to be our rule and standard, as the visible workings of His power; that the new dispensation was to be interpreted by the old, and that, whatever might appear to those dazzled by the present glories, there was no real contradiction possible between the two.

And here we seem brought down to the question of the

practical use of the present inquiry, which, as far as we are concerned, is simply to ascertain how far these primary laws and subsequent dispensations, how far the teaching of nature and grace, are followed out in the present social condition of one half of the human race, seeking to confine the subject to our own country, as being the scene of our especial interest and knowledge. The complainants appeal to certain rights which they consider themselves to have as possessing certain faculties and aspirations; they acknowledge no natural subordination and no laws of sex, only the dictates of unassisted reason, and, what is termed, the law of each separate person's being—an expression too often in its application interpretable into a privilege inherent in every individual to obey the instincts of a fallen nature whatever they may be; a theory, of course, subversive of all morality, and striking at the root of social order. We, on the contrary, as believers in God's Word, acknowledge an external law, approved, it is true, by our highest reason, but not subject to its decisions, a law which we are bound to obey because it is written with the finger of God upon our consciences, and because our nature is so created that true happiness depends on the obedience; and we believe in a Revelation which not only instructs us in the history of our human nature, but dictates the spirit in which we are to receive its communication, not allowing cavil or question. To us so believing, the word 'rights,' as belonging to any human being, is apt to sound arrogant; not, of course, that we would deny that men have rights relatively to one another—no truth is more certain or more important; the denial of it is the basis of all tyranny. But in the sense in which the word is used, it is carried beyond this social idea, and seems to constitute a claim not only upon man, but upon God, to whom we owe *duties*, but can make no demands. And, in fact, the persons who adopt the word as their cry, do as a body refuse the appeal to the written word and divine ordinances, except that which they hold most divine and alone unanswerable—the conclusions of their own reason. Thus, before we know what the rights claimed are we are disposed to suspect them, from the spirit of defiance to all authority, human and divine, with which they are started; and the conduct of the inquiry does little to allay our suspicions. It is heady and highminded, disparaging woman's more obvious sphere, despising and even vituperating such of the sex as will not join the ranks of the disaffected, and the whole tone in violent contradiction of that spirit which men have agreed to reverence and admire as their ideal of feminine goodness.

But when we see persons acting against their nature, and in opposition to what we have hitherto supposed their characteristics —when we thus, for instance, find women departing from their

ordinary rules of conduct, and exchanging that conservative practical good sense which we have always thought a feminine attribute, for the new, untried ground of theory, for extravagant assumption, and argument founded on abstract reasoning, it becomes necessary to inquire into the causes of the phenomenon, and to ascertain, before we apply indiscriminate blame, whether there may not be some social injustice pressing hard on certain tempers—some fault of position giving reasonable ground of dissatisfaction, and perhaps at the root of these discontents. That such social injustice does exist in America, depriving woman of her natural weight and influence, we have endeavoured to show while adducing local causes for the evil; may there not be errors in our social economy, producing, though in a less degree, unfavourable results?

The party in England have published (as furnishing arguments for their cause) 'a brief summary of the English laws concerning women,' showing especially the loss of all independent rights of person or property suffered by the *wife*. It is the married woman who, according to this view, is the victim of injustice. She ceases to exist, and great point is laid on this legal disappearance from the human family, this absorption into another stronger being, as though a degradation of which the victim must be always conscious. We are far from denying that where the husband grossly fails in his duty, and casts aside all respects, he is enabled to play the tyrant to terrible purpose, and yet keep within the limits of the law. Something has been done to protect women of the lowest class from a husband's brutality; something has no doubt still to be done to relieve women in a higher position from this worst of all oppressions. But no man can ill-use his wife and retain his place in public estimation; he cannot make his wife miserable without, at the same time, himself being held contemptible or odious. Public opinion is dead against him. No impartial observer of English society can say that the position of the English wife is affected by these exceptional cases, or show that anything is wanting as a general rule to her dignity, honour, or happiness. No other country can be pointed out, where woman, including in herself the offices of wife, mother, mistress, and director of social intercourse, has a nobler sphere for the exercise of her faculties, or stands higher in the respect of mankind.

According, however, to those legal tests of woman's position, that of the unmarried woman is the most satisfactory. 'A woman 'of twenty-one becomes an independent human creature, capable 'of holding and administering property to any amount; or if she 'can earn money, she may appropriate her earnings freely to any 'purpose she thinks good. Her father has no power over her or

'her property. But if she unites herself to a man, the law im-
'mediately steps in, and she finds herself legislated for, and her
'condition of life suddenly and entirely changed. Whatever age
'she may be of, she is again considered an infant—she is again
'under *reasonable restraint.* She loses her separate existence,
'and is merged in that of her husband.' All this is true enough, but there are laws of feeling prior to laws of the land; and it is by those natural estimates that the question of the most aggrieved is truly decided; and we believe, whatever quarrel may be found against certain laws, that the real blame of what is amiss rests with public opinion, and that the sufferers are not the married, on whom our enactments are supposed to press so hard, but these same independent and comparatively free single women. Women always have been, and, it is no bold prophecy to say, they always will be, more dependent on public opinion than men; and this great power does certainly interfere to depress single women as a class, and withhold them from a free, natural development into usefulness and honour. The term applied to them is one of disparagement, from which too many women have shrunk, and sacrificed all that was best worth living for, from dread of being called an old maid. This is an old tale, and a very trite complaint; but a name would not have the influence it is acknowledged on all hands to have, did not public opinion contribute to the formation of the character it holds up to derision, by condemning women of mature age, if they would keep their station to a life of indolence.

One difference between male and female nature is a natural love in women for occupation: we do not say hard or repulsive labour, but *work.* The curse upon labour was not spoken to them, and this immunity—if we may call it so—is typified in the different uses by the two sexes of this very word. A woman's 'work' is her pleasure, her refreshment, without which her most unrestrained hours would miss some of their charm. She applies it to light, easy, manual occupation. A man's 'work' is his duty, the sweat of his brow. *His* repose comes after it is over. Thus, even an industrious man spends some hours of every day doing nothing; his *wife* finds something for her hands to do all the day long. In youth and girlhood this necessity finds ample indulgence in light, graceful employments; in the cultivation of accomplishments—even, it may be, in what so disgusted the high-minded American young lady, 'making pretty things' for herself and her friends to wear. Then commonly comes marriage, and the more responsible occupations of mature life succeed naturally, leaving no void. But if a woman does not marry, the time comes when accomplishments are acquired, or given up, when they cease to be a pursuit filling much time,

when light employments lose some of their grace, when 'pretty things to wear' should not occupy the mind of the wearer, when graver cares and weightier occupations would become her well; and from these public opinion, with one or two exceptions, debars her. She is expected and required to tend the sick and feeble amongst her own relations; the task 'to smoothe the pillow of declining age' is hers, and she may devote her energies to the poor, and she is happy and honoured in both these occupations; but beyond them she cannot employ herself in practical absorbing employment, without losing caste. Even if she be comparatively poor, in narrow circumstances, her family would rather she continued the prey of little cares, and be forced all her life to small shifts, than that by any occupation, even that of tuition, she enlarged her income. Any occupation, in trade or official service, such as her brothers pursue, would sink her in the social scale. If she would stand well with her acquaintance, and be acknowledged by them, she must not attempt to earn money. Whatever her energies or capabilities, she would better please her relations, those on whom her comfort depends and her affections rest, by remaining inactive, than by turning them to any profitable account. Literature may be held an exception; but it can neither be regarded seriously as a *paying* occupation, nor thought of simply as something to do without more express qualifications. Thus, that industry which we have spoken of as a feminine characteristic, is denied free action, or left to prey upon itself. And all personal peculiarities, which a busy life would keep under just as the cares of married life keep them under, are left to develop, and become unpleasing exaggerations in uncongenial leisure. This is an evil—if it be granted to be an evil—which no laws can remove. Any change must be gradual. It is difficult even to those most alive to it to propose a remedy; for society is so complicated a body, every detail of it so depending on every other, that changes in it always seem practical impossibilities. Yet the fact of a class of intelligent human beings condemned to inactivity in a busy community—not because their nature chooses idleness, nor because society fosters and respects them for it, but because gentility requires this self-immolation—is at least a just subject for speculation and inquiry. The question of nunneries, sisterhoods, and the like, is not relevant here. These imply a vocation which few can be supposed to have, and society would indeed be a loser if its best, most self-devoted, able, genial single women, were withdrawn from their natural sphere, and collected into compact organized bodies. Nor does what we say apply to *rich* persons. Money always secures respect enough, and, what is better for this argument, it gives some-

thing to do. A single woman of independent fortune has a place in society, and may be an important and influential member of it. We are speaking for that class, be it large or small, whom we need not further define, towards which society has always been most hard and unsympathising, and who are legislated for in its parliament without being allowed representatives or a voice.

We need scarcely say we are not advocating for ladies, single or otherwise, an admission to the learned professions. We do not desire to see them preachers, doctors, or lawyers; indeed, our own sex furnishes more than enough in all these departments, and the principle of self-defence comes in. We cannot doubt, however, that society might be so organized, with a view to the capabilities and powers of its members, as to find suitable employment for all. Nor are we bound to believe any acknowledged evil necessary, because we cannot suggest a sure remedy.

The heaviest complaints of oppression, however,—to return to the grievances which form our subject—are made on the condition of *married* women. The law does not forbid spinsters earning money, nor keeping it when earned; but in the other case the wife earns money, it is said, for the husband to spend. The law will not allow her a separate purse. She has nothing, and can have nothing, of her own; and cases of great hardship are adduced, both in England and America, where a woman's hard-won money supports the husband in disgraceful extravagance. All these evils are laid to the blame of the *law*. But does the law do more than acknowledge that great primary law of the marriage state, 'they twain shall be one flesh?'—and could it interfere and make provision for imprudent, ill-advised, and worldly marriages, and secure the wife from the natural consequences of a bad choice, whether made *for* her or *by* herself, wilfully or in ignorance, without weakening the strength of that most sacred tie in all cases, and impairing the impression of unity of interests, so essential to perfect unity of thought and feeling? No law can prevent an unfortunate marriage being the utmost evil that can befal a woman, though it could certainly mitigate some of its consequences. But the knowledge of a careful protection, by the law, of pecuniary interests, might encourage recklessness of choice, and might also remove some salutary checks on the indulgence of temper, discontent, and the whole train of matrimonial miseries. Other countries are adduced—France, Turkey, Hungary—where the laws of property are much more in favour of the wife; but we believe facts would fully show that in those countries marriages are neither so happy nor the wife so honoured and so secure as

in our own. But leaving the question of the disposition of inherited property, great point is made, as we have said, of the right of married women to the uncontrolled use of their own earnings, on the supposition that women of the higher classes might find time, in addition to their household cares, to pursue some regular employment or profession. Mr. Parker especially instances *preaching* and the practice of medicine as suitable occupations for the mistress of a family. And other American authorities are rejoicing that the law has its female advocates. These peculiar pursuits sound as yet impossible extremes to English ears; but they are some amongst many means of earning money; and it is on this pecuniary ground alone that we now object to the suggestion. We believe that any additional encouragement to married women to devote themselves to earning money would be an evil.

It is very well for men intent on a theory to suppose, that because in some things the labours of women are lightened, therefore the mother and mistress of a family has indefinitely more time at her command than was formerly the case. We assert confidently, with no fear of contradiction from any competent to judge, that there is now, as there always has been, and we doubt not always will be, occupation for all the best energies of even a gifted woman in the due performance of her conjugal, maternal, household, and social duties; and also that no household is conducted as well as it might and ought to be, where a woman's best powers are not devoted to her husband, her children, and her home. We say her *best* powers—all that is most choice, gifted, and original. If there is any part of herself that she withholds from these claimants, and devotes to some other purpose; if there is any channel for exertion and display for which she circumscribes and curtails her home efforts; if she is ever tempted to keep her *second best* for home, in order to lavish her affluence and freshness elsewhere, to weary herself in another service, and bestow only her worn-out energies on this smaller scene; if she ever suffers other spheres of so-called duty to interfere with the highest excellence she is capable of in these primary obligations; or if she allow talent and genius to tempt her into regarding as drudgery the work nature and Heaven have laid out for her,—she betrays her trust, and errs fatally in that very article of duty most paramount and essential. And what a temptation to this error does the suggestion of an independent calling and separate interests offer! No doubt talent and genius, power of any kind, are designed for as wide a field as they can occupy, without forsaking this central point of home; and cases of gifted women will occur to every one, who have furthered the interests of their family while benefiting

a wider circle; but these must always be exceptions, and a woman's home concerns so entirely spread over her time that there must always be some danger of occupations wholly distinct, isolating and detaching her from them. For these '*home* concerns' take a wide range, extending with the rank and position, not to speak of what are most commonly understood by maternal and household duties; the wife is the regulator of social intercourse; the small cares of society devolve upon her; she has to cultivate acquaintances and to cement friendships, for her husband's present enjoyment, and her children's future benefit. She is also her husband's almoner; the poor of her own parish or near neighbourhood should be personally known to her, for she cannot help them wisely without a knowledge of their character and circumstances; and when all these daily duties are attended to, we ask Mr. Parker where is the time for writing her Sunday sermons or visiting her patients, and are these to be her first consideration or her second? One or other, we venture to say, must go to the wall. Of the two it had certainly better be the sermon; but in reality we suspect that, in most cases, the public ministrations would gain the day. Seriously, in the perfect theory of a family the wife ought to have nothing to do with earning money. We know that in an imperfect state of things no perfect theory can be carried out, and we are quite willing to allow that in innumerable cases this ideal perfection must be abandoned; but we feel *certain* that in every model family that at this moment occurs to our readers, of whatever class, the wife is not what is called the bread-winner,—she has nothing whatever to do with this department. She is the economist, the wise dispenser, the manager, the money-spender of the family; and whenever she gives up these important offices to be merely one of the providers, she gives up her headship, and sinks into an inferior and less responsible office.

We have already touched upon the danger of the new system in the intellectual classes. But the poor may be supposed under a different law, and certainly where the rate of wages is too low, women do seem sometimes compelled to degenerate from managers into labourers. But, even here, the advantage we believe to be in most instances doubtful, and half her wages lost in the confusion and waste that reigns at home. In manufacturing districts, where the wages are higher, this is visibly the case. How many of the instances of deformity and disease amongst children may be traced to their mothers' having left them to the care of others while they went to work! and even where she has her work at home we have seen similar ill consequences, especially in sedentary employments, in which the children can take no part, and are only in the way. The monotony of

manual labour, allowing the mind to range off in dreams or mere vacuity, is preferred to the mental effort continually required to observe punctuality, and to keep things in order. The meals are neglected—the children sent out of doors to find companions in the street—the daughters left to follow their own devices—unswept, unwashed, unmended house, and household in perpetual confusion and discomfort: it is at this sacrifice that a few additional shillings are added weekly by the wife to the family income.

Our argument, then, leads to the conclusion that married women, at least, have their duties prescribed to them too numerous and arduous to admit of their interference in another sphere, as a rule of ordinary practice. Nor can it be denied that this admssion throws another difficulty in the way of that wider field of occupation we would desire to see opened to women leading a single life. As marriage is a providential arrangement, it is not desirable that young women should settle the question for themselves, whether they shall marry or not, as the indignant daughters of Young America are disposed to do, when called upon not to be heroines but mothers of heroes; nor would previous settlement have any weight against inclination, when the moment for decision came. No calling then needing a special education, and involving such expenses as the settlement of sons require, would ever obtain the consent of a father, who would infallibly prefer, as mankind is constituted, seeing his daughter established in advantageous marriage, than in the solitary practice of some business or other calling, however adapted to be a woman's pursuit.

The other demand universally made by these advocates of progress is for political power—especially, and as a preliminary, the right of voting at elections. Many plausible things may be and are said on this point, such as that the noblest woman has no voice in the state, while drunken freemen decide many an election, and so forth, triumphantly repeating the argument, that thousands of women who are denied all legislative rights are better informed on the questions at issue than those who really decide them. But, in fact, the question is not to be considered under this intellectual test, but under those primary laws of a division of labour and duties between the sexes to which we have appealed. We believe that our women have great political influence as it is, and that they would not, in fact, increase it by the right of voting being imposed upon them; for that it would be an imposition upon the majority we are convinced. It is a fallacy to say, as these people do, no woman would be *obliged* to vote, for a right always involves a duty; and if, as the movement evidently supposes, the con-

servative class of women refused the responsibility, and the agitators availed themselves of it, all power would be thrown at once into their hands, which must by no means be allowed, and there would infallibly ensue social and public disturbance, excitement, and female contentions, open to the ridicule of brother electors, and grievous to the taste and principles of the more feminine politicians, who are used to express their opinions and to receive deference for them in private, but who would find no fair arena for the exercise of their judgment in the tumult of men and men-like women, who would carry all before them, and alone be heard in large public assemblies. We do but touch, however, on this part of the subject, as our institutions are on no side considered ripe for this innovation, and at present the arguments against it reign in most minds of either sex undisturbed by doubt or question.

One topic, which might seem to bear on the present inquiry, we have not referred to, though of more general and practical interest than any balancing of theoretical rights or claims can be—we mean the existing laws of Divorce. But as these now stand, it is especially a man's question, and the aspect of the question has no exclusively feminine side, and we therefore do not enlarge further upon it here.

Our remarks have followed a devious course, and we fear have not assumed a very practical bearing. But it has not been our design to treat the matter *ex cathedra*, or to utter any stern assertion of our old-fashioned principles, which we have in fact supposed to be too universally shared by our readers to be necessary. This feminine movement is but one of the many questions on which the believers in progress and perfectibility will always be at issue with those who, following the Preacher, see nothing new under the sun, but the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; a conviction which, once firmly established in the mind, is so sustained and borne out by individual experience, that all opposite speculations will ever appear baseless visions. Yet, in some sense, the two contradictory views are to be reconciled. That which is done is indeed that which shall be done; and yet there is such a thing as progress. Man in himself remains the same in his nature, in his weakness, in his desires, in his joys and sorrows, in his trials and alleviations, in his brief life of small and, for the most part, insignificant cares and doings, whereby he is to prepare himself for a great future immortal existence. Yet society, of which he forms a part, all the while advances, the arts of life develop, opinion takes a higher stand. We should feel to have gone back and suffered loss in the moral atmosphere of fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand years ago; and yet this advanced public opinion does not really

elevate the inmost heart and conscience above the evil thoughts and low aims, which have tempted and will tempt man to sin and his soul's loss, generation after generation, from the deluge to the final day. So, again, the marvellous show of social and intellectual progress is alike compatible with a stationary measure of real intelligence in the aggregate of civilized men. The masses will still be dependent on the world's great thinkers and inventors, obeying their impulses, the mere instruments to further their ends and carry out their designs; toiling at another's bidding, thinking the thoughts that have been suggested to them, acquiescing passively in discovery after discovery, and being themselves but partially and remotely affected by them. Though science brings the ends of the earth together, and multiplies production a thousand-fold—under the sun there will still be labour of arm, mechanical toil, wrought in the sweat of man's brow to sustain life; and under this universal law and necessity the *nature* of the toil, and the instruments employed, sink into insignificance, as matter must always do in comparison with man that wields it to his purposes. And if progress leaves *men* so much as it found them, does not the analogy apply to woman also? If man's nature has its bounds that it cannot pass, if his lot is fixed and certain, though knowledge increase and strive to emancipate him, can woman subvert her six thousand years' destiny, and take upon herself a new course, new duties, and another sphere? Two pictures are set before us of the last days by Him who took upon Him our nature, and both distinctly express the continuance of man and woman in their appointed place, the same at the end of the world as at the beginning. Then, as in the days of Noe, men 'shall marry,' and women *be given* 'in marriage,' submitting to be ruled; and then as now man's scene of labour shall be the field, the outer world, and woman's the dwelling, making ready and dispensing what his toil provides. Happy both, equally blessed, if they so accomplish their appointed tasks as to be 'taken' to an eternity of nobler employment, where no lofty aspiration of either shall remain unsatisfied!

ART. II.—1. *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law.* London: Sweet. [9th Edit.]

2.—*A Sermon preached before the House of Lords, March 21st,* 1855. By WALTER KERR HAMILTON, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. London: Spottiswoode.

WE think that very few, except the most resolute and ignorant of the Dissenters, will deny that, taken as a whole, the Clergy of England are a useful and deserving class, whose secular interests are entitled to their fair share of common justice. Even those persons who may not have been accustomed, by early associations, to venerate them in their sacerdotal character, or to regard the Church of England and Ireland as entrusted with a power of the keys, may yet look on the Church and the Clergy with very considerable respect, as forming one of the most ancient and widely extended religious institutions of the country.

The milder class of dissenters, especially in rural districts; and even more inveterate schismatics; in the times of sickness and poverty, would sincerely regret to see the parochial Clergy as a body disappear from before them. They may indulge at present their nonconforming tendencies without let or hindrance, and revel in the occasional amusement of setting at nought the clergyman of the parish; but if the Church and the clergyman no longer existed, the whole zest and pleasure of the thing would be gone, inasmuch as there would be nothing to separate themselves from, nothing with which they might refuse to conform. What resources would they have in their moments of distress, either temporal or spiritual, when the imperfect systems of their own religious constitution failed them, in the many religious offices which even they respect and adhere to? The Clergy of this country are everywhere the leaders, and, in rural districts almost exclusively, the promoters of education, as well as the great payers for it also. Without being generally eminent in science or literature, they yet furnish individuals most distinguished in both, and are as a body the chief representatives, in their respective localities, of all that civilizes and refines; especially in days when the influential laity no longer live on their estates, or make themselves public characters by mixing freely and without reserve among their dependents and neighbours, even during the brief visits with which they may honour the hereditary mansion. As for the learned professions of law and physic, they accomplish something, no doubt, in diffusing men of education throughout the country; but, of the former class, it is very seldom that a respectable attorney is to be found in a country village, while

medical men take very extensive rounds, and make but flying visits to the distant glen or hill-side hamlet. Everything, therefore, which can be done by the presence of an educated man, freely and constantly mixing with the lower and the toiling classes of society, is left to the clergyman. By his office he is bound to see much of the poor, and to gain influence over their minds during the most impressible moments of life; he gives a tone to parochial education by his visits to the school; and once or twice a-week he assumes the position of a public orator, addressing all his neighbours in the language and with the ideas of an educated man. Who can tell how much of the loyalty which marks the English people is due to the teaching and the moral influence of the Clergy? Apart, therefore, from the higher and more spiritual view of his character, he surely deserves well of the state and of his country, especially in these days of non-resident gentry. The amount of national refinement, which may reasonably be set down as the result of the general standing of the Clergy, and of the necessary contact between them and their parishioners, is no unimportant element in the formation of character among the poorer classes; and, by consequence, in producing the mutual good-will and coherence of the various, and otherwise widely separated, orders of British society.

These remarks do not apply with equal force to the clergy of the metropolis or large towns. As a body, it is impossible for them to be brought so closely into contact with the poor as their rural brethren find practicable, the comparative fewness of whose parishioners do not outstrip the bounds of personal acquaintance. The case, however, is very different when human souls are numbered by thousands instead of hundreds. Town clergy, if viewed only in their social position, are the ornament of the middle classes, rather than the intimate friends and domestic advisers of the poor. Their spiritual character is, indeed, the same; but the secular position of the country parson has its especial advantages and uses, not enjoyed by the incumbent of a dense and varied population, among whom he possesses no recognised preeminence over many of his neighbours from educational attainment or social influence.

In the remarks we are about to make on the fiscal burdens of the Clergy, we shall devote our principal attention to those which bear on the old parish churches of the country; and, therefore, they will in great measure apply to the rural clergy as the more undisturbed representatives of the old parochial system. The incumbents of old parish churches, whether in town or country, are indeed liable to many heavy fiscal charges, of which we hope to show the injustice; but clerical income, in metropolitan or large town districts, is in most cases on so widely different a footing from that of rural districts—is the

result of so many accidental circumstances,[1] and belongs to such a different aspect of the Church—that we propose to leave town incumbents as such to make known their own distinct and peculiar burdens, to fight their own separate and individual interests, while for the present we confine our detail of fiscal grievances to those which chiefly press on the incumbents of country parishes; or rather on incumbents generally, whose income is derived from what is or has been at some time a commutation for tithe.

Let it not be supposed, however, that in undertaking to expose many things which seem to be unjust burdens on the country clergy, we are entering upon any Quixotic or indiscriminate defence of the imagined temporal interests of this class. It is not our object to excite feelings of universal commiseration for the present rectors of England as individuals. There are unquestionably numerous members of that fraternity, and those, perhaps, the very men who, in the eyes of the public, are types of their class, who are, beyond all doubt, in the enjoyment of as much worldly comfort as falls to the average lot of mortals. What we are about to claim is fair treatment of the Church's property as such, in whatever hands it may be. The very comfort and the wealth of the exceptional cases of rich clergy, who are careless of the undue taxation from which their ecclesiastical income suffers, makes the lot of others harder than it would be: for those small imposts which are serious burdens to a poor priest, when presented to a small benefice after years of hard service, and which, if viewed only with reference to such cases, are manifest grievances and acts of gross injustice, assume another aspect, and are even prudently forgotten, in the case of those who, at the age of twenty-four, are inducted into the family living, or of those who have expended several thousand pounds in the purchase of preferment, taking these drawbacks into their money calculations. Thus, in temporal things as in spiritual, the interests of the Church are made to suffer from the secularizing effect on her property, which the present use of private patronage and the open sale of livings cannot fail to have. This system is the means of preventing many claims of justice, which ought to protect the general rights of the Clergy, from being as clearly recognised as they certainly would be, if the case of poorer benefices and poorer incumbencies stood by itself alone.

The abstract injustice remains, of course, the same under [illegible] circumstances; but the remedy, where most needed, is r[illegible] the more inaccessible by the peculiar circumstanc[illegible]

[1] For instance, the great depreciation of income from the recent [illegible] ments.

belong only to a comparatively few cases. Every time that sympathy for the burdens of the Clergy is checked by the oft-repeated story of the fat rector, we are confident that twenty lean incumbents are suffering actual hardships under an oppressing system of taxation, to one genuine case of plethoric opulence. And this calculation leaves out of view the large body of incumbents, whose private means alone enable them to meet the outgoings of their preferment.

But the cases even of comfortable or wealthy clergymen which have no claim on our individual sympathy, may yet contain a very strong ground of complaint on the part of the Church as an independent corporate body. Men who bring large private fortunes into the Church, and who live in splendour or luxury, especially when they have bought their livings, or possess them as part of the family estates, cannot help exhibiting to the public eye a great mixture of, and confusion between, secular and ecclesiastical property. Nor is it necessary to add that the ecclesiastical ideal is too often made to yield, in the estimation especially of the British farmer, to the more tangible object of a well-to-do gentleman living in a great house with a good income, who is therefore expected by him to do his duty like an Englishman, especially in the article of bearing every possible pecuniary burden that can be thrust upon him. The principle thus popularly established in these cases, extends to smaller and poorer benefices; and it follows that, while the large ones are secularized, the small ones are oppressed, to the great injury in both cases of the genuine property of the Church.

Grievances of this kind are not, however, of recent origin; nor have country rectors and vicars to complain only of the taxation which the secular power of modern days has imposed upon them. Indeed, there never existed more unscrupulous appropriators of rural tithes than the spiritual hierarchy, dominant in this land when the English Church was in connexion with Rome, during the ages before the Reformation.

The Pope made a very good income out of the first-fruits and tenths of the English Church; while the grants and immunities that were frequently given to monastic institutions of the whole tithes of a parish, or of other fiscal privileges, thereby grievously impoverished the spiritual condition of many a rural district, substituting a beggared vicar for a rector well endowed, and equal to all the emergencies of an increasing flock. Unfortunately, when the period of reform arrived, this vile example

naturally and rapaciously copied by

om being restored to their parishes,

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of ecclesiastics, was thus completed by the secular power, and a vast amount of Church property was in this manner irretrievably separated from religious uses, despite the warnings and remonstrances of the out-spoken Latimer. Not even first-fruits and tenths escaped the grasp of the royal spoiler, though he laid his hands on them with the gracious provision that a new incumbent should not be charged with the payment of tenths for his first year in addition to his first-fruits; seeing that these last were indeed the whole amount of his living in the king's books, and that few birds bear plucking twice in one year. In the reign of the better-minded Anne, these appropriations would seem to have laid heavily on the royal conscience, and a worthy effort was made, not indeed to remit them, but under the name of Queen Anne's Bounty, to set them apart as a separate fund for the general good of the Church; a fund which, augmented from various sources, and held in trust with a large amount of modern Church endowment money, is administered at considerable cost by a body of influential governors; who, in their practical views of Church extension, shared in the general dormancy of the English until recent days, if even now they are fully awake to the opportunities they enjoy.

Having called the attention of our readers to the parochial clergy of England as being on the whole a deserving body, claiming from their countrymen, as the least they can ask, the benefit of common justice in the protection of their temporal rights; having also shown the unhappy precedents which exist for making them fair objects of plunder, to the great injury of the Church's available revenues, we now come to the practical object which we have in view, viz. to give a brief review, supported by facts and details, of the chief items of those many oppressive burdens which are the subject of our complaint, and which, by a gradual process of accumulation, have made such inroads into clerical income, that, in many cases, a benefice of considerable gross value in the eyes of the public is hardly worth the holding, except for the respectability of the position which it imparts. The life of a country clergyman, from first to last, is one of unceasing demands upon his purse, beyond all proportion with his receipts, if only his case is fairly compared with any other species of income. Let us trace a not uncommon specimen of this career from its very outset. A college education is in the first place necessary, which is a matter of great expense, and often leaves behind it very diminished resources with which to begin real life. If no fellowship is in prospect, and if no special interest or talents give the ho of brighter fortunes, a title for orders has to be sought for in humbler fields of the clerical profession. A stipend of 50*l.* a is thus obtained, out of which it often happens that f

cent. has to be paid to a clerical agent,[1] unwarily employed to procure this splendid income. The candidate for orders then presents himself for ordination; and although it may have appeared to his innocent mind beforehand, that the Bishop had a sufficient income to pay his own secretary, and that the state might dispense with stamp-duty on his entering a vocation which promised for a time so little remuneration, and enjoyed so little protection, yet he is called on to contribute about 3*l.*, or 6 per cent. out of his first year's income, in the shape of fees to the diocesan functionaries, including the government stamp. Out of the residue of the 50*l.* he is then supposed to 'live like a gentleman' for a whole year, till the same process recurs at his admission into priest's orders. On each occasion he has also to encounter considerable expense in travelling to the place of ordination, and in living at hotels for the greater part of the week. Some Bishops have even found it in their conscience to summon candidates for ordination to pass this most solemn period of their lives amid the excitement and costly living of the metropolis; but cases of this gross injustice are becoming daily rarer; and it must be recorded, to the credit of our own days, that several episcopal palaces are opened to all the candidates for ordination, who, throughout the Ember-weeks, receive lodging and such moderate and becoming hospitality as the season justifies from their episcopal hosts.

After two years we may hope that our typical curate obtains 100*l.* a-year, an income which must satisfy him for an indefinite length of time. As, however, we are not discussing the peculiar grievances of unbeneficed clergymen, we shall at once pass over to the period, when, by some chance, or in reward for peculiar merit, he is presented to a living, the income of which would seem to promise him a comfortable subsistence for life. The time has now arrived when he is about to fulfil the exquisitely poetical idea of the village pastor, or the country parson (call him which you will), with an easy though frugal competence, which will allow him also to devote his fair share of liberality to objects of charity and to other holy purposes.

What, however, is the first touch of real life that meets him, after he has uttered words of thanksgiving for the improved hopes and prospects of his family circle, and after he has received the congratulations of too credulous friends? All is not gold that glitters. He finds the induction itself a rather expensive process, and has probably to raise 50*l.* for this purpose alone; though what advantage either he or the Church are to derive is a point about which he is never able

[1] ion of extortionate agents in all arrangements lly unnecessary, in consequence of the Registry he Additional Curates' Society.

to obtain a clear explanation. The episcopal secretary is a man of business, makes his charge, receives his money; but satisfies no vain curiosity by answering questions that refer to bygone history, or the definite object of the payments which (we are blandly told) he is but the passive instrument of demanding.

Once inducted, and safely landed on the shores of a fixed clerical position as a beneficed clergyman, he may perhaps fancy that all will now go smooth. But in these days of newly enforced residence, it is a very common thing to find that a parsonage-house has to be built forthwith, with money borrowed on the living from that thrifty lender, Queen Anne's Bounty, the repayment of which will press heavily upon him or his successors for thirty years to come. Then he is a lucky man if he does not find it incumbent on him to spend a large sum either in building a schoolroom, or providing a schoolmaster, or in both, aided but very insufficiently by private subscriptions or public societies. It is not improbable, also, that he will have to lay out a considerable sum on the church, unless he is content to submit to arrangements that will be a constant annoyance. After all these things are set on foot, the fact also begins to dawn on him, that his rates and taxes are much heavier than he contemplated, and that they reduce the ideal value of his living to something painfully below his original estimate. He then has to draw in his whole scheme of expenditure and usefulness, or becomes involved; everybody is at him for money, some because they suspect he is poor, and others because they imagine the parson to be always rich. Then follow a series of years during which his family expenses necessarily increase, and his parochial burdens multiply, owing to the system, as we hope presently to explain, by which these are mismanaged in the hands of local authorities.

Oppressed by all these adverse circumstances, he is discouraged in his work; secular cares destroy in his mind that calm habit of reflection which is essential to the proper discharge of all spiritual offices; and if no timely aid comes in, which by a kind Providence is often, we acknowledge, the case, he has to struggle on, severely testing his powers of endurance, and his ability to maintain the honour and dignity of his holy calling. Patience under adversity, we have every reason to feel sure, is the rule, though exceptional cases may occur which bring discredit on the Church. But it may be said that individuals in every class of life will always be found in difficulties, and that no proofs of peculiar hardships can be made out from the mere fact that clergymen are occasionally in[illegible] as well as others. We do not, however, w[illegible] make [illegible]: we start from the presumption i[illegible] that clerical income is unjustly

of distress in order to show the results; though we must honestly confess that the worst instances of clerical involvement with which we are acquainted do not happen among the sort of cases we are describing, but among those who, if it were not for their own negligence and carelessness, ought to be under more than usually favourable circumstances of life. It is, however, with full confidence in the justice of our remarks that we appeal to much struggling endurance and anxiety of mind among the poorer beneficed clergy of our Church, which may fairly be traced to the very heavy and unexpected burdens incident to clerical income.

Considerable private means are, indeed, usually necessary to enable a clergyman to undertake the charge of a living, with any prospect of comfort to himself or usefulness to his parish. Is this, however, a right system? and ought the Church thus to depend on the private wealth of her Clergy? It is too plain that such a state of things must have a very injurious effect on patronage, and must in great measure preclude any fair system of promotion by the rules of merit or experience.

The ministry of the English Church, as at present constituted, depends too much on the self-support of some thousands of clergy, who have money of their own, who do not really live on their ecclesiastical stipend, and whose whole position involves, as we have said, a great mixture of secular and religious character. The family living or the purchased advowson, if the purchase has been prudently conducted, *i. e.* not on borrowed money, but with a handsome balance left over the purchase money to meet the expenses of induction, &c., are arrangements which generally end smoothly enough. A gentlemanly or a rich incumbent is thus provided, who spends his days unharassed by care, and with every opportunity of usefulness in his parochial charge. But hardships which are lost sight of in such cases, become apparent and very serious to a clergyman without capital, who expects to live, as Scripture requires, of his ministry, and has earned his way to a small living by diligent service as a curate. The career of such an one, passed in the harassing anxieties to which he is often exposed, but too surely proves that the possession of private fortunes is almost a necessity to priests of the English Church, if they are to live with any comfort or advantage as beneficed clergymen, in all such parishes as are not endowed with unusual amplitude.

This of itself is surely an evil. A working body of Clergy should open its ranks to other merits besides those of money or family. Talent, zeal, ministerial powers, theological learning, ought to have their influence, and ought to be remunerated with competent maintenance, in the Church of the richest nation of the world,—a Church which, though no longer rich in the

endowment of her ministry regarded as a whole, does yet exhibit here and there most striking contrasts to the picture we have drawn of suffering and endurance on the part of many.

Without, then, denying that good results may follow from the admixture of rich men among our country clergy, we claim that they should afford no pretext for any laxity in supporting the full rights of ecclesiastical property strictly so called. It is this property which is available for the true and permanent interests of the nation, which is or might be at command to enlist in the cause of religion active and good men, who may yet be without money either to purchase good livings, or to accept those which are but the vehicles of taxation and of many unequal burdens.

Church property at this day is looked on with very jealous eyes by many in our legislative bodies and elsewhere. It is needful, therefore, that its bearings be well understood, that the analogies and distinctions between secular and ecclesiastical property be well defined, and that the various charges which detract from the value of the latter should be fully recognised before others are imposed, or before the incomes of the Clergy, according to the vulgar estimate of their value, are dealt with as available property by *soi-disant* Church reformers. Too many who talk on these subjects have never seen an incumbent's balance-sheet at the end of the year, nor have any notion of the small amount which is often left for private expenditure. They judge from a few isolated cases of wealth, without any true comprehension of the large proportion of the Clergy, who, though in possession of a gross income which sounds well, yet really live on their private means, and, if dependant only on the Church's offerings, must present to the world a very different figure to what they do.

It is time, however, that we appeal now to facts and individual instances which may bear out our general remarks. A few such instances, by no means peculiar or selected ones, have been kindly supplied for our use by incumbents whom we can fully trust, and who, on public grounds, have aided our inquiries with the fervent hope that some remedy may be found for the hardships which they experience in themselves, and see in others.

The many separate grievances which form the aggregate of fiscal and other burdens exclusively borne by the Clergy will, in the course of our article, be considered under distinct heads; but, in the first instance, we shall lay before our readers two or three examples, as they have been forwarded to us, of their total amount, the income being also stated out of which they have to be paid. Persons who are not acquainted with these charges will be rather startled at their enormity, and wonder how it is that the rural clergy of our Church get on as well as they do,

a wonder great indeed, if not explained on grounds already stated.

The first case we bring forward is that of a living in the diocese of Exeter, the tithes of which were commuted at 620*l.*, and produced therefore, in the year 1853 (after the deduction on corn averages), 558*l.*, which with glebe, &c., estimated at 50*l.*, made the gross value of the benefice to be 608*l.* The payments out of this living for the year in question, the first of incumbency, were as follows, before any income was left for private expenses:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Stamp fees and charges on institution	44	3	0
First-fruits	43	17	9
Tenths	4	11	1
Poor-rate (this item unusually small)	25	4	5
Highway-rate	7	5	11
Income-tax (7*d.* in the pound)	12	15	4
Land and house-tax	3	17	0
To Queen Anne's Bounty, loan for rebuilding house	38	0	0
Collection and losses	30	0	0
Repairs of parsonage, &c.	20	0	0
Two curates (population over 5,000)	170	0	0
	399	14	6

Assessed taxes, schools, and parochial charities are not here included, yet only 208*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* are left for these and also for personal uses; and this was a living that appeared at first sight to hold out the prospect of ease and abundance.

We now take the case of a vicarage, the income of which, *after* the deduction for corn-averages, was last year (1854) 310*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* The enormous amount of poor-rates in many rural districts as well as in towns, and the crying need of some fresh system for their assessment, even on grounds independent of their unequal pressure on the Clergy, are strikingly illustrated by this case, which is taken from the diocese of Rochester:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Outgoings—Poor-rates for rent-charge and vicarage	79	7	4½
Land-tax on rent-charge	20	0	0
Ditto on vicarage	2	0	0
Surveyor's rate	9	7	3½
Church-rate	0	6	3
Tenths	1	4	6
Bishop's visitation fees	0	7	11
Archdeacon's ditto	0	10	0
Queen Anne's Bounty for advance on vicarage house	49	5	0
Insurance	3	6	0
House-tax	0	18	0
Income-tax	12	3	10½
	178	16	2½

A net income is here left of 131*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.* without any allowance being made for repairs, losses, expenses in collecting, schools, and other parochial charities incident to a population of 1,400 persons.

Some other instances we put together in a tabular form, the more readily to contrast the amount of rent-charge with the necessary legal outgoings on it, without including curates:—

	Population.	Diocese.	Rent-charge received 1854.	Compulsory Outgoings.
			£	£
1.	670	Norwich	238	142
2.	3,200	Canterbury . . .	84	25
3.	1,587	Winchester . . .	406	180
4.	386	Rochester	330	61
5.	869	Exeter	564	190
6.	500	Rochester	227	136
7.	1,509	Chichester	850	263
8.	6,801	Ripon	234	60
9.		London	371	168
10.	777	Exeter	180	66

Let us hear what some of these gentlemen have to say for themselves, in illustration of their figures.

No. 1, out of a total income of about 265*l.*, pays 60*l.* a-year to Queen Anne's Bounty for his parsonage, 32*l.* to parochial rates, 5*l.* for collections, besides income-tax and other charges, amounting in all to the above 142*l.*, to which may be added 52*l.* for a curate.

No. 2, out of 84*l.* pays 16*l.* in rates, and from the nature of his income has to give no less than 8*l.* to the collector.

No. 3, with a total value, including fees, parsonage, &c., of 446*l.*, pays 53*l.* to Queen Anne's Bounty for his house, 51*l.* for poor-rates, 12*l.* land-tax, 25*l.* to the collector, &c., leaving him only 235*l.*

No. 4 pays 60*l.* in parochial rates alone, land-tax being 19*l.*

No. 5 pays 95*l.* to poor and highway-rates, and 40*l.* to land and income-tax; there is also a charge on his living of 50*l.*, payable to a sinecure rectory, now appropriated to a district chapelry.

No. 6 was presented to a living in 1850, worth 227*l.* a-year gross, as a reward for sixteen years' faithful service in the Church. About two years since the land-tax was unexpectedly raised from 1*l.* 5*s.* to 14*l.* 8*s.*, the former sum having been paid for a century. Poor-rates are 34*l.*, and 25*l.* has to be paid to Queen Anne's Bounty for his house. 'It is hard,' he says, 'out of so 'small a living to have so many outgoings; again, there are

'schools to be supported, poor relieved, local societies which 'demand assistance. Surely something should be done, and 'that immediately, to relieve us of these sore and oppressive 'burdens.'

No. 7 enjoys what would be called a good living, the rent-charge of which last year amounted to 850*l.*; but poor-rates alone are 152*l.*, highway-rates 67*l.*, land-tax 13*l.*; the compulsory taxes amounting to 263*l.* Beyond this, however, he paid last year 200*l.* for curates, 80*l.* for schools, 2*l.* 5*s.* for insurance. Henceforth he will be chargeable with 80*l.* to the incumbent of a district church; his income-tax is now 48*l.*, and the expenses of collection 45*l.* All these deductions leave him about 200*l.* for all general expenses.

No. 8 has a rent-charge worth last year 234*l.*, which he has to collect from five hundred persons, living in eight townships. In his letter, he says:—

'I should explain to you that the old commutation was 180*l.*, a sum which was allowed to be ridiculously insufficient, the living having been robbed for many years, in consequence of the easiness of the circumstances, as of the disposition, of an old vicar whom I succeeded twelve years ago, on which occasion the new act was brought into force. The sum of 256*l.* was intended to cover every outgoing, and leave the living improved. Indeed, I heard the assistant-commissioner say to some of the landowners, who, dissatisfied with the semblance of a rise, threatened to appeal against his award, "Take care what you do, gentlemen; you will burn your own fingers. I am not giving the vicar half as much as he would get if he were a hard man, and determined to have all that the law would give him." After all, the net rent-charge for this year will be actually below the old commutation.'

In this case we cannot understand how the commissioner reconciled his opinions, not to say his conscience, with his decision. Justice ought in his person to have rendered it unnecessary that a man should be *hard* in order to have his rights awarded him; but 'ex pede Herculem,' it is a fair specimen of the dealings of civilians with Church property; for laymen there is another meaning.

No. 9 has a glebe which, with fees, raises his rent-charge to an income of 466*l.*; but he pays 20*l.* for land-tax, 63*l.* for poor-rates, 50*l.* for mortgage to build his house, which, with a curate and smaller legal charges, reduce his income to 198*l.*, whence to provide all parochial charities, and to live in decency.

No. 10 is an authority which we shall make use of under various heads. We will first quote our correspondent in proof of the very strong feeling which exists in the minds of moderate and sensible clergymen on the subject of our article. He is of mature years, a magistrate, and chairman of a Board of Guardians, and writes thus:—

'I propose to put on paper a few thoughts that have occurred to me in

relation to the heavy, and, as I believe, unequal pressure of various assessments and charges on the beneficed Clergy of England.

'It is to be hoped that when the subject comes to be more carefully discussed and understood, effectual steps will be taken not only to disabuse the public mind of the false impressions which have been made upon it, but to seek also, from the justice of Parliament and the country, that measure of relief which is so urgently called for by the circumstances.

'I believe that if the unequal pressure of which we complain were of small amount, it would be submitted to without remonstrance. However unintelligible to many minds, it is still a truth which we need not from false delicacy be afraid to avow, that the Clergy have a strong feeling that their energies, directed to the higher objects of their calling, ought not to be tired out by much attention to secular interests. They have something like an instinctive dread lest their people should suppose that they allow temporal interests to interfere with the efficient exercise of their spiritual duties; and hence it has passed into a proverbial expression, that the Clergy are not men of business. These observations account for the forbearance with which many acts of injustice have been submitted to.'

We proceed now to consider, under separate heads, the many items which, when added together, make such very serious deductions from the income of an incumbent. To enable our readers to understand the amount of the hostile forces which carry on such unrelenting and successful warfare against the pockets of the English Clergy, we will enumerate them under three great divisions:—1st, What in military language may be styled the cavalry of ecclesiastical charges, improperly so called, under the command of registrars and other Church officials. 2d, The great mass of infantry (for the most part heavy), in the shape of parochial charges, which make steady and unceasing havoc of the pastor's income; and 3d, the far-ranging artillery of civil taxes on income, house, and everything else, which the Clergy, of course, have to pay in common with their fellow-countrymen.

Besides, however, the loss occasioned by these external foes, there is the cost of maintaining spiritual auxiliaries for the pastor's proper work, scarcely less damaging in a pecuniary point of view; *e. g.* the cost of curates and of charities, most severely felt by the best men. Then come the wear and tear of material, which make some outlay constantly necessary on the chancel, on the school, for the purchase of books. Much also must be laid down to the score of unavoidable accidents, which are ever, on one plea or another, making unforeseen claims of a clergyman's resources. But beyond all these things, there are the constant demands of home and family, all the members of which must be educated and respectably settled in the world.

Here is a catalogue of forces and of difficulties not unworthy of an epic poem. May the doleful muse of grievance and plaint enable us to exhibit the devastating powers of the it enemy in tones sufficiently pathetic to invoke, with good

purpose, the sympathy and the help of those good and constant allies to any righteous and suffering cause, the justice, the common sense, and the religious feeling of the people of England!

First, then, under the head of compulsory payments, we take those which may be called ecclesiastical. These are ordination fees, of which above; those paid to registrars at Bishops' and Archdeacons' visitations for purposes wholly unknown, such as procuration, of which the name is the only explanation; synodals, to pay the expense of synods that are never held; fees for the consecration of churches, demanded by well-to-do Bishops' officials, and wrung from resources already overdone by the cost of building; the petty annoyance of making clergymen, beneficed or not, pay two shillings on the occasion of a Bishop's first visitation, for the trouble given to the registrar in casting his official eyes on letters of orders; and, last but not least, the enormous charges on induction, with first-fruits and tenths.

On the subject of ordination fees, and the minor payments which every official act of the Bishop, even in countersigning testimonials, entails with it, we are very glad to see that Archdeacon Allen, whose kindness and consideration for the poorer and junior clergy are well known by all who have had any dealings with him, either as examining chaplain or otherwise, has represented them as special gravamina, in the lower house of Convocation. This item of gravamina the Archdeacon represents in the following form:—

'That his Grace the Archbishop, and their Lordships the Bishops, be humbly requested to consider whether the demand made for a fee by some Bishops' secretaries for the Bishop's countersignature to letters testimonial, ought not to be put an end to; and whether a uniform and reasonable charge for fees paid to the Bishops' secretaries for ordinations, institutions, and all other official acts, may not be settled and published.

'That his Grace the Archbishop, and their Lordships the Bishops, be humbly requested to consider, in reference to the consecration of churches and graveyards, how far the required writings may be simplified and the expenses lessened.'

After some discussion his schedule was received, and we sincerely hope its purport will be acted upon without loss of time. The whole system of registrars' fees is one great abuse, derived from former days perhaps, but with this distinction, that once they were for certain definite and specific objects in which the clergy shared some benefit, whereas now the benefit is gone, while the payments alone remain. There was a time, for instance, when the Bishop or Archdeacon went round the diocese to visit the clergy, and small fees, originally in 'victuals' and

use of horses, became then the custom to defray the expenses of his journey. Now, however, it is not they who visit the clergy, but the clergy who go to them for their stated visitation; and then when they have travelled often a long distance for this purpose at their own expense, and should rather have received hospitality from the Bishop, they are called upon to pay a fee to the registrar, under the name of procurations, for his Lordship's or the Archdeacon's imaginary journey to them. But do the Bishop or Archdeacon receive this fee? Custom has so long established the office of diocesan registrar, that this functionary has vested rights of his own, often of very great value, consisting among other things of these very fees. The income thus raised is often enjoyed by what is, in vulgar parlance, called a *rider*, that is, a sinecure gentleman who is nominated by the Bishop, and is represented by an official who sits at the receipt of custom, and does the publican's work, having a certain share in the profits, in order to stimulate his appetite, and keep up his zeal in this extraction of fees from the clergy. Surely the whole of this system ought at once to be abolished. This *rider*, as he is called, is a mere excrescence in the Church, whose existence is intolerable, though perhaps the clergy are no better off where the acting secretary is the principal. Registrars might surely be paid a regular salary by the Bishop, or from moderate fees, which should be made public, and undergo a thorough investigation by public opinion. Daylight, as Archdeacon Allen implies, is all that is wanted to make the abuses maintained by episcopal registrars melt away and disappear. The contemplated removal of all secular business from ecclesiastical courts will much facilitate a thorough reform in those departments which remain within their province; and we hope that no delay will impede its speedy accomplishment.

The fees charged on induction to a living, though less frequently received, are an offence on a larger scale, and often become a most inconvenient tax, for which there is no benefit whatever in return. A great mystery hangs over the details of these official demands, and no one seems to know anything about them, except that it is the custom to pay whatever fees the Bishop's Secretary or Registrar may state to be customary. They are not the same in different dioceses; and the circumstances peculiar to every species of incumbency, or even to local custom, make them differ to a very great extent,—itself an argument that a thorough ventilation of the rights of the question is most necessary. In one case we are assured that 15*l.* was charged under the head of "preacher's licence." In another case, we are told that the presentation and induction fees to two small livings, held together, and producing an income of 133*l.*,

amounted to no less than 75*l.* In an important London parish, the fees on the last induction amounted to 80*l.*

The following is an exact copy of one of these bills; the living to which it refers being of the value of about 650*l.* per annum:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Correspondence about stamp to presentation and agents' charges, and about letters of orders	2	2	0
Stamp for presentation	20	0	0
The Bishop's fiat	2	2	0
The institution fees	5	0	0
The Bishop's mandate	2	2	0
The sequestration fees	1	15	0
Certificates, &c.	0	13	6
Stamp	2	2	0
Licence as public preacher	2	2	0
Stamp	2	2	0
Archdeacon's mandate	2	2	0
	£42	2	6

In addition to this, 29*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* had to be paid as first-fruits.

Again, on an income of about 500*l.* we have the following particulars:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Presentation stamp	20	0	0
Professional charges	4	12	6
Institution ees	12	12	6
Induction do.	3	3	0
Sequestration fees on death of previous incumbent	2	2	0
	£42	10	0

In this case 18*l.* was charged as first-fruits, and the total outgoings, during the first three quarters of a year of the incumbency, amounted, with rates and taxes, and 54*l.* to a curate, to the enormous sum of 221*l.*, this having no connexion with any charge for dilapidations.

The subject of first-fruits and tenths is connected with the management of that large fund, called Queen Anne's Bounty. The history of these charges has already been alluded to. Levied originally by the Pope, they were taken possession of by the crown at the Reformation, and in the reign of Queen Anne transferred to certain governors, consisting of the principal official persons in Church and State, for the benefit of small livings. First-fruits are only charged on livings which, at the time of Queen Anne, were above the value of 50*l.* Exemptions had also been made at earlier dates and under different circumstances; so that much uncertainty now exists as to the regulations under which they are paid, and the scale of charges is not at the present day by any means proportioned to the value of

livings. Some livings, for instance, which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were made exempt, because under the value of 10*l.* in the king's books, are now of more value than others which are still liable to this payment.

With regard to the present management of the fund, there ought surely to be greater publicity in the details of its application. A wish to this effect found expression among the gravamina presented to Convocation by Archdeacon Allen, to which we have already alluded. The following suggestions will, we hope, prove to be the commencement of some reform in this quarter:—

'That his Grace the Archbishop, and their Lordships the Bishops, be humbly requested to consider whether tabular views of the circumstances of the several parishes applying for aid to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, so far as these circumstances are known to the governors, noting the successful applications, ought not to be annually published; and whether an augmentation of the incomes of benefices offered, whether in money payments, ought not to be received without requiring payment for a notice engrossed on parchment of the governors' willingness to accept such augmentation.'

An annual account of all receipts and disbursements is indeed published, which may be seen in the 'Ecclesiastical Gazette' of last March; but we cannot think that this statement is sufficiently intelligible, or that it enters enough into detail. Some more clear and definite abstract of the accounts should be given, which the public might understand, and from which they might gather what was being done with so large an income. With a proper knowledge of the necessities of a parish, we think that money might be advanced for the building of parsonage-houses on more favourable terms than at present. We believe, indeed, that the governors are limited by act of parliament in this application of their funds, and can only act as money-lenders on self-remunerative terms. But if this difficulty could be got over, some relaxation from full remunerative interest would be an inestimable boon to many clergymen, on whom the debt for their house presses very heavily, in addition to their many other expenses. If there are funds applicable to this purpose—which an inspection of the accounts would make us conclude is certainly the case, unless we altogether misunderstand the items—we can imagine no better method of using the funds of this *Bounty*, so that what is in part collected from the Clergy may redound to their own advantage in its ultimate application.

We come now to the subject of *parochial* burdens, which form a constant and very serious deduction from every incumbent's come. Poor-rates, highway-rates, and land-tax, make a sum tal which, in consequence of the present mode of assessment, not only inconvenient, but thoroughly unjust. We have

already given an instance in which poor-rates alone amounted to all but 80*l.* out of a gross income of 310*l.*, and another in which they amount to no less than 150*l.* out of an income of 850*l.* In the most moderate parishes, where no special circumstances either raise or depress them, they form a deduction of about 10 per cent. on a clergyman's income. From this they rise in many cases to 15, and often to 20 per cent. or more. But why are they thus unequal? Many accidental circumstances contribute to this, all of which, however, seem to have the general tendency of leaving the clergyman too much at the mercy of others for the preservation of his rights. He has no control over the various causes which increase parish rates, nor has he often any benefit, like his neighbours, from the state of things which accompanies or causes high rating—as, for instance, the increased value of land, or the profits of manufacturing activity; he has only to pay, and that often at an increasing rate, while his income from rent-charge remains stationary, or even deteriorates. The system of *close* parishes has also an injurious effect on many clergymen who may happen to live in their neighbourhood. From the unjust burden of rates thereby thrown on the adjoining *open* parishes, a poor clergyman has often to pay a large share towards the support of some neighbouring squire's own labourers when in sickness or old age. Some parishes suffer very heavily from this accumulated selfishness of ages. They have been robbed, in times long past, of their original Church endowments; and more recently have become the receptacles of all the poor of the neighbourhood, expelled, in some cases, from those very parishes, the proprietor of which is lay-impropriator of their tithes. The unhappy vicar, in such a case, has to suffer both from the smallness of his income, and from oppressive rates laid even on what he has. Nor is this burden fairly and equally distributed among the ratepayers of his own parish, as we shall clearly point out under the general head (applicable to all tithe rent-charge alike) of parochial assessment. We believe that few of the laity at all realize the extent to which the value of this kind of property is depreciated by the present system of rating.

A tremendous and most serious injustice is perpetrated by this means on the Clergy and the Church generally; an injustice which cries aloud for some interference, and which has only been suffered to slumber so long from the peculiar difficulties which impede the Clergy in pressing for their secular rights. The Clergy suffer in two ways from the present mode of assessment: the law itself is wholly unfair, and has so been pronounced by a judge of Queen's Bench; and the administration of the law is also unfair, from the power which, in the majority of cases, is

possessed by the farmers of a parish to make it act with unequal severity of taxation on the clergyman and themselves, much, of course, to their own advantage.

Parish rates, we need hardly say, are paid at so much in the pound on a certain fixed sum at which each ratepayer is assessed, according to the land and houses in his occupation. There are some politicians who desire that these burdens should not only rest on land and houses, but on the general income of the parishioners; and at first sight it does seem unfair that a man with a very handsome income from the funds, or other similar investment, should be wholly free from parish rates, except on the trifling assessment of the house in which he lives. Into this question we do not, however, enter; landed and personal property have shaken themselves into such a fixed position by continual exchanges from one to the other, that the original merits of taxation on each can hardly be brought to bear on the question, and no attempt at theoretical equality is now practicable.

Letting alone, therefore, any view of this question which is common to the political protectionist in his complaints about the burdens on land, we hope to prove that, granting tithe rent-charge to be justly liable to all the peculiar burdens of landed property, a great and crying injustice is daily perpetrated from the unfair proportion which it is made to bear of those burdens.

Rent-charge is in lieu of tithes, which tithes were originally supposed to be one-tenth of the produce of the soil. Rent-charge, therefore, should be viewed in theory as *produce*, and be dealt with like other produce in the matter of assessment. Now, the produce of the land which a farmer reaps or gets in, after various fashions, is subject to three distinct charges or sub-divisions; one-third goes for rent, another third for labour, and the remaining to the tenant. The assessment, however, is made only on one of these, viz. the rent, deducting also from this a considerable amount for insurance, repairs, and rates. A farm which pays an actual rent of 100*l.*, would generally be assessed at about 80*l.* Tithe rent-charge, however, though equally of the nature of produce, and, therefore, only comparable with these three rents taken together, is assessed on its whole value, with no other reductions than the actual amount of rates paid out of it, and the expense of collection, not even the amount of insurance, or the money paid to Queen Anne's Bounty for parsonage-house. Surely this is a great injustice, in whatever light we may view it. The only pretext for it is its simplicity, which is not always synonymous with equity. It is said that assessment must be made according to the value of property, and that the value of any-

thing can best be tested by what it will fetch; that the value of land is its rent to the landlord, with deductions for repairs, &c.; and that the value of the tithe rent-charge being paid in money, is plain enough, and can be nothing else but its actual amount, with an allowance of some 2½ per cent. for collection, and a deduction for rates. This we believe to be the basis of the present mode of assessment; but its injustice may be shown in many ways—more, indeed, than we can hope to portray in their legitimate force. The fairest and easiest mode of comparing the respective assessments of land and rent-charge is, perhaps, to put the tenant farmer out of the question, and to suppose the landowner to be himself in occupation. What analogy, in that case, is there between the supposed amount which the landowner would give for the value of his occupation, if it were not his own property, and the real income of the clergyman?

In the former case, the amount in its very nature *excludes* all personal labour and expenses necessary in order to obtain the income; whereas, in the latter case, it *includes* them under the form both of ecclesiastical duties, which are a condition of the tenure, and also of that capital which is necessary in taking orders, as a qualification for holding such property. The clergyman, then, is assessed on his full receipts, although he must have been at great expense to qualify himself for the possession of them, and must fulfil regular and even laborious duties in return for them; whereas the landowner, in occupation of his land, is assessed only on such an amount of his receipts as he might actually give to another person in the shape of rent (if he were not the owner), and is wholly free for that share of the produce of the land on which he himself lives, and which forms the tenant's profit. In strict justice, then, it would appear that if land is assessed on its rental, *i.e.* on one-third of its produce, tithes ought only to be assessed on the same proportion of their value. Why should that portion of the produce of land which belongs to the Church be assessed at a higher rate than the remainder which belongs to the proprietor? As, however, long custom and the mutual arrangements of a series of years have given to tithes more the character of a payment on land than a right to a share of one-tenth of the produce, it would hardly be prudent, at the present time, to argue for any more extensive readjustment in the relative proportions of assessment on land and rent-charge than for the tenant or landowner, if in occupation, to be assessed on his own profits as well as on the estimated rental—that is, on all which he receives from the land, with the exception of what he actually disburses for the necessary expenses of cultivation. This assessment would

amount to about two rents, and would therefore lower the clergyman's rates by one-half. This principle of rating was established by the decision of Mr. Justice Parke, in the Court of Queen's Bench, in the case of *Rex versus Joddrell;* and we believe it was only through the negligence of the legislature that this decision was not at once made the occasion of a special and distinct enactment. On the question again coming before the Court, in the case of *Reg. versus Capel*, in 1840, Lord Denman (so noted for decisions against the Church) gave his judgment on the other side, stating as his principal reason that the express object of the recent statute, 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 96, s. 1, had been to abolish distinctions, and to establish uniformity in rating. The rule there laid down was, he considered, so far applicable to tithes, 'that they are demisable at a year's rent.' After referring to *Rex versus Joddrell*, he concluded by saying that 'something much more positive was requisite to defeat an enactment so *simple, practical*, and *useful*.'

A thing may be 'simple, practical and useful,' without being also just; nor does Lord Denman seem to aim at proving that the former decision of the same Court ought to be upset on the ground of abstract justice. In the judgment of an approving critic, writing in the 'Jurist' with reference to this case, he is supposed to have arrived 'at *as close an approximation* to sub-'stantial equality as is practicable, without having resort to the 'odious machinery of a property tax.' The argument in favour of assessment on the occupier's profit was thought 'to have 'savoured too much of the modern economics for the atmosphere 'of Westminster Hall,' and that 'the Court disclaimed being 'influenced in their judgment by any considerations founded on 'so unstable a science; and utterly repudiated the unlucky 'observations of Mr. Justice Parke in *Rex versus Joddrell*, 'which seemed at one time to promise an asylum to the vilified 'economists even in the temple of Themis herself.'

All this, though acknowledged by the writer to be an *amusing* feature of law, does not establish the real justice of Lord Denman's decision; nor does it upset the plain argument of Sir W. W. Follet, contained in his speech for the appellant, of which the following are short passages:—

'The objection to this rate is, that while the vicar is rated at the full value of his tithes, the occupiers of land in the parish are not rated on the same scale of value. If, for instance, a tenant rents land at 300*l.* per annum, and makes a profit of 200*l.*, the former sum alone is taken as the rateable value. The appellant rests his case on the principle adopted from the earliest period of rating, that occupiers are to be rated at the full value; 'hat the rent or sum at which the land would let is not to be taken as the ll value, but one criterion only. This principle was declared in *The teen versus Joddrell*, in accordance with the earlier cases, and is not affected the recent statute, 6 & 7 Wm. IV. c. 96.

* * * * * *

This is not a new doctrine, but is in unison with all the authorities. The effect of that judgment is, that rent is part of the profits of the farm, and that the occupier is rateable for that part as well as for the residue of the profits. If, for instance, a farm is worth 300*l.* per annum in the hands of the owner, he is rateable for that amount; if the farm is let to a tenant for 100*l.* per annum, and he makes a profit of 200*l.* more, the tenant is rateable for 300*l.*'

Yet in spite of the obvious justice of these remarks, the *simplicity* and *usefulness* of making the clergyman pay far beyond his right proportion, induced the Court to decide in favour of the present custom, thereby perpetuating a grievous wrong to the Church. One test by which to estimate the justice of the present mode of rating is to examine the actual proportion of all the rates of a parish which fall on rent-charge. We have calculated this with reference to several agricultural parishes within our knowledge, and the proportion is about one-sixth, in places by no means above the average of injustice to the Clergy. What pretext can there be for a system which is thus convicted in its result of such gross unfairness? Tithe rent-charge is a substitution for one-tenth of the produce; and if it really amounted to that in practice, which it does not, it ought then to pay but one-tenth of the burdens of the land. The facts of the case are, however, much stronger than this. It is well known that tithe rent-charge is not much more than one-thirtieth of the produce of the land; yet it pays, as we have stated, one-sixth of the parish rates. We are not denying that there are considerations which should modify the *prima facie* deduction from this view of the case; for then we should be claiming on behalf of the Clergy an assessment of only one-fifth its present amount; but we certainly do think that the great and radical injustice which now exists, requires to be met by a concession up to the extent we have just pointed out, viz. by adding the tenant's profit to the amount of his present assessment.

Let it not be imagined by a hasty reader, that by doubling the tenant farmer's assessment, we would also double his rates. The only effect would be, the establishment of a different ratio between the whole body of farmers on the one hand, and the clergyman on the other hand. If the latter was thereby relieved of one-half what he now pays, the former would not suffer to any great amount when the difference was equally distributed among them.

But if the present law of assessment is unfair, even when there exists no bias to the prejudice of the Clergy, in its practical administration, how much more when the local injustice that is concocted in each parent vestry and each union Workhouse, is also taken into account!

The assessment of a parish is conducted under the management of the vestry, and it is far too generally the custom for the farmers there assembled to assess themselves as low as possible, and the clergyman as high as possible, trusting to the difficulty which is always felt in making an appeal. In the assessment of other property, about 20 per cent. is always deducted from the rent, whereas with tithes only about 2½ for collection is allowed, beyond poor rates. It is not only, however, in the original assessment, that parochial authorities have the power of throwing an unequal share of burdens on the clergyman; they may so manage the affairs of a parish, as to let many payments fall on the rates, which ought properly to be borne by themselves individually; their object for doing which is plain enough, viz. that whatever falls on the rates of the parish is shared in very largely by the clergyman's high assessment on rent-charge.

The whole operation of the present poor-law is, we think, materially affected by this instinctive conspiracy among British farmers. When the new poor-law was first brought into operation, its professed object was to cure the degraded system then existing, by which every labourer was dependent on the parish, and was converted into a kind of serf attached to the land, and under the entire control of the farmers. The new law went on the principle of making pauperism a crime, and a state which could be avoided by diligence and care. The union-house was made a place of rigorous discipline, from the supposition that an industrious man could always keep out of it; out-door relief being, at the same time, forbidden to the able-bodied as unnecessary. There was henceforth to be no dependence on the parish, except of a kind which marked the object of it as more or less criminal. Under this severe test of the house, poor-rates declined for a time; but farmers forgot on their part to fulfil one most essential condition on which this new theory depended for its ultimate success. If a labourer was to be independent, and able to save from his earnings, when in health and strength, some provision for old age and bad times, it is plain that his wages must be higher than the amount absolutely necessary to provide a sufficient quantity of bread for his family week by week, and also that he must be regularly supplied with work. The issue has been this; farmers having declined to allow such a rate, or such a stability of wages, as are necessary to carry out the principle of the new poor-law, matters drift back to the old system in spite of all enactments. Dependence on the parish is still the absolute and inseparable condition of the English agricultural labourer; and poor-rates are getting higher and higher, in spite of abundance of labour,

of the increase of emigration, and of other things which ought to have made them lower. Now, what is the cause of all this? The farmer (we blame not the individual, but the system which makes it his interest so to act) is aware that any advance in wages must come from his own single pocket, whereas, that if poor-rates instead of wages are increased, the additional sum will be paid to the extent of one-sixth by the clergyman. An agricultural labourer is a far more expensive article, taking the years of his life all round, than his direct wages imply or could produce; the deficit, therefore, must be supplied in some way, and the landed interests of this country have practically decided that parochial rates, with a state of dependence to the labourer, are the source whence it should be paid. By this means it is plainly to be seen, that tithe rent-charge is made to contribute largely towards the necessary expenses of even that amount of labour without which no land can be cultivated.

The defence set up for low wages is, that labour has its market price, and that those who require it are entitled to buy it as cheap as they can. But why is it cheap? It is cheap because it is not supporting—because parochial rates pay largely for it. If then, by any means, that temptation to throw men on the parish could be lessened, we feel sure that as poor-rates declined, wages would rise, and the condition of the labourer become more independent.

If things go on in their present course, we see no other result but that all the better class of our labourers—all those who wish to be independent, all who have any spirit or physical power in them—will leave the country, and find in distant shores a home and a maintenance, that their own country to its shame and its loss has denied them. Farmers have already begun seriously to dread emigration; and it will be to their own interest that they should offer higher inducements to retain in this country their young and good labourers than at present is the case, before they discover that in the cultivation of their land they are left either wholly deficient in labour, or at the mercy of very indifferent and spiritless workmen.

The same principle, which thus rules with regard to poor-rates, is apparent also in the management of highways. If a farmer wants an arch to be built, or a road to be repaired which are connected with his own farm, he tries to make the parish do them at the public expense; and the other farmers in vestry, knowing that they all act themselves on the same principle, are perfectly willing to grant his request; the effect of which is, that the clergyman pays one-sixth of the money, though he wants no bridge on his own estates, nor holds any farm, the road to which will in its turn be repaired.

On this subject we quote a correspondent's letter, well qualified to judge of this matter.

'I will close this communication with a few remarks on the parochial assessment for the repairs of the highways. I consider that the Clergy are heavily and unduly burdened in this respect. The old law provided for the repairs of parish highways, first, by what was called "the statute labour," and secondly, by an assessment; but this latter was not to be resorted to until the former was exhausted. The principle of the law was this, that the highway should be repaired by those who most used and injured it. Thus the parties who kept the greater number of waggons, carts, or other vehicles, as well as horses, were called on to contribute a quantum of "work" in proportion to the number kept, and a due proportion of manual labour was also provided for. Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of this law, it is plain that its repeal and the substitution in its place of the assessment system, *solely* added to the burdens of the clergyman. As soon as composition came into general use, waggons were little if at all needed by him, and the Tithe Commutation Act set the seal of its authority on their discontinuance as regarded tithe-gathering: so that to him the new law largely increased his payments. Under the operation of the old law, he would have been released from any large contribution to the "statute labour," whilst now, he is, if not the largest, one of the largest contributors. Again, the farmers practically pay half their assessment to the highway-rate in kind, employing their carts and horses in the conveyance of material, in the profits of which cart labour the clergyman does not participate. The result of my observations also leads me to the conclusion, that much more money is laid out in this way in country parishes, in proportion to that expended in manual labour, than is required or than is laid out on turnpike-roads repaired on different principles.'

Many indeed are the plans by which a clergyman's income is made to endure more than its fair share of parochial burdens. The highway rate is often 5 per cent., and in one case before us, 8 per cent., on tithe rent-charge. One clergyman we know of, whose use of highways is almost confined to pedestrian visitations through his parish, has to pay no less than 69*l.* for the luxury of seeing other people's corn go to market, and of seeing the neighbouring gentry drive about in handsome equipages, who pay only to the expense of the roads on the assessment of an ordinary dwelling-house.

It is almost depressing, and may strike some as even querulous, to be enlarging our catalogue of burdens; but we are engaged in a stern matter of business, and must duly complete it. Land-tax is a serious item, amounting often to twenty or thirty pounds. Where this payment was taken into account, at the time of the commutation, perhaps no complaint ought now to be made; but the terms then agreed upon have no power to restrain, in defence of the Church, any increased demands of the land-tax which may *since* have been made.

During the last few years, a very general re-adjustment of this tax has taken place, (on the appeal of various owners who have imagined their property overtaxed,) the result of which

has often been, the increase of this tax on rent-charge from a very trifling sum to a serious and important charge. We know of one case, where an estate was bought very cheap, on the express ground of its being subject to a heavy land-tax. The purchaser afterwards appealed, and eventually succeeded in having the land-tax of his parish wholly re-arranged, one result of which happened to be that the rector, whose commutation was made irrespective of any serious payment under this head, found himself mulcted to the extent of 33*l.* per annum.

Many clergymen, in addition to the varied taxes we have enumerated, suffer much from unjust arrangements made in times past under the name of *composition* of tithe. Moduses, to a very trifling amount, are all that is received for land whose rental would now be of considerable value. Then also there are other compulsory deductions on income, which we should be sorry to see classed altogether as burdens, inasmuch as they are connected with the primary object and use of all tithes; those, we mean, connected with the discharge of the duties of the church and the repairs of the chancel.

We have now considered the ecclesiastical and the parochial, *i.e.* the cavalry and the infantry, of that hostile army which a clergyman's income has to encounter. There remains the artillery of the Queen's taxes, which apply to him in common with others. Income tax, moreover, falls on him with peculiar force, because the deductions which we have shown to exist on a clergyman's income, themselves repeated income-taxes, are by no means amply allowed for, and thus he is compelled to pay on what he never receives. House-tax is charged on the parsonage as rigorously as on other dwellings; and Mr. Heyworth (according to a notice given the first day of this session) even desires to make him pay succession duty, a monstrous idea, the bare mention of which, under existing circumstances, will, we trust, turn out the providential means of deliverance from the injustice we have exposed. The stamp alone for presentation is often 20*l.*, and surely this is succession duty enough. If more charges are added, it will be a hard matter to find a man rich enough to accept the smaller livings of our Church, which are in the hands of public patrons, encumbered as they are with increased duties, at which we rejoice, but with increased burdens, which we deplore. The poor but deserving student would thus be excluded more than ever from the Church, while the power of wealth would be more and more dominant, in secularizing the position of an incumbent.

Other taxes which the Clergy pay in common with all her Majesty's subjects, do not come within the province of our review to discuss. We have shown how heavy are the burdens

peculiar to the Clergy; and let those who only pay rates and taxes according to an ordinary and fair assessment consider how sad their complaints would be, if, in addition to these, they were exposed to that army of oppression which directs its peculiar aim against the country home of the English parson, or rather, against the stability and ecclesiastical freedom itself of the English parish church, so long the happy and proud possession of our country.

In our relation of grievances, we have purposely omitted to give any distinct place to the working of the Commutation Act itself, by which tithes are now regulated. That act was an arrangement between the payers and receivers of tithes, in which both parties were supposed to be consulted, and both had the power of appeal. The bargain was made, and therefore it is too late in the day to complain of its results, still less of the violation of principle which it involves. Considering, also, the political feelings of the time when this act was passed, the Church has much cause of thankfulness that she came off, in pecuniary matters, as well as she did in the struggle—for there were many at the time who apprehended worse things. Yet, although willing to keep strictly to our bargain, we certainly have a right to plead the present working of that measure as a very strong ground for the greatest consideration being shown towards the Church in subsequent legislation. The present value of rent-charge is 10 per cent. below the commutation, which may be accounted for in the very words of a correspondent whom we have before quoted:—

'The payment of the Clergy, prior to the operation of that enactment, represented a portion of the value of *all* the products of the farmer's industry, of corn, of hay, of cattle, sheep, wool, coppice-wood, potatoes, turnips, small seeds, &c.; and where the custom of compounding for tithe was prevalent, the amount of composition rose or fell as rents varied, or (which on an average of years would amount to the same thing practically) as the price of the various productions of the land was raised or depressed.

'But the commodities being many, had a greater tendency to, and more truly represented, an equilibrium of value than would one or a few. Often it happened that when one fell another rose, and *vice versâ*. But the Tithe Commutation Act fixed the amount of payment henceforth on the price of corn alone; at once creating a new estimate of value of the whole of the vicarial tithe of England and Wales, and sweeping away all consideration of the market value of those very commodities which had been the measure of the Church's dues. Then came the abrogation of the Corn Laws, and with it the fall of the clergyman's income of 10 per cent.; whereas, if the averages had been taken on the aggregate value of all the hitherto tithe-able property, the fall would have been very inconsiderable on vicarial tithe rent-charge.'

The case may be thus briefly stated:—Legislation, in the first place, singled out corn as the standard of clerical income, and then took special measures—right enough in themselves,

but injurious to this special interest—for the lowering of this standard by the introduction of free trade in corn. In the case of the farmer, the lowered price of corn is amply compensated for by the increased production which high farming of the present day enables him to effect. The clergyman, however, has no longer any interest in the *amount* of produce; his income is regulated solely by the price, to keep down which is the anxious care of all statesmen who wish well to their country.

Thus far we have considered those drawbacks on a clergyman's income which are compulsory, and which more properly come under the title of fiscal burdens. But there are others which are equally heavy, though of a more voluntary nature; and are the more to be deplored, inasmuch as they are most severely felt by the best men, by those who undertake the pastoral charge with an earnest sense of the responsibility thereby incurred, and with a deep anxiety to fulfil the work entrusted to them.

In the first place, where the parish is of any size, there is the expense of providing the assistance of fellow-labourers. Nor can it be said that curates exact more than is their right, and that this burden ought to be reduced in its amount. We would rather suggest that a system should be adopted by which an incumbent might boldly appeal to the laity of his parish to pay the expense of such assistance, where he feels that he can justly do so, and that he enjoys no larger income himself than is requisite for a man in his position, and for the discharge of his other duties. In many places this is already done, but we think the principle might be more extended. An incumbent might fairly say, on entering a parish, that he can only do a certain amount of work, although more than that is required by the necessities of the parish; that his own income will not allow the expenses; and, therefore, as the good of the parish is their common work, the laity must subscribe in order to enable their pastor to carry out his plans. If this be thought too near an approach to the voluntary system, let the existing societies for the provision of curates be more amply supported than they are, in order that the more urgent cases may meet with prompt and certain redress. Either in a direct form, or through the agency of a society, we think that this special work of providing curates in parishes, where the need is great and the incumbent's income insufficient, is one which requires to be put more directly before the laity than at present, amid the various calls of charity, is generally the case. Let it be understood, that unless funds are forthcoming for the payment of additional labourers, that the clerical service of the parish must necessarily be limited to the work of one man, in cases, that is, where the endowment of

possessed by the farmers of a parish to make it act with unequal severity of taxation on the clergyman and themselves, much, of course, to their own advantage.

Parish rates, we need hardly say, are paid at so much in the pound on a certain fixed sum at which each ratepayer is assessed, according to the land and houses in his occupation. There are some politicians who desire that these burdens should not only rest on land and houses, but on the general income of the parishioners; and at first sight it does seem unfair that a man with a very handsome income from the funds, or other similar investment, should be wholly free from parish rates, except on the trifling assessment of the house in which he lives. Into this question we do not, however, enter; landed and personal property have shaken themselves into such a fixed position by continual exchanges from one to the other, that the original merits of taxation on each can hardly be brought to bear on the question, and no attempt at theoretical equality is now practicable.

Letting alone, therefore, any view of this question which is common to the political protectionist in his complaints about the burdens on land, we hope to prove that, granting tithe rent-charge to be justly liable to all the peculiar burdens of landed property, a great and crying injustice is daily perpetrated from the unfair proportion which it is made to bear of those burdens.

Rent-charge is in lieu of tithes, which tithes were originally supposed to be one-tenth of the produce of the soil. Rent-charge, therefore, should be viewed in theory as *produce*, and be dealt with like other produce in the matter of assessment. Now, the produce of the land which a farmer reaps or gets in, after various fashions, is subject to three distinct charges or sub-divisions; one-third goes for rent, another third for labour, and the remaining to the tenant. The assessment, however, is made only on one of these, viz. the rent, deducting also from this a considerable amount for insurance, repairs, and rates. A farm which pays an actual rent of 100*l.*, would generally be assessed at about 80*l.* Tithe rent-charge, however, though equally of the nature of produce, and, therefore, only comparable with these three rents taken together, is assessed on its whole value, with no other reductions than the actual amount of rates paid out of it, and the expense of collection, not even the amount of insurance, or the money paid to Queen Anne's Bounty for parsonage-house. Surely this is a great injustice, in whatever light we may view it. The only pretext for it is its simplicity, which is not always synonymous with equity. It is said that assessment must be made according to the value of property, and that the value of any-

thing can best be tested by what it will fetch; that the value of land is its rent to the landlord, with deductions for repairs, &c.; and that the value of the tithe rent-charge being paid in money, is plain enough, and can be nothing else but its actual amount, with an allowance of some 2½ per cent. for collection, and a deduction for rates. This we believe to be the basis of the present mode of assessment; but its injustice may be shown in many ways—more, indeed, than we can hope to portray in their legitimate force. The fairest and easiest mode of comparing the respective assessments of land and rent-charge is, perhaps, to put the tenant farmer out of the question, and to suppose the landowner to be himself in occupation. What analogy, in that case, is there between the supposed amount which the landowner would give for the value of his occupation, if it were not his own property, and the real income of the clergyman?

In the former case, the amount in its very nature *excludes* all personal labour and expenses necessary in order to obtain the income; whereas, in the latter case, it *includes* them under the form both of ecclesiastical duties, which are a condition of the tenure, and also of that capital which is necessary in taking orders, as a qualification for holding such property. The clergyman, then, is assessed on his full receipts, although he must have been at great expense to qualify himself for the possession of them, and must fulfil regular and even laborious duties in return for them; whereas the landowner, in occupation of his land, is assessed only on such an amount of his receipts as he might actually give to another person in the shape of rent (if he were not the owner), and is wholly free for that share of the produce of the land on which he himself lives, and which forms the tenant's profit. In strict justice, then, it would appear that if land is assessed on its rental, *i.e.* on one-third of its produce, tithes ought only to be assessed on the same proportion of their value. Why should that portion of the produce of land which belongs to the Church be assessed at a higher rate than the remainder which belongs to the proprietor? As, however, long custom and the mutual arrangements of a series of years have given to tithes more the character of a payment on land than a right to a share of one-tenth of the produce, it would hardly be prudent, at the present time, to argue for any more extensive readjustment in the relative proportions of assessment on land and rent-charge than for the tenant or landowner, if in occupation, to be assessed on his own profits as well as on the estimated rental—that is, on all which he receives from the land, with the exception of what he actually disburses for the necessary expenses of cultivation. This assessment would

sudden remission; the farmers would leave all repairs to the clergyman, who must either officiate in a ruin, or pay the expense of keeping up the fabric. There would be almost a legal hold on the clergyman to do this even against his will; for if the church fell down or became unfit for use, he would be unable to fulfil those duties which are the necessary conditions, on his part, of holding the benefice. His office would become a sinecure, and the revenues would, as a matter of course, be soon appropriated for some other purpose. We trust, therefore, that whatever measures are adopted on this difficult question, it will be foreseen that any plan, even such an one as the Archbishop of Canterbury's, which throws the repair of country churches, so long as the Church is connected with the State, on a voluntary system of rating, will in practice throw a very heavy burden on the income of the incumbent. These voluntary rates will, in a vast number of cases, be withheld on some pretext of this kind, till the incumbent must do all himself, or see his church in ruins. Such would not be the case universally; but there is little doubt that any relaxation of Church-rates would, in small country districts especially, have a very great tendency to increase the burdens on the Clergy, already, as we have shown, far too oppressive.

The popular remedy for the extreme poverty of a large portion of the Clergy, is a more equal distribution of Church property, which means a centralized system by which all Church property should be first collected together in a mass, and then re-divided on more equal terms than at present. It would be an evil day for the Church when this general ingathering of her property took place; for we doubt whether the distribution would at all answer the expectations of her members. Taking the Church property at its full value, the distribution, even if carried out without any expense in the operation, would not yield 200*l.* to each beneficed and unbeneficed clergyman. Apart, however, from this small average, it must be remembered that the extreme inequality, as well as the great amount of the various burdens we have enumerated, would be an insuperable barrier against any fair valuation of the Church's available income.

The gross value of ecclesiastical property is, indeed, no guide whatever to the results of any actual amount that could be made available for any system of equalization which might be attempted, since the enormous deductions which so greatly lessen the incomes of the majority of clergymen, entirely alter the whole basis on which any calculation can possibly be formed. Wholesale legislation on Church property, from estimations of present gross value, without taking into consideration the ious and varying burdens which rest on it, would be simple

spoliation, would defeat itself, and would produce confusion far greater than any which even at present exists.

Let it not, however, be supposed that we resist all interference with ecclesiastical income. On the contrary, we feel assured that the principle of *non*-interference is the great spoliating and secularizing agency of the present day: it is this which robs the Church of her available and working income, far more than any threatened invasion of her rights on the part of the State. The gradual lapsing of Church property into private property, resulting from the unrestrained traffic in livings now going on, is the great danger which we have now to apprehend; and this simoniacal dealing can only be the result of entire confidence in the money market, that vested interests in Church property are secure. Once shake this confidence—deal with the Church's property as it were *bonâ fide*, meant for the good of the Church, and not for the enrichment of individuals—show an intention of making such new arrangements as local circumstances pointed out to be advisable—and we shall not hear so much of those discreditable advertisements which exalt the comforts and degrade the office of a parish priest, in order to raise the market price of advowsons or next presentations.

Our object in all we have said has been to claim justice for the Church's property as such; and surely it is an essential addition to our remarks, that we should claim also greater elasticity in the application of that property to the real work of the Church. The open sale of livings as now conducted, should raise a blush in all who respect the spiritual claims of our Church. The whole system of work or discipline is cramped by the cold and rigid demands of pecuniary vested interests; and the religious uses of Church property, beyond a literal fulfilment of a few stated duties, are made to appear almost chimerical, if demanded by ecclesiastical authority. There is, then, a degree of security enjoyed by many individual holders of Church property, which is prejudicial to the interests of religion, and which amounts to secularization; but this is no argument for not protesting against unfair burdens on the Clergy generally. The Church ought to protect her property, not as belonging to individuals, but as being devoted to the best interests of religion, according to the varying claims and necessities of each generation of her children. It is preeminently for the interest of lay members that this true ideal should be maintained, for otherwise the pastor's office will degenerate in the active discharge of its work.

We observe then, on the one hand, a want of elasticity in the internal management of Church property, and we also observe a tendency from external sources to oppress individual

clergymen by unjust burdens; but a doubt occurs whether the latter evil can ever be remembered, till the public see that the former is also made the earnest subject of reform. It is this evil which is always thrown in the teeth of those whose work it is to solicit voluntary aid for the various objects and missions of the Church; it is this, in short, which both stimulates the unjust burdens we have been speaking of, and prohibits any fresh contributions, on a large scale, to relieve the distress of those clergy who unfortunately are not in possession of what are called the prizes of the Church, but who have drawn, in the lottery of life, what may very justly in many cases be called blanks in all that concerns the hire of a spiritual labourer in Christ's vineyard.

The great poverty which exists among very many of our Clergy is now universally acknowledged. Let, then, some bold and generous attempts be made to alleviate the burdens we complain of; let also such a hearty effort be shown, on the part of the heads of the Church, now allowed their right of synodal deliberation, to reform many existing abuses, as may lead the way to a better understanding between our rich laymen and the necessities of the National Church. In the sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury on the fast-day, there are a few remarks on this general subject, which we have reserved for the conclusion of our article, drawing particular attention to their final admonition:—

'They who thus worship and fall down before wealth, often indulge themselves with the most lavish prodigality in everything which can pamper the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; and yet this same generation is better skilled in exercising a far stricter economy than their poorer fathers did, in everything which concerns the external circumstances of the Church, and the administration of any of her endowments. All justice, economy, and the reform of abuses, are most praiseworthy; but the coincidence I have mentioned is strange.'

Having now stated our case, we ask Mr. Heyworth and all who think with him, whether the endowments of the Church ought to be subjected to succession duty, in addition to the aggregate of unjust claims already enforced upon her property? The Clergy gave up to Parliament their original right of taxing themselves in their own Convocation. They did this with great generosity, throwing themselves for ever on the protection of the country, in order to facilitate public business; and now they have an undoubted claim for gentle treatment in all legislation that affects her interests. By this we do not mean that they must expect peculiar privileges,—the time for those is gone by; but that common justice may be shown towards them, and that in any fresh legislative acts, some reparation of their wrongs should be effected, and their fiscal burdens placed on a footing of equality with those that effect other species of property. A calm and

temperate deliberation of these subjects, in ruridiaconal and diocesan synods, might, in some measure, help both to expose what is unjust, and to provide also the remedy. We commend the topic to their notice, and hope for some practical results.

We have spoken above of the expenses of episcopal and archidiaconal visitations as an especial burden on the Clergy. It may be objected that these charges are defrayed by the parish. Such, however, is not the case where there are no Church-rates; and the incumbents of all district parishes are forced to pay, not only their own expenses of synodals, but the bills which are presented by apparitors and other officials to the churchwardens. In these places the churchwardens are entirely without any other funds than what they subtract from the clergyman's income. We cannot believe that the Bishops are aware of the extent of these payments incidental to the ordinary visitations. We have before us the accounts paid by the churchwardens of a district church at an ordinary visitation. Here is a specimen for the year 1846:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Presentment fees	1	3	4
Churchwardens of —— Dr. to —— Apparitor: viz.—			
For list of preachers	0	2	6
For Proclamation and Form of Prayer for East Indian victories in 1846	0	2	6
For ditto for Queen's safe delivery, 1846	0	2	6
For notice of Confirmation in 1846, by order of the Lord Bishop of ——	0	1	0
For attending Confirmation in same year, by order of the Lord Bishop of ——	0	5	0
For Proclamation and Form of Prayer for relief from dearth and scarcity, &c.	0	2	6
	£1	19	4

And similar, but smaller, payments are made annually at the Archdeacon's visitation. Now, we can hardly see why the incumbent of a poor Peel district has to pay six shillings a year to an apparitor, because very properly the Bishop holds annual Confirmations; nor, again, is it quite consistent with justice, that the parish priest has to pay to this apparitor half-a-crown for a single form of prayer, which can be bought at three shillings a hundred at the Queen's printers.

peculiar to the Clergy; and let those who only pay rates and taxes according to an ordinary and fair assessment consider how sad their complaints would be, if, in addition to these, they were exposed to that army of oppression which directs its peculiar aim against the country home of the English parson, or rather, against the stability and ecclesiastical freedom itself of the English parish church, so long the happy and proud possession of our country.

In our relation of grievances, we have purposely omitted to give any distinct place to the working of the Commutation Act itself, by which tithes are now regulated. That act was an arrangement between the payers and receivers of tithes, in which both parties were supposed to be consulted, and both had the power of appeal. The bargain was made, and therefore it is too late in the day to complain of its results, still less of the violation of principle which it involves. Considering, also, the political feelings of the time when this act was passed, the Church has much cause of thankfulness that she came off, in pecuniary matters, as well as she did in the struggle—for there were many at the time who apprehended worse things. Yet, although willing to keep strictly to our bargain, we certainly have a right to plead the present working of that measure as a very strong ground for the greatest consideration being shown towards the Church in subsequent legislation. The present value of rent-charge is 10 per cent. below the commutation, which may be accounted for in the very words of a correspondent whom we have before quoted:—

'The payment of the Clergy, prior to the operation of that enactment, represented a portion of the value of *all* the products of the farmer's industry, of corn, of hay, of cattle, sheep, wool, coppice-wood, potatoes, turnips, small seeds, &c.; and where the custom of compounding for tithe was prevalent, the amount of composition rose or fell as rents varied, or (which on an average of years would amount to the same thing practically) as the price of the various productions of the land was raised or depressed.

'But the commodities being many, had a greater tendency to, and more truly represented, an equilibrium of value than would one or a few. Often it happened that when one fell another rose, and *vice versâ*. But the Tithe Commutation Act fixed the amount of payment henceforth on the price of corn alone; at once creating a new estimate of value of the whole of the vicarial tithe of England and Wales, and sweeping away all consideration of the market value of those very commodities which had been the measure of the Church's dues. Then came the abrogation of the Corn Laws, and with it the fall of the clergyman's income of 10 per cent.; whereas, if the averages had been taken on the aggregate value of all the hitherto tithe-able property, the fall would have been very inconsiderable on vicarial tithe rent-charge.'

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but injurious to this special interest—for the lowering of this standard by the introduction of free trade in corn. In the case of the farmer, the lowered price of corn is amply compensated for by the increased production which high farming of the present day enables him to effect. The clergyman, however, has no longer any interest in the *amount* of produce; his income is regulated solely by the price, to keep down which is the anxious care of all statesmen who wish well to their country.

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In the first place, where the parish is of any size, there is the expense of providing the assistance of fellow-labourers. Nor can it be said that curates exact more than is their right, and that this burden ought to be reduced in its amount. We would rather suggest that a system should be adopted by which an incumbent might boldly appeal to the laity of his parish to pay the expense of such assistance, where he feels that he can justly do so, and that he enjoys no larger income himself than is requisite for a man in his position, and for the discharge of his other duties. In many places this is already done, but we think the principle might be more extended. An incumbent might fairly say, on entering a parish, that he can only do a certain amount of work, although more than that is required by the necessities of the parish; that his own income will not allow the expenses; and, therefore, as the good of the parish is their common work, the laity must subscribe in order to enable their pastor to carry out his plans. If this be thought too near an approach to the voluntary system, let the existing societies for the provision of curates be more amply supported than they are, in order that the more urgent cases may meet with prompt and certain redress. Either in a direct form, or through the agency of a society, we think that this special work of providing curates in parishes, where the need is great and the incumbent's income insufficient, is one which requires to be put more directly before the laity than at present, amid the various calls of charity, is generally the case. Let it be understood, that unless funds are forthcoming for the payment of additional labourers, that the clerical service of the parish must necessarily be limited to the work of one man, in cases, that is, where the endowment of

something which by degrees wears away the absolute part, and prepares the way for a reconstruction of human life in some fresh form. One system, again, may be absolute as contrasted with another of the same age, from having in it a strong basis of this kind, which the other may not have. Such would be the relative positions of the Hebrew and the Greek mind. With these contrasts of character, he conceives that the peculiarities of geographical and physical position wonderfully correspond. The absolute is attached to rocks and mountains; the free element to plains, valleys, and rivers. The one is central, the other divisional; the one narrow and confined, the other wide-spreading and expansive.

In the working of all these different elements upon one another, and in the gradual evolution of their results, he sees a 'drama,' which he believes, by one of his usual mysterious analogies, to follow, in a great degree, the rules of the inventive drama of human art, and to divide itself naturally and rationally into five acts. This certainly looks fanciful enough to dispose the serious reader to close the book at once. Yet it is not, after all, so senseless a notion as it would be, if taken in the literal sense, that the course of the world's history follows the laws of the drama. Rather the drama follows a law of action and reaction, which is found to operate with more or less completeness in almost every great movement amongst mankind. There is an impulse toward some end, which is resisted, and that which must be done seems frustrated. Then a fresh effort rallies all forces to bear upon the object, and fresh complications and difficulties arise, over which, in the end, the primary principle triumphs, or finds in them its sublime and tragical catastrophe.

These attractions belong to that 'ebb and flow' on which Wordsworth loved to meditate, and in which he saw the working of a mysterious and all-pervading power. And if we cannot say that they are always distinctly limited to impulse, resistance, attempt to solve the difficulty, renewed complication, and final catastrophe, yet, from the manner in which conflicting causes usually act and react amongst the elements of human society, it is reasonable to assume that they may be usually contemplated in some such form. The fivefold division may be the best to set before the mind that which is capable of several other modes of representation; we may at least adopt it as an arbitrary arrangement, with the expectation of finding it not less suitable to the reality than such arrangements commonly are. At the same time it must not be forgotten, that a writer who is determined to have his drama complete, and not only his several acts duly distinguished, but in them to have every principle 'polarised by its opposite,' and acting in certain geographical directions

of progression to correspond with its tendencies, will most certainly have to square his facts a little to his hypothesis, and to give prominence occasionally to that which suits his particular view, rather than to that which is most important in the real relations of history. And one who is determined to give no one religion the exclusive privilege of divine authority, will have to make the most of certain facts indicating the imperfections of Christians, as objections to Christianity. Mr. Smith, we suppose, would not, indeed, object to be called a Christian, and would even claim the title, but in such a sense that he is still under the necessity of negativing every form of Christianity, except the Unitarian, between which and Mahometanism he seems to hesitate, in determining where to seek the basis of his Church of the future. He is too Pantheistic for any positive creed, and yet too rational to dispense with all belief; and must, therefore, fly about over the waters of the deluge, if he can afford it, till some ground appears where he can rest his foot. The better creature, after all, is that which prefers the ark afloat to a mountain under water, which may prove, when it is found, to be far off from the true Life of the World.

Yet this strange observer has seen a vast amount of truth that escapes many eyes, and has stated much of the history of Revelation, in terms which bear a strong testimony to what he does not himself acknowledge. It is very difficult, indeed, to make out his conception of divine action, so vivid at times, and seemingly so full of reality, and yet at other times so lost in uncertainty and in equivocal results. Whether the Church's belief of a twofold order of divine dealings with man, the authoritative and the merely impulsive, the covenanted and the uncovenanted, does not give a clearer and fairer solution of the questions of history, is an alternative that may be safely left with any truly candid and well-informed inquirer. Mr. Smith has his place, indeed, for prophecy; for the Divine nature, according to him, is possessed of foreknowledge; but he dissociates this from the authority which it implies in the system where it is displayed. Let it be remarked once for all, that he has not brought forward anything to show that foreknowledge has been manifested anywhere save in the central line of God's dispensations, the whole of which is acknowledged as authoritative by the Church.

'What is most worthy of our consideration in treating of prophets is, that there was a graduated scale of prophecy, higher and lower, greater and lesser portions of the Spirit. A certain portion of the spirit of Moses was taken from him, and given to the seventy Elders. Elisha prayed for a double portion of the spirit of Elijah; and when Elijah was ordered to do a work, he seems to have been entitled to transfer the order to one of his subordinates, who did it for him. There are greater and lesser prophets—truer and falser prophets—some prophets particularly true, others not so

be depended on—and others, at the bottom of the scale, positively false. The series is like the musical scale: there are greater and lesser concords, and there are also discords, and the whole form a complete series. In the time of Ahab, we are told that there were in all about four hundred prophets in Israel, and they all promised him the victory in the name of the Lord. But there was one, a diamond amongst the pebbles, whom the king hated, because he always prophesied evil—a most disrespectable prophet, not received at court, and therefore not invited with the rest of the four hundred. At the request of Jehoshaphat, the King of Judah, however, he was sent for; and when he came, he prophesied ironically, confirming the word of the other prophets. Afterwards he recanted, and seriously told the king that the Lord had sent a lying spirit into the four hundred to deceive them, and persuade him to go up to battle and fall; for which response of the oracle he received a blow upon the cheek. The Lord creates pebbles as well as diamonds, and seeming diamonds as well as true ones. Nor were they the prophets of Israel only who prophesied falsely, but the prophets of Judah also. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means."—"The prophet is a fool; the snare of a fowler in all his ways, and hatred in the house of his God."—"Hearken not unto them who prophesy unto you." "Regard not their visions nor their dreams." "I have not sent them; they prophesy out of their own hearts." And yet the Spirit does not hesitate to accept the responsibility of all the gamut of prophecy, from the highest concord to the lowest discord; for He not only declares that He sends the lying spirits to deceive the prophets collectively, but when any individual prophet is deceived, the highest authority declares, "I, the Lord, have deceived him, and will stretch forth my hand against him, and destroy him;" for he has not the final spirit of instruction, and therefore "I have not sent him;" but merely an ephemeral spirit of expediency, whose mission is for a season, and therefore "I have sent him," but will not establish him. And such a spirit all prophets, more or less, have; for every man who comes with a mission of doubtful meaning and mystery, receives darkness and not light, as Jeremiah says was the case with him, from the spirit who sends him.'—Pp. 69—71.

This may be Mr. Smith's theory of the Scripture records of prophecy, but it is not, as he seems to represent it, the Scriptural view of prophecy. There is, indeed, in that view, a graduated scale of prophecy, but there are true prophets, and Jeremiah is one of them, the whole of whose utterances are held to be true and divinely sanctioned. With any other who does not bear any such divine commission, the Spirit deals as He will, giving a revelation, it may be, at certain times, but not 'establishing him,' like Samuel, 'to be a prophet of the Lord.' As for the old prophet of Bethel, when he 'lied,' it was of his own mind, and not at all by the spirit of prophecy. Nor are we led to suppose that the prophesying of the four hundred whom Micaiah withstood, was ordinarily of any value whatsoever. We hear of no spirit at all coming to them, save a lying spirit, which is here, we might almost say blasphemously, confounded with the Spirit of God. Indeed, it is a necessary consequence of Mr. Smith's theory that he must sometimes say, what to an orthodox reader has a most revolting sound, and what must lower the tone of any mind that can think it without

revulsion. If there has been any divine utterance on earth which can really be distinguished as such, this theory is wrong. Its God is a God that cannot speak, and that imparts, 'not light but darkness,' not in the way of dispensation, and in an improper sense of the word, but literally and in his ordinary manifestations. We common Christians think it more reverent, more philosophical, and more intelligible, to ascribe absolute perfection to the Almighty, and to His acts toward man, and to believe that He permits imperfection and even contradiction in His works, yet always overrules the acts of every finite will to His own all-wise purpose. Certainly there is no proof to the contrary adduced in the work before us; rather the evident shifts to which the author is put, when he would bring down revealed truth to a level with human imaginations, serve to establish the fact that truth differs not only in measure and degree, but in kind and in its essential conditions, from the semblances of revelation which are found in erroneous systems of religion. At the same time what is acknowledged is good against the destructive hypothesis, as a fact which requires to be accounted for, and the most rational account of which may be that of a divine reality and a divine truth.

'These restrictions are not, perhaps, adhered to by modern Jews, because it is supposed they are not now required; but they are sufficient to prove the fact of an interdict upon Israelitish art, for they forbid the exercise of artistic talent in its most exalted forms.

'But this restriction was not absolute, neither does it apply to all the arts, for this would have reduced the people to barbarism. In poetry and music the Hebrews not only enjoyed great latitude, but their religion was adapted for enriching these noble arts with the most sublime and beautiful imagery and melody. The sacred music of the Hebrews is, no doubt, the source of that of the whole Christian world. Our own sublimest songs and strains may be traced back to the Temple and the Tabernacle. There is nothing more elevated in the whole world of poetry than the Hebrew Psalmody. Modern poetry only reaches the sublime, by using the imagery of the ancient model. "Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully; he shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation. This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob! Lift up your heads, O ye gates! and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? Jehovah strong and mighty, Jehovah mighty in battle." The grandeur of such a pæan as this so greatly surpasses that of all pagan songs in honour of gods or heroes, or the pretty juvenilities of amorous passion, employed in the worship of Divine Humanities, amongst the heathen, that it could not fail to give an elevation of mind to the sages of Israel of a very peculiar character, amid the surrounding poetry of the nations. And nothing has ever yet surpassed it. The richest subjects for modern oratorios are still to be found in the history of Israel, and the richest phraseology in the writings of the Hebrews. They stood on the summit of the mountain. They sang the praises of the Eternal One. The

highest idea is that One, and we have not yet discovered a phraseology or an imagery more perfect than theirs to describe His perfections, or exalt our ideas of His greatness. Mingled as it is with great and self-evident imperfections from which our feelings revolt—such as curses uttered against enemies, and fearful representations of God as a man of war delighting in battle—perfectly intelligible and beautiful in the estimation of the ancients, but requiring translation into a higher meaning to give satisfaction to modern feelings—there is, notwithstanding, nothing of our own that we can substitute in preference; for the Psalmody of the Hebrews occupies the throne of music, and even its very defects must be treated with reverence, until its final translation be effected by a successor as highly commissioned and authoritative as itself. It comes from the Mount, and only another mountain, elevated still higher, on the tops of all mountains, can ever supersede the native mountain of sacred music.'—Pp. 80—82.

There is nothing said in the Psalms of the Lord as a 'Man of War,' from which our feelings need revolt. While there is evil to war against, war there must be, and God will have His servants fight withal, and will fight for them.

'However strong the faith of Reformers that God was with them, the faith of the Catholics was equally strong, and justified by facts, that He was on the side of the absolute, conservative principle. God is universal. He is on both sides of every debateable question. He is both in the desert and in the field; for wherever there is a portion of truth He is there; and He cannot forsake it, nor leave it utterly desolate. Now, no cause is without a portion of truth; hence the moral necessity for fluctuation, and the ebbing and flowing of success and failure in all great controversies.'—Pp. 461, 462.

'There were sincere and good men in all parties, Catholic and Protestant, in the great struggle of the Reformation—men actuated by strong faith and the martyr spirit, and therefore men who were justified by their faith according to the standard doctrine of Protestantism, when *un*explained by a critical restriction. But as Protestant divines could never agree about this critical restriction, and as we have seen that there is none to the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the Bible, the most charitable meaning that can be put upon the doctrine is this: that whensoever a man believes that he is doing right, he is justified in his conduct. This justifies all sincere men and parties, and God himself assumes the responsibility of the government of the world. "He bears our sins in his own body." '—Pp. 475, 476.

There is something rather more revolting to a religious mind in this justification of human aberrations, than in the assertion of God's right to war against and exterminate evil, and the consent of His saints to that work, fearful as it is. Surely even the Old Testament view of the great battle-field of the world is more intelligible and more rational than the notion that men are simply set to fight for principles one by one, and that there is no divine system which combines all principles of truth, which is the thing they ought to fight for. If fighting were wrong, God could be on neither side, except in defence. Doubtless there is a truth, even in this view, but it is distorted and exaggerated in a far higher degree than that of the Jewish com-

batant for Judaism against the world. We do not want any false hypothesis; we do not want any substantial indifference of systems, in order to find place for charity. 'If thine enemy 'hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing 'thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.' God is for the right, and vengeance is with Him; He will repay. But the lesson to be learned from this is as the spirit of the learner. God teaches us as we are able. What we learn, now, from this truth is, to pity one who does us wrong, and desire his repentance that he may be saved. Under the law the doctrine of peace and love was not made clear, yet it was practised in some measure by God's servants; where a different spirit prevailed, it was of man, and not of God. His severity was indeed shown forth, but it was needed, and it was ill for those who were fiercer against their own enemies than against His. The execution of righteous judgment in God's name does not make men vindictive. A commission of judgment may in some degree harden a heart which is already hard; but even this is rather the consequence of inattention to the true principle of judgment than of the act of executing it. The Israelite was commanded to execute judgment on his nearest relative or friend for certain offences; and had he done so faithfully, he would have learned a lesson not unfavourable to gentleness and humanity. He would have learned to unite pity with severity, and they would not have been so easily separated afterwards. It is easy to trace a humane feeling, for instance, in the judgment of Achan, although his punishment was severe and strictly executed. The same appears in the final result of the war of Benjamin; and after all that has been said of the cruelties and the vindictive spirit of the ancient Hebrews, we suspect that the counsellors of Benhadad said no more than truth when they suggested to him in his extremity that the kings of Israel were merciful kings.

The principle of mercy is not wrought out by mere latitudinarianism, or indifference to offences against religion; it has been gradually matured by that very religion which is unjustly charged with delaying its progress. The work of religion has been from the very first to separate judgment from man's revenge, and in so doing to reduce the vindictive feelings within narrower and narrower limits. Here and there, even down to our own times, will be found those who have stood up for the wrath of man on principle, and have maintained that its exercise was lawful, and even laudable, to an extent which is shocking to civilised ears. Some of their paradoxes, indeed, come very near to truth, for the vindictive principle is not without its ground in truth; but so far as they have been wrong, their error has arisen not from believing in judgment, but from some

prejudice which has made them apply their belief in Divine judgment, and in man's duty of concurrence, to the wrong cases and occasions, or in the wrong measure and degree. 'A good hater' is better, after all, than an indifferent person, who has no great love for what is good, and consequently no great horror of its opposite. All that he requires is to have his hatred rightly directed, and whenever there is room for it, to learn to hate the evil principle, rather than the unhappy person who may be considered in a manner its victim rather than its representative. Surely the Spirit which could foresee the future, so as to utter all the mysterious hints and foreshadowing representations of things, which Mr. Smith quotes with apparent belief, must have had power to foresee the higher meanings which would in coming ages be put by analogy upon the Psalms of David. If the words of the Old Testament really contain the meanings in which he constantly quotes them, most certain it is that the whole Bible is a work of one vast counsel, extending through a course of centuries. And if this is so, there is but one source from which that counsel can have come, to be right, consistent, and true. It is certain that the Prophets did not comprehend it. And if not, who made them say more than they comprehended? Was it analogy? But who made that analogy? Who gave the impulse to speak, so as constantly to hint at that analogy? We do not think that those who allow the mysterious coincidences of prophecy can be very philosophically consistent, without allowing also a God who can hold actual, moral, and intellectual converse with men. Even the typical analogies between the structure of the human skeleton and that of the whale, are more rationally explained as proceeding from an infinite Intelligence, to which the type is clearly present, than as elaborated by a kind of crystallisation from unconscious matter, moved by the impulse of some undefined vital tendency independent of any distinct mental action. And so the mysterious shadowings and reflections of events far distant in time, in the prophetic visions and utterances, are not to be accounted for save by a Power which can, if it will, speak plainly to man, and tell him what to hope, what to fear, and what to do. They imply an act of that power, at least, in the direction of such communication, and, so far as they are truly apprehended, extending to a species of such communication.

He allows, and even maintains, that the moral law communicated to Moses was an absolute Divine Law, and that the Bible is full of prophetic hints, at least of things to come. His book places events before us in such a light as to make it very difficult to a fair mind to resist the conviction that it is so indeed. Then why not acknowledge, further, the absolute truth

of the Christian doctrine? The reason seems to be, that nothing can be absolute to the rational man which is not based on grounds within his own nature. The Gospel implies facts of history. Can our faith depend upon these? The moral law is absolute; it approves itself to the conscience. The belief in universal Providence is absolute; it appeals to the individual reason. But the creeds assert a number of facts known only by testimony, and can therefore have no such certain basis within the mind. The final unitary faith which is to banish sectarianism must be something more universal, must not stand in need of any such helps, must take its rise in the free action of the human faculties amongst themselves, and not be perplexed and disturbed by dogmas.

This is plausible in one way, but in another way it goes against all reason and experience. It is plausible, as it pretends to promise man a perfectly clear ground for all his most important convictions. It is against experience and against reason, as it separates his belief from his history, and makes his religion independent of facts. Now, all progressive religion, all that comes into the course of human development with any powerful operation, is founded on facts, and acknowledges what God has done in past times for the species, or for some part of it which has been chosen to receive His influences. Yet, for the final state of religion, we are to throw off our belief in the acts which God has done, even because they were done amongst us and in our sight! The history of our race affords sufficient evidence that it is man's nature to believe, and to be taught historically, and, through such teaching and such faith, to make progress in morals and in wisdom. The history of prophecy makes it clear that this progress is not fortuitous, but preordained by One who foreknows the result, and has foretold it. And we have such evidence as man can have of events long past, that God has spoken to us in an articulate revelation, and by acts as well as words. But the freedom of man requires that it should not be so, and refuses to submit to any articulate faith. A faith that is articulate will be refused by some, and therefore cannot be universal.

'It is the Law that makes Israel. Wherever the Divine Moral Law is, and wherever it is united with faith in its Divinity, and revered and obeyed by the conscience as the rule of life, there is Israel, the unitary people restored and gathered, the lost ones found, the scattered ones collected—the one Church and the one Temple. This is the people to whom all the promises were made. They were not made to the Gentiles and the divisional, disruptive nations. Search, and see if you can find a promise to any but the one united and at last universal and sole nation. It is impossible. God could not make a promise to antagonistic nations. To Israel only the promises are made. The Gentiles become one with it by the Common Faith and the Common Law, and to those who are not collected

into this unitary and universal nation there is nothing left in nature but strife and contention for ever.

'Now, can the sword restore and gather this people? Can a financial law realize the idea of popular unity? Can parliamentary legislation do it? Can a creed, or a series of articles, or confession of faith do it? They have had a long opportunity of doing so, if they are by nature qualified for the office. But it is morally impossible. They have their own respective missions, but this is not the mission of one of them, but of the Law of Divine Order to which an unarticled Faith in Universal Providence gives living birth in man; and this Law will grow and ramify in every mind from the central idea, the unfettered faith, whenever it is planted.

'By an unfettered faith, we mean a common faith in Universal Providence, not expressed in the form of a creed—an invisible, undefined and quickening spirit-point, radiating through the whole sphere of being. It is a faith which embraces every thing as part of the Divine plan, but admits the graduation of all things on a scale of greater and lesser degrees of divinity and value. From this proceeds the Common Law of Order as the outbirth and regulating principle. Any attempt to fetter this common faith by scholastic formulæ destroys its universality and spirituality, and occasions controversy and schism. It is then no longer a common but an articled faith. There is no formal creed in the Bible. A pure, and common or universal faith, is a spirit without body, parts or terms, like the Divine Being, who is its object; and therefore it is not the logical foundation of a structure, but its quickening spirit—that is, a spiritual, not a formal foundation. Law may be expressed in terms, and is, therefore, the true formal basis—the body of which faith is the spirit. But when the radix of the law is a common or unarticled faith, there is the central principle of unity as well as of growth and development for social organization. With this social organization articled faith has no right to interfere. It is a sphere of hypocrisy, for a man may feign to believe an article which he does not believe; and it is also a sphere of controversy and strife. It is therefore unfit for a radix of Catholic organization. It is only for a coterie or sect, and is the real mother of sectarianism and infidelity. The unarticled faith is the mother of the common law of peace and order, and the quickening spirit of the age to come—Charity is the soul of it. Faith is primary, as the quickening spirit; Charity is primary, as the reconciling spirit; Law is primary as the organizing spirit; and with these three all doctrine is innocent, and communion has free scope and ample encouragement for all good offices.'—Pp. 628—631.

To our mind, all men do not seem very much nearer as yet to Mr. Smith's universal faith than they are to the Apostles' Creed; and we have had as yet no evidence that it has the power of working out charity and good morals, at all equal to the evidence we have had in favour of definite Christianity. The same authority which has taught us all that we know of the highest morality and the purest faith, tells us that we are to believe in the Son of God as well as in the Father, and, in fact, whatever may be said about the Bible containing no formal creed, in 'all the articles of the Christian faith.' That which is rational, to be expressed, must be articulate, though articulation involves the obnoxious item of articles. If the Bible is
d's gift, so is the Apostles' Creed and the doctrine it con-
s; and there is nothing in the whole course of revelation

that need be renounced as untrue, although in its progress it has left behind some things which were temporary. But the clearer day, which we are told is now dawning, is to emancipate us from all articulate faith, while it makes us all believers in a unitary, and, as it seems, Unitarian creed. There are many other things to be said against this view, but for the present, and in this connexion, let it only be said that such a result is a backward step for every man who has had a religion even erroneously derived from the Hebrew stock, for the Jew, the Christian, the Mahometan, and even the present ordinary Unitarian, who, however, has the least faith of them all to lose. Even he will lose, if ever he ceases to regard his belief in the Son of Man as a matter of divine faith. The Divine Humanity, which we reach by the negation of articulate faith, is another thing, a monstrous, diabolical imagination, the system of Antichrist.

Between this system and the system of faith there is a necessary and world-lasting war. The pretended toleration of the negative theory extends not to positive faith. In its view, while working forward, every inferior system of faith, every partial negation, is a benefit. Here and there may be found a mind which holds it with the belief that even the central organization of Christianity in the Episcopate, nay, even that its exaggerated form in the Papacy, is a temporary benefit. But let it once triumph, and it will hold every positive believer guilty of high treason against the liberties of mankind, and be only the more bitter against such faith as it cannot afford to despise. And when we venture to look forward into the future, we cannot but be perplexed by the apparent prevalence of this tendency. It is not the only growing tendency, indeed, but there is no doubt of its rapid growth and extensive prevalence. To those who think it contains a living and uniting principle, this is of course an occasion of hope, sometimes of exultation; but the sober Christian is not carried away by such appearances. He knows that it is in religion as in civil government; the mere destruction of an oppressive rule is neither happiness nor liberty. The mob may be itself the very worst of tyrants, and may constrain itself, by its self-tormenting power, to resort to any other tyranny as more tolerable than its own. The mass of Christians, if led to revolt against their appointed spiritual guides, are likely to run into endless excesses, and to find refuge in the most worthless systems, rather than remain in the state of anarchy which they have chosen. They who will not serve the true God in their own land, shall serve other gods in a land that is not theirs.

Yet our prospects are not entirely without hope. We know that, almost in all times, good men have mourned over the evils

of the age, and have thought that the increase of wickedness seemed to signify that the last days were at hand. The present times are no exception; yet they show germs and rising plants of good, which may be the harbingers of a rich harvest. Looking away, for a moment, from the main question before us, of the principles of belief, we cannot but see an improvement in the education of the higher classes in our own country and in our colonies, which must have important results. The greater care taken of the religious morals of our youth will not be wholly unsuccessful, though it may be in many instances sadly disappointed. The revived energy of our Episcopate at home, and its wonderful life and vigour in the colonies, are signs that Christianity is not effete amongst us, but is still capable of powerful efforts and extended success. And although there are strong symptoms occasionally of the madness of the people, yet there are movements, and quietings of movements, from time to time, which show an increased prevalence of good sense and good feeling in the public in general. It would be as ungrateful and unjust to deny the fact, as it is presumptuous to be over-confident in it. And although it is not an absolutely new symptom, yet the extensive practice of combination for good and benevolent purposes is not to be forgotten. It has its drawbacks. Mistakes are made, money wasted, rivalries and ill feeling produced, and lawful authority opposed; yet there is a good principle at work, which wants to be regulated, not suppressed, and which may in the end work out most important benefits.

But will the moral and spiritual life of man confine itself to the channels marked out for it in ecclesiastical institutions; or will it rather first spread itself in a thousand several streams, and then unite in one flood of public secularism and private freedom in religion? We can only answer that the latter alternative is antichristian, and that if the continuity of religion is to be preserved, as it has been from the very beginning of the world to this day, the Church must by some means hold her own. It seems hardly possible that she should do so unless her action is very much extended, and is brought to penetrate the whole of society more deeply than at present. Christianity must be, as it was at first, more linked with men's daily moral life than it seems to be at the present time. Men must learn to feel the Church more of a home in which they live—a brotherhood to which they belong. And men in general will not feel this, if the Church is concerned in their spiritual life alone, if it has not some distinct and constant bearing on the conditions of their temporal existence. Nor, again, will it be easy to perpetuate the old bond of charity between rich and poor as

such in the coming age. The class of independent operatives and officials, &c. is rapidly increasing in numbers and power; and these in general dislike nothing more than to be held indebted to the bounty of others. If a society, consisting in its great bulk of such elements, and whose other elements are more and more assimilated to the character of these, is to be held together, it must be by some bond of communion, and not of mere patronage and clientship. There must be a reciprocity, and a free interchange of mutual aids, together with mutual respect and mutual confidence. A mere balance of jarring interests cannot be permanent; some principle of conciliation must intervene, to do away with their hostility. The mere success of agitation, in removing partial burdens, is not likely ever to leave the coast clear of grievances. The very change of times will make that a grievance, which a few years ago was a fair arrangement. The principles which are now generally assumed in political economy provide for a perpetual renewal of conflicting interests, and justify every possible indirect invasion of established rights. It is easier to unite men in a common hostility, than in a common advance toward perfection. Hostility implies self-satisfaction, while every real improvement implies self-command and self-denial. Indeed, we are scarce likely to see on earth a state of pure peaceful cooperation; there will be strife, and rivalry, and opposition amongst men. But some states of society are characterised by the one, and some by the other; and it is a matter of most interesting speculation, how far the one or the other is likely to prevail—of most interesting practical inquiry, what steps will promote the one, and what the other.

Commerce, as Mr. Smith justly observes, is not communion:—

'Still commerce is not communion; but it is the root of it—the earth-boring and earth-seeking root; an emblem of all that earth symbolizes, without heaven and the hope of it; the prose without the poetry of existence; the wealth without its enjoyment, and without the moral beauty that renders it amiable to the beholder, or anything but an object of envy to the poor. But it is not an evil in itself. It is a root without its plumule, until the moral principle of communion be raised upon it. We say moral principle of communion, to distinguish our idea of it from that mechanical principle of community, which has been taught by many in modern times from the inspiration of the age. Community thus taught is an immature development of the idea; but being forcible and mechanical, it rather destroys liberty than promotes it. There can be no real liberty in society established by artificial means; for man is a moral being, the apex of the pyramid of creation, and can only find his element in the higher atmosphere of moral, intellectual, and spiritual enjoyment—a voluntary being, and therefore never to be made happy under any system of artificial constraint, which prescribes a routine that interferes with the exercise of his own mysterious and sacred individuality. With this individuality communion does not intefere; it is the end and object of terrestrial redemption. The communion of the saints is an article of the Christian Creed, and, what is

more, the last article but one, the penultimate, and the one that is associated with life everlasting; and what holier and happier idea of life everlasting can we have than pure and perfect social communion?

'How is this to be attained? It begins with a common faith. There is no other root for it either in time or eternity; there is no other way to it but through this common faith. All the revolutions and reforms and repealing of taxes, all the electioneering trickery and manœuvre of party, are vain and worthless without this. They may go on to eternity without improving the condition of man, or making life more desirable, except perhaps to the few who make the many their slaves. There is no real progress, no real alleviation of burden, no genuine repeal of taxation, unless it be felt on the heart. The poor labourer in the heyday of his strength twenty years ago could carry a quarter of grain; his master has now repealed one half of his taxes, and gives him only half a quarter to carry; but he is oppressed with the load. Is this a real or a nominal repeal? And who can say that any repeal of taxation that has yet been granted to us in this tax-repealing land of mechanical reform, is real or merely nominal? We do not presume to answer the question, because we cannot tell whether the burden on the heart of the pilgrim of life, in this middle age of the nineteenth century, is greater or lighter than it was in the middle age of the tenth century. It is the pilgrim's burden that we judge by, not by the pounds, shillings, and pence, or the labour value of wheat; and judging by this burden, we feel assured that that only can be esteemed a real deliverance to the world which promotes the social communion of nations and individuals; and can this be effected either in public or in private life without a common faith? We trow not. We little value any attempted reform that has not this for its basis. Its financial or commercial value we do not dispute; but its moral value is a vulgar fraction.'—Pp. 620—622.

Wild as he is, this writer is right in dethroning *l. s. d.*, and in denying any living power to the merely financial system of government which estimates everything by money. He does not pretend to tell us how it is to be, but his universal and absolute morality, and his faith in the cooperation of all to a divine purpose, are to be sufficient to unite mankind in one great society; and such is now the aim of the Secularists, some of whom, at least, preach a morality which in general fully comes up to the standard of Christian public opinion, though not of real Christian doctrine and life. Witness the letters signed 'F. W. N.' in the 'Reasoner.' They maintain, and as a general rule are able to maintain, that virtue is its own reward in the present life, and that there are reasonably sufficient motives for good morals within its compass. They look to raising the moral tone of the most numerous class of society as the means of increasing its power, and finally establishing an order of things in which its will is law. In such a community they think that man might live more happily than at present, and that virtue would be the rule, vice, if it still existed, the exception, and misery xt to impossible. They believe that all this good is only ıyed by man's quarrelling about creeds, and differing as to gious observances. They think men need scarcely settle ether there be any God or no, before they attain to the sum-

mit of moral excellence. They would begin with what they think is practical and close at hand, and leave all that we cannot see for subsequent speculation, if any care to speculate about it.

Now, we do not say that a great and specious fabric of society may not thus be built up, if not at present, yet some time or other. The truths which Christianity has taught are mighty, even in this lower world; and by the very constitution of things, not only godliness, but the outward social life prescribed by godliness, in its degree, hath the promise of the life that now is. Rome gained her greatness, if S. Augustine is right, as the reward of her steady pursuit of the secondary aim of human virtue, honour amongst men. The philosophical secularist will, of course, make an absolute inherent worth the attractive principle in good actions, but the masses will be moved by the praise of men, where they are not for a moment led by a self-forgetting sentiment. The results may be great and striking, and may even have some permanency, until human passions find the way again to interfere, and break up the ill-cemented work; for such, we believe, it must ever be, while the love of God, the faith in a Redeemer, the trust in a Sanctifier, and the hope that lives through death are wanting.

But to these minds the Church appears to offer nothing comparable even to this not yet very realizable dream. They see nothing in her but dull Sundays, and hot churches, and dry sermons, and full-fed incumbents, and unintelligible dogmas, and denunciations of eternal perdition on all who doubt or dissent. Let the Church flourish ever so much, they see nothing more, except more sermons, more prayers, more processions, more carving and gilding, more priests, and more exclusiveness. It will be well for the Church to look to herself, and see what she is doing, that men may know whence she comes and whither she tends. She must do one of two things, if not both. She must exhibit before all men a life above the world, which may be in a few, exercising its influence on the many; or she must have a good and real universal life in the world for her acknowledged members, her communicants. Without one or both of these conditions, she can have no hold upon society in these days; she cannot do her work, cannot maintain her ground against the rising tide of public opinion. In England, at least, she will sink into a mere department of worship, and her buildings will be sold in the market as a kind of proprietary chapels, without check or scruple. There is yet hope for her in the improved Christian education of her laity, and the improved clerical education of her clergy. But these must be carried out into their results in active life, if their legitimate effect is to ensue. The

law of the state tends to be less moral, and to leave many things to private feeling. Points which have been guarded by law heretofore, will now be open to private judgment. But on some of these the Church has not only traditions, but principles or rules of divine authority, in the application of which she ought not to relax. Usury is not easily defined, but the liberty now allowed by the law certainly embraces instances which offend against the divine and moral law, and against the principles acknowledged by the Church. There are but too strong symptoms of a tendency to relax the law of marriage, in a way which the Church ought not to sanction with her blessing. The recent Poor-law may be an improvement in State legislation, but it is not the proper law of the Church for her faithful members. It may be well for her that she is thus put on her trial, if she will but rise to the emergency, and put forth the strength that is in her. Yet the magnitude of the task is enough to appal the stoutest heart, when we consider the means and instruments with which she has to work.

Now, we cannot admit that any amount of actual failure on her part will prove that she is wrong and her adversaries right. It has been so from the beginning, that God's work has prospered in the few, while its success with the many was very imperfect. It is certain that the Church offers the means of perfection to those who will strive to enter in at the strait gate; but the many prefer the broad way, let it lead where it will. The many may prefer a liberalised establishment, Theology toned down till it subsides into Unitarianism—the morality of public opinion and communion with all heretics. It will not follow that all this is not antichristian. It will not follow that the truth will not even yet prevail, and reign long and prosperously before the final apostasy. We have heard of a Hindoo reading himself into Christianity through a series beginning with Voltaire, and continuing through a host of infidel writers. Every positive form of infidelity or heresy is an imperfect development of some separate truth which has escaped from the Church, and been nurtured alone under circumstances favourable to such a partial growth. And even the negative thought of Antichristianism brings the otherwise untaught mind into a certain kind of contact with Christian ideas. A seed may take root where it is most rudely thrown, and the grain may be deposited in a fertile soil by the very bird that gathers it up from the wayside. Nations may repeat a process which has been exemplified in individuals, and faith may grow by a natural reaction out of infidelity.

Unbelief has its difficulties, which tell upon those who behold it triumphant; and there is no more likely way to the lasting

triumph of faith than a temporary triumph of the contrary principle. It is, however, a dear-bought experience that drives men back to faith from infidelity; and we do wrong to make up our minds to that course as the necessary and inevitable progression of society. Rather, even if it actually occurs, faith wins its renewed victory through those who refuse to give way, and show to an ungodly world the standard of a divinely supported courage, and of a belief steadfast amidst the wreck of Christian institutions. The moral of a brief review of the course of this world is, certainly, the immense importance and responsibility of every step that is taken, and that especially in a critical period, and on the most critical ground. England is still the field where acts leave the most durable impress on institutions and on national character, and where seeds of principle have the greatest chance of growing to an important and extensive development. Ideas thrown out or actualised in England, spread their influence through her colonies and through the United States of America; and her intercommunion of thought and life with the countries of Continental Europe is daily becoming closer. It may not improbably be true that the 'Oceanic Mission,' which is to unite the earth in one, is in a great measure confided to her; and although there seems no human probability, at this moment, that her Church can spread itself effectually throughout the whole range of her language or her empire, yet we know not what may be accomplished by even a few years of vigorous action, when once she has a powerful central spring at work.

On her acting as a body depends, humanly speaking, the question, whether the 'unitary' influence, which almost confessedly amongst all thinkers is allowed to England at this time, shall assume the Unitarian or the Catholic character. Liberals in the Church are nearer than they think to the former; a perpetual negation of mystery, authority, and sacramental agency, will soon lead into its lowest, coldest, and dreariest flats. The latter is the proper work of the *Church* of England as such. Her place between Romanism and Presbyterianism, and united with both now in a triple establishment—for Romanism is acknowledged by the State—is most favourable for promoting a mutual understanding amongst Christians, and for discovering the common ground on which they can meet, *without* sacrificing their faith. And the great liberty of private action as yet subsisting in England, (though yearly diminished by democratic enactments, which place the conduct of the individual often most vexatiously under the control of the majority, or the noisy minority,) is favourable to any such action of the Church, through semi-official organs or organ-

izations, as may extend her influence over the moral life of the community.

Every Church institution that tends to exhibit and strengthen any truly Christian form of life, or to organize any Christian aims and efforts in an effectual manner, works powerfully toward the consummation which every good Churchman ought to desire. And whoever will look back a few years upon the state of England in this respect, may easily satisfy himself that we have learned much as to the duty of legitimate and authorised organization, and the danger of desultory and self-willed movements. Still what we have learned of things that ought to be, is far more than what we have yet accomplished; and we must confess ourselves as yet to live in a semi-barbarous and confused order of things, if order it can be called where there is no order. But the field is open before us, though under the jealous supervision of a Government which will scarce let anything be done decently and in order, lest we should seem to be enforcing that order on some imaginary dissentients, and which always protects private rights in opposition to any useful public reformation that is not called for by a popular cry. Patience and perseverance will succeed, in spite of the democratic prejudice, that no man is to be compelled to do right except by Act of Parliament. Real moral improvements will win their way, and good works will find at last their meed of approval, and the encouragement that is necessary for their success. Education will be maintained on the basis of religion in spite of each man's determination to oppose every man's religion but his own, and the determination of many to have none rather than that of the Church. Even the loss of privileges long enjoyed by the Church, and reasonably due to her, may in some cases conciliate minds that have long been alienated; and joint works begun or long carried on in a merely secular spirit, may at last be brought under the influence and sanction of religion. These changes are not greater than what our own day has seen, and the times seem daily to favour the possibility of quicker and quicker change. One thing is certain, whether in our victory or our defeat, our humiliation or our glory—'Great is the truth, and will prevail.'

ART. IV.—*God in Christ. Three Discourses, delivered at New Haven, Cambridge, and Andover. With a Preliminary Dissertation on Language.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. London: John Chapman.

THE title which we have ventured to affix to the present article is one which frequently arrests the course of the uplifted paper-knife, and causes it to pass, *per saltum*, to pages which promise a less dry and repulsive subject of study. As, however, the discussion of such themes is thoroughly germane to the purpose of this Review, and as the thinkers who give attention to them are precisely those who prove most influential in guiding and affecting other minds, the dedication of a certain amount of our space to the consideration of this branch of divinity can hardly be censured by the majority of our readers, and may possibly, we trust, prove welcome to the few.

If Theology be rightly defined as 'the science which treats of God, and of His creatures in so far as they are related to Him,' it will not be difficult to show the intimate connexion of its various branches with Dogmatic Theology, which may indeed be justly regarded as being in some sense the root and basis of the rest. The other leading divisions of Theology are Devotional, Moral, Liturgical, and Exegetical. Devotional Theology is, from its very nature, the least conversant with books, the most immediately concerned with the believer's inward life and personal experience. Yet, that aid may herein be derived from the wisdom and spirituality of others, is evident from the abundance of books of prayer and meditation, and the popularity among religious people of books which treat of the inward life, such as Scupoli's 'Spiritual Combat,' or Bishop Taylor's 'Holy Living and Dying.' Such works, though they refrain from any direct discussion of dogmas, are yet compelled by their very nature to assume them. A Christian uttering in private or in public such supplications, for example, as the opening suffrages of the Litany, must needs, if he is to pray with the heart and understanding, and not with the lips only, believe the Church's doctrine of the Holy Trinity; if, with Jeremy Taylor, he meditates on the *Practice of the Presence of God*,[1] he will not stay to combat, even in thought, the Pantheistic notions of a Soul of the Universe, but take for granted the existence of a living, personal Jehovah; if he contemplates, with pious awe and sorrow,

[1] Holy Living, chap. i. sec. 3.

the corruption of his own nature, or the humanity of his God and Saviour, he will accept the doctrines which have been handed down to him, without lingering over the fatal errors of Pelagius and Socinus. In a word, the very idea of prayer and religious exercises presupposes the acceptance of certain dogmas. 'He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.'

In the case of Moral Theology, so largely treated by the greatest of the schoolmen, Aquinas, and among ourselves by Bishops Sanderson and Taylor, a portion of the basis may be fairly considered to consist of Moral Philosophy, and the admitted facts of human nature, as recognised even by heathen sages. But Christianity is needed, in order that a sound and durable superstructure may be raised; it is needed partly as an authoritative republication of natural religion; and, again, as involving in its dogmas several new and distinct precepts of duty.[1]

The intimate alliance between morality and the faith of the Gospel, which is constantly implied in Holy Scripture, appears to be distinctly stated in such passages as the following:—'The law 'is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and dis- 'obedient, for the ungodly and for sinners . . . . . for liars, for 'perjured persons, *and if there be any other thing that is contrary 'to sound doctrine* (διδασκαλία).' 'If there come any unto you 'and bring not *this doctrine* (διδαχὴν), receive him not into your 'house, neither bid him God-speed; for he that biddeth him 'God-speed is partaker of *his evil deeds*' (κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς). 'God be thanked, that ye were the ser- 'vants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that *form of 'doctrine* (τύπον διδαχῆς) which was delivered you.'[2]

The comparatively modern study of liturgies, while it throws vast light upon the faith of antiquity, so obviously starts with the assumption of those verities of the creeds, (which have now for twelve centuries been incorporated into most of them,) that the connexion between ritualism and dogmatism need not be further insisted upon. There is, indeed, no danger of our ritualists becoming insensible to the importance of Dogmatic Theology; while, on the other hand, those who neglect and undervalue 'dogmatics,' have seldom any taste for liturgical studies.

It may perhaps, at first sight, appear that Exegetical Theology can dispense with all appeal to dogmas. If, it is urged, Holy Scripture contain all truth necessary to salvation, the science of its interpretation should commence with the abnega-

[1] Bp. Butler's Analogy, Part II. cap. i.
[2] 1 Tim. i. 9, 10; 2 John 10, 11; Rom. vi. 17.

tion of all prior principles. These should be sought within its pages—not in anywise assumed from other sources. We reply that such a course of proceeding is impossible, and that even if it were possible, it would be erroneous. That it is impossible, is admitted by writers very alien from the tone of thought which we would humbly strive to inculcate. 'It has often been 'said,' writes Neander, 'that in order to true inquiry, we must 'take nothing for granted. Of late this statement has been 'reiterated anew, with special reference to the exposition of the 'life of Christ. At the outset of our work we refuse to meet 'such a demand. To comply with it is impracticable; the very 'attempt contradicts the sacred laws of our being. We cannot 'entirely free ourselves from presuppositions . . . . they control 'our consciousness, whether we will or no; and the supposed 'freedom from them is, in fact, nothing else but the exchange 'of one set for another.'[1] 'The doctor,' says Sir James 'Stephen, 'whether he has graduated in law or divinity, has 'grown up from the cradle in the arms of traditions, and in the 'lap of prepossessions, which have indelibly impressed their own 'character on all the knowledge which he has afterwards derived 'from his books.'[2] That such erasure of prepossessions would be erroneous, if possible, arises from the consideration of the rightful authority of parents and teachers, who were to us the appointed channels of our earliest impressions; from the fact that there are right and salutary, as well as wrong and injurious, prejudices;[3] and that Holy Scripture itself does not profess to fix its own canon, or more than partially supply its own interpretation, these things being left in part to the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge, in part to the teaching of that body which is 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'

By a dogma, then, we understand a fundamental article of saving truth, asserted or implied in Holy Scripture, taught by the Church Universal, and consonant to sound reason.[4] It must

[1] Life of Christ, Introduction.

[2] Essays in Eccl. Biography, vol. ii. p. 199.

[3] 'You see, Sir, that in this enlightened age, I am bold enough to confess that we are generally men of untaught feelings; that instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree; and, to take more shame to ourselves, we cherish them because they are prejudices, and the longer they have lasted, and the more generally they have prevailed, the more we cherish them. We are afraid to put men to live and trade each on his own private stock of reason, because we suspect that this stock in each man is small, and that the individuals would do better to avail themselves of the general bank and capital of nations and ages. . . . . Prejudice is of ready application in the emergency . . . . prejudice renders a man's virtue his habit, and not a series of unconnected acts. *Through just prejudice his duty becomes a part of his nature.*'—Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France.

[4] See Five Sermons on Faith and Church Authority, by Rev. C. Marriott. A.D. 1850. Preface.

be contained, explicitly or implicitly, in Holy Writ; for otherwise, even though it should be a true and valuable principle, its belief cannot be necessary for salvation. It must be affirmed by the undivided Church, for no inferior body can claim the right to pronounce decisively and finally upon such solemn questions. It must be thus far agreeable to right reason, that it does not absolutely contradict, even if it transcend, that faculty; or that, at any rate, if it appears *primâ facie* unreasonable, it is so far supported by the analogy of nature and the practice of men, as evidently to rest upon some rational basis, although at present but dimly visible. To assert that God is one, and that God is three, in precisely the same sense and manner, would be a contradiction of reason; but such is not, we need scarcely observe, the Church's doctrine of the Holy Trinity. On the other hand, if the acceptance of the humiliation and suffering of an innocent Being, as an atonement for the sins of the guilty, seem at first sight incompatible with our notions of what is reasonable and just, yet such acceptance has been shown by Bishop Butler to be consistent with the analogy of nature, and it accords with the all but universal practice of offering sacrifice, and with the principles implied in the stories, whether legendary or historical, of the self-devotion of a Codrus and a Decius.[1] And lastly, a dogma must be an article of saving faith. Enunciations of belief which fall short of this may be curious, interesting, and far from unimportant; may be abstractedly very reasonable, and not inharmonious with the revelations of God's Word; still they are not dogmas, but merely *pious opinions*, and consequently in nowise binding upon the conscience of a Christian man. Thus, for example, it is a pious opinion that the number of the redeemed in heaven will equal the number of the angels who fell. A great theologian, Archbishop Anselm, disputes this position, and maintains that it is more probable that the redeemed will exceed the number of those lost ones 'which kept not their first estate.' But he does not argue the point in the same spirit in which he would combat heresy.

'Bear in mind the condition on which I commenced a reply to your question; namely, that if I said anything which no greater authority confirms, that point (although I should seem to prove it by reason) should not be received with any certainty, further than that I in the meantime think so, until God in some way reveal to me better. For I am sure that if I say anything which clearly contradicts Holy Scripture, it is false, nor do I wish consciously to hold it; but if upon those subjects on which different opinions may be held without danger, as is that of which we now treat (for if we know not whether more men are to be saved than there were angels lost, or otherwise, and we approve one view rather than the other, I think that there is no danger to the soul); if, I say, on subjects of this

[1] Cf. Thomson's Bampton Lectures. Lect. II. and notes.

kind we so expound the divine sayings, that they seem to favour opposite opinions, and no ground can be discovered whence men may determine what should unhesitatingly be held, I do not imagine that we ought to be blamed.'[1]

A very different tone would be observable, if the writer had been discussing the 'one baptism for the remission of sins,' or the fall of man in Adam, or the resurrection of the body.

Our remarks have in some degree anticipated the question which has often been mooted, whether the heathen can properly be said to have possessed any religious dogmas. Inasmuch as they lacked a written revelation from the Most High, and had not among them any community to which was pledged the undying presence of the Holy Spirit, even the truths which they possessed failed, so to speak, in vital power, and became vague, obscure, and shifting in their character. Still they would not have sunk so low as they had fallen before the coming of Christ, had they at all acted up to the light that they really enjoyed. 'The eternal power and Godhead' of the one Creator, as they had doubtless been traditionary truths, so too ought they (an Apostle assures us) to have been clearly seen and understood by His works.[2] Even among them we seem to trace adumbrations of holy dogmas, as the triads of the Pythagoreans and Platonists. Aristotle represented his highest wisdom as dwelling on the thought of the self-existing substance, and accordingly called it Theology.[3] The only one of the four great empires which was free from the guilt of having persecuted God's people, that of Persia, appears to have been the one which had retained the most systematic form of doctrine; and it is surely a solemn lesson to see how S. Paul, in the chapter just referred to, connects the corruption of 'the truth of God' by the heathen with the fearful moral corruption which followed. If that kingdom of Satan was to be in any degree supplanted, even on earth, by a race who should exhibit

[1] 'Sed memento quo pacto incœpi tuæ respondere quæstioni: ut videlicet, si quid dixero quod major non confirmet auctoritas, quamvis illud ratione probare videar, non aliâ certitudine accipiatur; nisi quia interim mihi ita videtur, donec mihi Deus melius aliquo modo revelet. Certus enim sum, si quid dico quod sacræ Scripturæ absque dubio contradicat, quid falsum est: nec illud tenere volo, si cognovero. Sed si in illis rebus, de quibus diversa sentiri possint sine periculo, sicut est illud unde nunc agimus: si enim nescimus utrùm plures homines eligendi sint, quàm sint Angeli perditi; an non: et alterum horum æstimamus magis, quàm alterum; nullum puto esse animæ periculum: si, inquam, in hujusmodi rebus sic exponimus divina dicta, ut diversis sententiis favere videantur; nec alicubi invenitur ubi quid indubitanter tenendum sit determinent, non arbitror reprehendi debere.'—Cur Deus Homo, lib. i. cap. 18.

[2] Rom. i 20.

[3] "Ωστε τρεῖς ἂν εἶεν φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαί, μαθηματική, φυσική, θεολογικὴ γὰρ ἄδηλον, ὅτι, εἴπου τὸ θεῖον ὑπάρχει, ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ φύσει ὑπάρχει· καὶ τιμιωτάτην δεῖ περὶ τὸ τιμιώτατον γένος εἶναι. — Aristot. Metaph. cap. 1.

a vast improvement when viewed in the mass, and in numberless individual instances what had previously appeared superhuman virtues, there was needed for a supernatural morality the support of a supernatural doctrine. The one sect, among those 'who profess and call themselves Christians,' which has done the most to destroy the supernatural element of Christian doctrine, and would fain reduce it to a condition but little superior to pure theism, namely, that of Socinus, is, consistently enough, the most devoid of warmth and enthusiasm,—the most alien from all that is poetic and romantic, from all that is tender or awe-inspiring in religion.

The necessity, therefore, for dogma depends upon this principle, that the living faith *within* man's heart must, if it is to be of any worth, rest upon something *without*, which is clear, definite, and true. The subjective feeling must find a correspondent objective reality. We know but of two ways of escape from this position. The objector must assert, either that sincere faith is satisfied with what is dim and vague; or else that the inward principle of faith is in itself of so much value, that it matters very little upon what object it may fasten itself. Now, that *some* degree of dimness must exist concerning the objects of the unseen world is, of course, a necessity during our present state of existence. Many of the terms supplied to Theology by Holy Scripture are such as we can but very partially and faintly understand: such are, for example, the words 'only-begotten,' with reference to the Eternal Son; or 'proceeding from,' as applied to the Holy Spirit. But what the Church maintains is, that her dogmatism is correct, her teaching true, *so far as it goes*, although waiting for a fuller and clearer manifestation, 'until the day break, and the shadows flee away.' This is surely neither an unintelligible nor an irrational claim; we see it constantly exemplified in our experience of every-day life. A child entering a room, finds a parent or teacher using a telescope. He asks for an explanation, and is allowed to look through it. Fresh inquiry ensues, and he is told that it is a brass tube furnished with glasses; and that these glasses are not all alike, though they may seem so; that some are called convex and some concave, but that he must wait till he is a little older to understand these names. Such knowledge is elementary and incomplete enough, but it is *true in its degree;* and if our hypothetical infant meets a playmate who believes the tube to be made of gold, and the glasses to differ from each other in nothing but size, he is justified, with his superior information, in declaring such opinions to be *false*. And we are all but children here, and enjoined to cultivate a child-like spirit. But even the young look for *positiveness* in

what is taught them: in all Christian communions, catechisms containing short dogmatic statements are considered fitting spiritual food for their awakening minds. And so far from an ardent faith being content, as it grows up, with less of definiteness, the exact contrary has often been asserted, and, we believe, with perfect truth. So needful is a certain amount of system to the human mind, that faulty and untenable ones are adopted, often half-unconsciously, rather than that the mind should be left wholly bare of principles. And as for the theory that subjective faith is all in all, it can only be regarded as a specious form of infidelity. Fascinating to some minds it may be, for it has a strong tendency towards self-glorification, in that it makes an inward sentiment of man's heart to be a creative principle of good. But when we look around the world, and see everywhere that man is a worshipping creature, and that further he will endeavour to assimilate himself, so far as is possible, to the Being whom he worships, it is idle to assert that it is of slight consequence whether his faith be reposed upon a Baal, or a Moloch requiring human sacrifices, or a God of mere benevolence, or one who meddles not with the affairs of men, and has not in any way revealed himself to his creatures, or one who sympathises with them, and is himself material, and a partaker of their passions, or finally, One who is pure spirit, all-holy, omniscient, omnipotent, perfectly just and yet all-merciful—in a word, the Christian's God.

The close connexion between sound faith and a good life will, we trust, receive further illustration in the course of our remarks. But, even if we were unable to discern any relationship between the two, it would still be our bounden duty to cherish and openly avow our belief in the dogmas of the Catholic faith. It is at least one way of confessing Christ before men. 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'[1] Moreover, it is hard to understand how, without the aid of creeds and evidences, the great body of Christians can hope 'to answer every man,' and 'give a reason of the hope that is in them;'[2] or how their pastors can 'hold fast the faithful word according to doctrine,'[3] 'the form of sound words,' such as Apostles delivered to their spiritual children,'[4] or 'exhort and convince the gainsayers.' The talent committed to her the Church cannot bury in the earth. 'Almighty God has entrusted to the keeping of His Church a body of clear, definite, positive doctrine, which all Christians are required to believe,

[1] Rom. x. 10. [2] Coloss. iv. 6.; 1 Pet. iii. 15.

[3] Ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου. Tit. i. 9.

[4] 2 Tim. i. 13; a text of great importance in its bearing upon our present subject.

'and without belief in which they cannot be saved; which body 'of doctrine, or "form of sound words," was given prior to 'the Scriptures, for the Scriptures are full of allusion to it; is 'distinct from the Scriptures, but collateral to it; contains 'nothing which cannot be proved from Scripture, and is by 'Scripture always and universally to be confirmed, yet is not 'deduced from Scripture by men, nor dependent upon Scripture 'for the separate historical attestation to its apostolical origin; 'in one word, "that good thing committed to the Church," 'and always to be held fast, without which even the Scriptures 'may be perverted, and all objective forms of Gospel truth 'be blotted out—the doctrine contained in the creeds.'[1] And as the humble and reverent study of Dogmatic Theology is intended to subserve the great cause of God's glory and man's highest welfare, so too we, in our ignorance, know not what other divine plans the publication of the truths thus attained may incidentally promote. Hints and glimpses of further designs beyond the immediate ones are revealed to us; for the incarnate Lord was seen not only of men, but likewise 'of angels;' and the truths of His revelation are things which 'the angels desire to look into;' and while His saints proclaim among the heathen His unsearchable riches, they are teaching not mankind alone, but causing too 'that now unto the princi-'palities and powers in heavenly places should be made known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God.'[2]

In that fair form of divine wisdom, the dogmas have not inaptly been likened to the bones of the animal frame. Special study may be requisite to enable men to see any beauty in a skeleton,—the anatomist alone can discern how fearfully and wonderfully it is made; but it needs no science to perceive the imperfections of a pulpy, boneless creature, like the jelly-fish; and such, instead of a highly organized and nobly constituted structure, would soon become that theology which should attempt to discard all system and all dogma. On the other hand, this comparison suggests what is equally true, that the framework alone does not constitute the man. There was need of flesh and blood, nerves and muscles, heart and brain, before his Maker 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' Dogmas, apart from the spiritual life of individuals, are but as the dry bones of the prophet's vision. It is to no purpose that the Church proclaims the tidings of a Saviour, if her children, sunk in careless apathy, have lost the sense of their *personal* need of Him. In vain are means of grace

[1] Rev. W. Sewell. Sermon on Purification, A.D. 1848.
[2] 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Pet. i. 12; Ephes. iii. 10.

offered to the pilgrim through this world, if he believes that his own unaided strength can avail to win for him a safe passage to the next. Unblessed, we must fear, will be the services of God's house, and the teachings of His Word, to him who has forgotten all self-examination and private prayer. But when the formal enunciations of doctrine are duly covered and breathed upon, they live and stand 'up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.'

Hence we see, in all religious revivals, that alarms of the conscience and appeals to individual seriousness form the just and natural commencement. But it is important to observe that this renewed earnestness almost invariably proceeds to assume a scientific form and objective character, or else evaporates and dies away.[1] This scientific teaching may indeed lean too greatly upon some one man, such as Calvin, and thus become, even though logical and consistent, yet exceeding narrow and imperfect; but, on the other hand, it may, while adapting itself to the needs and availing itself of the resources of its own age, fall back upon the rich resources of antiquity, and thus fostered 'upon all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old,' approximate to the wisdom of the true scribe, 'instructed unto the kingdom of heaven.'[2]

And while, on the one hand, the dogmas of religion afford resting-places (if we may thus change our comparison) for the weak and weary, they are likewise starting-points whence bolder spirits may safely issue forth to wander over the comparatively unexplored fields of exegetical inquiry, or even, if duty so demand, to traverse the thorny paths of controversy; for Christianity, while it does not, like paganism, suffer even the most fundamental articles (such as the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, the judgment to come) to remain undecided and debateable, yet leaves open to the inquisitive temper a vast area of lawful speculation. 'Most especially,' says Lord Bacon, 'the Christian Faith, as in all things so in 'this, deserveth to be highly magnified; holding and preserving 'the golden mediocrity in this point, between the law of the 'heathen and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two 'extremes. For the religion of the heathen had no constant 'belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument; and 'the religion of Mahomet, on the other side, interdicteth argu-'ment altogether—the one having the very face of error, and the

[1] Thus the (so-called) Tractarian movement was the natural sequence of the (so-called) Evangelical movement; and numbers who sympathised with the earlier, mainly subjective, current of thought, have since approved, and at length heartily accepted, the more systematic and objective teaching of the latter school, which has superseded it.

[2] Cant. vii. 13; Matt. xiii. 52.

'other of imposture; whereas the faith doth both admit and 'reject disputation with difference.'[2]

The principles we have been occupied in asserting, though put together in our own way, are in themselves so old, and have been affirmed by so many writers, from S. Basil to S. Bernard, from Bishop Bull to academical professors of our own day, that the reader may not unnaturally be tempted to exclaim, *quorsum hæc?* We answer, that the re-statement of these positions on our part has sprung from the conviction, that there has arisen in the present century a tendency to revolt against dogma in religion, to deny its use, its soundness, its possibility; and that such a tendency is, in our judgment, fraught with danger, most imminent danger, to the cause of religion at large. The attack has been conducted in very different ways, and with different objects, but the ultimate results would be the same. There has been employed against the value and authority of creeds and dogmas the insidious sneer of Gibbon (who knew well at what *he* was aiming), often intermingled, however, with some striking admission, some precious fragment of truth; there has been the bold and contemptuous denunciation of all creeds by Dr. Channing; there has been the attempt to represent 'the natural history of the soul as the true basis of theology;' there has been a flood of German writers and American imitators, Deists, Pantheists, Atheists, agreeing in scarcely anything but the rejection, firstly, of creeds, and then (but too consistently) of the inspiration of God's Holy Word; and finally, in this questionable company, along with Fichte, with Emerson, with Theodore Parker, and with Strauss, are conjoined, in so far as regards opposition to dogmatic teaching, at least two writers of real piety and good intentions, Neander, and the author of the book before us, Dr. Horace Bushnell. It is with the last named that we are mainly concerned; with the rest we shall not meddle, except incidentally. *Their* attacks upon dogmatism, when placed before religious persons, carry to a great extent their own antidote with them. A pious mind,

[1] Adv. of Learning, Book II. *versus fin.* Compare the following striking language of a recent author:—'There is extant no *perfect* theological system which is also *proved*. On some points, after all the labours of bygone times, we must inquire for ourselves. On the other hand, it would be most false and dangerous to assume that *nothing* has hitherto been settled; that there is now no ark in which the truth of God is preserved; and that every individual Christian must toss in his own little bark on the perilous sea of opinion. We who believe that the Church is really an institution of God, and that our place within it is determined by His divine providence, may discover that the restless waters of doubt are confined within an outer edge of certainty.'—Chretien's Lectures on the Study of Theology (Oxford, 1851). Introductory Lecture.

even if disposed to underrate the value of the Church's creeds, will assuredly recoil from the Gibbonian sneer. He may, unhappily, consider the formal teaching of the undivided Church to be erroneous, and then he will regard it as the mistaken aliment of many million souls for long centuries; or he may hold it for God's own truth, divinely appointed to be one of the *media* of salvation, and to be recognised as such before Christ, and men, and angels, at the last great day; and, in either case, the subject will seem too solemn for mockery. Neither, again, will the attacks of Socinians, although ostensibly based upon general and quasi-philosophic ground, be received without just and well-merited suspicion. *They* have an obvious interest in denying the worth and authority of documents, which denounce the teachings of Arius and Socinus as fraught with everlasting evil to the souls of those who wilfully, and with full consciousness of what they are doing, accept them; still less can men who have renounced all belief in Revelation, or who have even sunk below pure theism, and hold less truth than a Mahometan, expect a hearing from a Christian audience, when they dilate upon themes which presuppose a Christian treatment. But it is far otherwise, when the writer's aim is evidently good, and what we deem to be dangerous errors are mingled with much that is beautiful and true. In selecting Dr. Bushnell's work as the representative of attacks upon Dogmatic Theology, we are not taking one of the most recent, nor one of the most elaborate of such works, but we are certainly choosing one of the most able and attractive; indeed, so attractive in parts that some of our contemporaries have, we fear, unintentionally given a false idea of the book and its tendency, by quoting only from its most unexceptionable pages.

Dr. Bushnell's 'Discourses' are prefaced by a dissertation upon language, which lays a foundation for much that is to follow. Then come the three discourses; the first being on the Divinity of Christ, the next upon the Atonement, and the last upon Dogma and Spirit. A few extracts from the headings of the introductory and of the final discourse, will show that it is with them that our immediate business lies, although we shall have occasion to refer to other portions besides these.

'A false element in words of thought. Etymologies to be studied. Opposing words necessary. The logical method deceitful. Interpretation. Language insufficient for the uses of dogma. Creeds and confessions.'

'Christianity displaces the Pharisaic dogma. Enters the world as spirit and life. Lapses next into dogma. Consequent discord and corruption. The Reformation a partial remedy. The reviving of revivals insufficient. Dogma and spirit distinguished. Province and uses of Christian theology. Causes of the lapse into dogma. Resulting benefits of the same theological capacities of dogma. Piety itself limited by dogma.'

And on the whole, despite what is true and good in Dr. Bushnell's pages—despite some important admissions which seem to us to militate against his theory—his work must be regarded as an attack upon the use of reason in sacred subjects, and a denial of the possibility of Dogmatic Theology.

Our objections to the book might be summed up in the brief but now somewhat hackneyed *formula*, that 'what is true is not new, and what is new is not true.' But, in fact, there is some difficulty in deciding how much even of the unsound portion can be called new. A reader, who is conversant with 'Neander's Life of Christ' and 'Bishop Hampden's Bampton Lectures,' will hardly, we think, find himself confronted with many ideas that seem absolutely novel; while, on the other hand, those who are acquainted with the works of the late Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, or the Sermons of Professor Hussey at the sister University, will certainly be, in a very great degree, forewarned, forearmed. Probably, too, though we cannot here speak with positiveness, the works of Schleiermacher[1] might be discovered to have suggested a good deal to Dr. Bushnell. We use the word *suggested* advisedly, for we do not mean to insinuate a charge of any base or unfair plagiarism; we are simply asserting, what must be obvious upon a glance at American divinity, that the mind of Germany has crossed the Atlantic in great force, and is exercising an immense influence upon the thought of the Western Hemisphere.

But, to draw out our objections more fully and formally, we maintain that Dr. Bushnell commits serious mistakes with respect to the functions of language, which vitiate much of his subsequent reasoning; that he ignores important and relevant texts of Holy Scripture, important and relevant facts of human nature; that where he condescends to allude to history, his views are at best but superficial, and occasionally utterly wrong and groundless; that while condemning the dogmatic confessions of the early and undivided Church, he displays (it is a common case) a dogmatism of his own, differing from the Church's dogmatism in this, that hers is scriptural and true, while his is unscriptural and false; and that, finally, his sentiments concerning both language and dogma would tell fatally, if pushed to their logical conclusions, against the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and its worth as a revelation to mankind.

[1] 'Schleiermacher received his religious education among the Moravians, and thus imbibed a love of religion which never forsook him. But it was a love only of religious feeling, and not a predilection for the distinctive faith of the Christian Church: it was a love of the beautiful, poetical, but vague religious sentiment, which he imagines to be the principal feature of Christianity, and an utter disregard of the definite, unbending doctrines, which were once delivered to the saints.' —*Letters on German Protestantism*, pp. 167, 168.

These charges, however serious, may be supported, we would trust, without anything like undue personality. We think, indeed, that Dr. Bushnell's reading has probably been limited to a somewhat narrow range. There is no appearance of any real acquaintance with the works of any one of the great dogmatic theologians—patristic, mediæval, or modern—upon whose labours he passes judgment. Athanasius, John of Damascus, Augustine, and other saintly fathers, Anselm, Bradwardine, Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Pearson, Bull, Mill, Dorner, Möhler, are all *virtually* involved by him in one common condemnation; all have committed what in our author's eyes are grievous errors. It is only natural to desiderate some proof that he possesses more than a mere second-hand and hearsay knowledge of their works. We think, too, that there may unhappily exist a closer connexion between Dr. Bushnell's labours and those of other men, whose writings have been enrolled in Mr. Chapman's so-called 'Catholic Series,' than he himself is aware of. It is strange at first sight, certainly, to find an anti-Sabellian and anti-Socinian writer in company with Fichte and with Emerson—the pantheistic Fichte, who asserts 'that 'the conception of God as a particular substance is impossible 'and contradictory;'[1] the boldly blaspheming Emerson, who declares that 'Churches are not built upon his [Christ's] prin-'ciples, but on his tropes. Historical Christianity is not the 'doctrine of the soul, but an exaggeration of the personal, the 'positive, the ritual. It has dwelt, it dwells, with noxious ex-'aggeration about the *person* of Jesus. *The soul knows no* '*persons* . . . . By his holy thoughts Jesus serves us, and *thus* '*only*.'[2] Dr. Bushnell, who writes in so different a spirit, has not, we trust, been a consentient party to this conjunction. But, even if it be regarded as the deed of an editor or publisher, it should surely be a hint alike to an author and his readers. It may suggest the question, Is not there some hidden bond of union between authors seemingly so opposite? For our own part, we believe that those who have brought them into company know perfectly well what they are about.

But although the principle of *noscitur à sociis* may be in some degree applicable to our author, we should be sorry to ignore the features which exalt him conspicuously above most of his allies. There are, as we have already intimated, parts of his book which command our partial, parts which command our entire, sympathy. The following, though by no means a new argument against Socinianism, is extremely well stated. [The italics are ours.]

[1] Nature of the Scholar, &c. (Translated by William Smith.)
[2] Orations, No. II, delivered in *Divinity* College, Cambridge, U. S.

'I discover, also, that this threeness helps me the more, and lifts me the higher, *because it baffles me.* If I think it more philosophical and simple to conceive God only as one Person, that Person will really be a finite conception, unwittingly though very absurdly taken as infinite. And then, as the God shrinks, the mind freezes. The simplicity it so much admired, after all, brings disappointment. *The ease of this philosophic unity is itself a great fault; for it is as if we had God's measure, and saw his boundaries.* He is too clear to be infinite; and, what is even worse, too clear to have his warmth in the soul. . . . . Represented as three, God is yet one—the more magnificently one because He is three. The soul has her sublimation, because she is held in a maze, and God is warm because He is a mystery.'—Pp. 160, 161.

Here the writer is only asserting, in his own language, the dogmatic teaching of the Church universal; and his argument may possibly remind some readers of the language of Möhler, quoted, though in a different connexion, in a recent number of the *Christian Remembrancer.*[1]

Then, again, Dr. Bushnell is perfectly free from those theories (so popular in America) of the Universalists and others, who would represent the Almighty as so weakly merciful that He ceases to be just:—

'Christ must be preached, not as an Ambassador of pardon simply, but as justification. *The rigour of God's integrity, and the sanctity of His law, must be maintained.* It is not Christianity, as I view it, to go forth and declare that God is so good, so lenient, such a fatherly Being, that He forgives freely. No; God is better than that—so good, so fatherly, that He will not only remit sins, but will so maintain the sanctity of His law as to make us feel them. The let-go system, the overlooking, accommodating, smoothing method of mere leniency, is a virtual surrender of all exactness, order, and law. The law is made void; nothing stands firm. God is a willow, bending to the breath of mortals. There is no throne left, no authority, nothing to move the conscience—therefore, really no goodness. Any doctrine of pardon without justification must of necessity weaken at last, the sense of religion, and it is well if it does not even remove the conception of Divine government itself.'—Pp. 250, 251.

And to prevent any misconception concerning his notion of justification he adds, as it seems to us, very excellently:—

'Christ must never be preached antinomially, or as a substitute for character. No such impression is to be endured. *There must be no such jealousy of self-righteousness produced, that our hearers will hardly dare to be righteous at all.* The very object for which Christ comes into the world, nay, the object of justification itself, is character, righteousness in the life. The intention is, that the righteousness of the law itself shall at last be fulfilled in us; that our robes shall be washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb. This mercy is mercy because it ends in character—character renewed, purified, sanctified, made white. Therefore we are to say with our Master himself, "Blessed"—blessed only—"are ye that hunger and thirst after righteousness." '—P. 251.

[1] 'That the Godhead should be One Person is utterly inconceivable (*das ganz und gar Undenkbare*), thoroughly irrational, and opposed to all true speculation.' —Möhler on Islam, &c. (Cited in *Christian Remembrancer*, No. LXXXVII. *vol.* xxix. p. 145.)

This last quotation, coupled with a passage in another part of Dr. Bushnell's work, affords a hint of the causes which may have originally, perhaps, produced his distrust of dogma. The New England 'Churches' (as the various denominations are *all* called in America) appear to have dogmatised, not upon those sacred verities taught in the creeds, and hymns, and liturgies of the early Church, but upon the questions connected with justification. Now, there are several reasons why dogmatism upon these points of theology should be of less value and authority than that of the creeds. In the first place, all doctrine concerning man's justification deals less with objective truth, like that enshrined in the creeds, and more largely with the subjective portions of religion. Hence individual temperament enters into consideration, in a way in which it cannot enter while we are confining our discussions to such doctrines as have been revealed to man concerning the triune God, and the incarnation of the Eternal Son. If, as we suppose all Christians will admit, whosoever is saved gains salvation through the merits of Christ alone, actually wrought or else foreseen, and yet at the same time faith, repentance, and obedience, (the last, of course, including the use of the appointed means of grace, where they may be had,) are necessary conditions of the believer's final safety, then it *will* follow, from mere varieties of disposition, and culture, and spiritual history, that particular teachers are found to dwell, some more upon the one meritorious Cause, some more upon the requisite conditions. Such difference will frequently be discovered to be one less of principle than of temperament. Moreover, some of these questions, far from being settled by the united voice of Christendom, have been among the very causes of disunion. Consequently, the *formulæ* of different religious communions concerning justification must needs possess less external authority than those time-honoured documents which are the heritage of universal Christendom. (That such is the judgment of the English Church is shown from the fact, that while the creeds are interwoven with her public devotional services, and therefore binding upon all her true children, the Thirty-nine Articles are only required to be signed by her clergy and by certain graduates.) And, once more, 'it is the real Incarnation of the Eternal Word '—the actual coming in the flesh of the Son of God, born, 'dead, and risen for our salvation—that is the sole basis of our 'religion: and this, through the divinely appointed means by 'which its belief and salutary influence is propagated, becomes 'the principle of Christian faith and righteousness. This great 'fact, *and not any particular proposition concerning it, however true* '*or useful in its place,* which men may consider as containing 'whole idea, or all that is essential to its purpose: this or

'in the totality of its objective character, and in the consequent 'totality of its applicable virtue and influence,—this is the real '*Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ.*'[1] And if, as appears to be the case, Dr. Bushnell has met with men who attempted to dogmatise in such a spirit as to make *justification by faith* exclude the equally true and important doctrine of a *judgment according to works*, we can easily understand that such unwarranted limitation of scriptural teaching may have produced in our author's mind that repulsion from dogma, which has now unhappily extended itself even to the Nicene Creed. And, therefore, before passing onward to the less pleasing task of controverting the leading principles of these Discourses, we will express our general agreement with the sentiments of one more passage:—

'A doctrine of justification by faith is held by many so literal and forensic in its form, that the Gospel of Heaven's love and light is narrowed almost to a superstition. They scarcely dare to entertain the thought of a personal righteousness, or to look upon any such hope as permissible. It implies, they fear, some expectations of being saved, not wholly by the merits of Christ. They cannot even read or hear, without a little jealousy or disturbance of mind, those texts of Scripture that speak of assurance, liberty, a conscience void of offence, victory over sin, a pure heart, a blameless life, and a perfected love. *They are so jealous of merit that they make a merit of not having any.* They are so resolved on magnifying the grace of God, as almost to think it a crime to believe that the grace of God can make them any better.'—P. 318.

Palliations such as those already alluded to, and passages of this nature, make us anxious to avow, once for all, that it is the principles of the work, and not its author, that we wish to judge. It is high time to attempt the justification of the charges brought against it.

And firstly, with respect to the functions and powers of language, Dr. Bushnell commences with some remarks upon etymology and syntax, which no one will dispute. They may all, however, be found, we think, in Horne Tooke's 'Diversions of Purley,' Mr. R. C. Trench's 'Lectures on Words,' and the 'Greek Grammar' of Kühner, so well known to our academical scholars of the last ten years through the translation of Mr. W. E. Jelf. This portion is, however, only prefatory. The reader is by degrees led on to the main point of the dissertation, namely, the position, that as language, when describing immaterial phenomena, is metaphorical and symbolical only, and derived from objects patent to the senses, religious dogmatism is well-nigh, if not quite, impossible. (P. 61.) Now, Dr. Bushnell appears to us at once to overrate and underrate the powers of language; to overrate, at

[1] Mill's Sermons on the Nature of Christianity, p. 55.

least by implication, its powers with respect to matter, and to underrate its powers in reference to mental science. So thoroughly, moreover, does he in one respect confound words and things, that he actually ascribes to peculiarities and deficiencies in language antitheses which, in truth, exist *in rerum naturâ*. It may be well to explain this last assertion at once, before entering more fully into other points.

The nature of the Eternal and Almighty One is, of course, consistency and harmony itself. If any of His attributes (such as, for instance, perfect justice and perfect mercy) appear to us to clash, this arises from our imperfect apprehension of what their real perfection consists in, not from any dissonance in the abstract qualities themselves. This harmony is, in an infinitely low and subordinate degree, shared by those among His creatures who are obedient to the end for which He made them. There is harmony in the nature of the holy angels, whose wills are ever one with the Divine will; there is harmony in the restored nature of those triumphant ones who cry, 'Just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of saints.'[1] Perhaps, too, though this assertion is more open to question, there is a kind of harmony in the life of the animal creation.

> 'With nature never do *they* wage
> A foolish strife; they see
> A happy youth, and their old age
> Is beautiful and free.'[2]

But it is far otherwise with fallen man. His nature, though in no part rendered substantively evil, has lost its harmony of action; and the restoration, even of the regenerate, is in this life incomplete. His weakness and vileness, and yet, at the same time, his capacity for nobleness and virtue, were perceived even by heathen philosophers, and were to them (unenlightened by revelation) a profound enigma.

> 'Chaos of thought and passion all confused,
> Still by himself abused or disabused;
> Created half to rise, and half to fall;
> Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;

[1] Apoc. xv. 3.

[2] Wordsworth. His tone on this point is, we believe, that of all German poets, even the most religious, of whatever creed. They will not allow that either animals or the inanimate creation have shared in the fall. This has been observed by a very able French critic, M. Saint-René Taillandier, who remarks that S. Basil takes the opposite side, while the mystic founder of the Franciscans sympathises with the German view. Dr. Goulburn, in his concluding Bampton Lecture, discusses the text (Rom. viii. 19—23) on which the beautiful lines of the Christian Year, 'It was not then a poet's dream,' &c. (4th Sunday after Trinity,) appear to be based. It must be owned, as Dr. G. admits, that the use of the term ἡ κτίσις, in Mark xvi. 15, is *against* the application of the passage in Rom. vii. to the animal creation or inanimate nature. Conclusions on such subjects can never, we imagine, *rank higher than* pious opinions.

Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled;
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world.' [1]

And when, in the fulness of time, God sent forth His Son to redeem the world, the Second Person of the ever-blessed Trinity became, though in a different way from sinful man, one vast antithesis, if such language may be used without irreverence. Creator, and yet a creature; eternal, yet born in time; pure spirit allied with matter; true man, yet without sin; innocent, yet suffering punishment; dying, and yet by death the conqueror: this stupendous contrast, shadowed forth for long ages by type and prophecy, is uttered plainly by apostles and evangelists, and has become the subject of Christian art, and eloquence, and poetry. It is suggested by those wondrous strains of music which lend a new pathos even to the inspired words, 'Thy rebuke hath broken His heart;' 'Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto his sorrow;' which proclaim the glory of that Nativity that was to earthly eyes so poor and humble, and burst forth, after notes of sorrow, into the rapture of the hallelujah chorus. It is, at least, attempted by those great masters of pictorial art, a Perugino, a Raphael, a Leonardo da Vinci, who in representations of the infancy, the actions, or even the agony of the Saviour, pourtray, so far as is possible in the human form and features, the light of hidden Godhead. It is the key-note of famous specimens of oratory, patristic, Gallican, Anglican, delivered upon the days kept in memory of the adorable Birth, or Passion, or Resurrection. 'Festivitatis hodiernæ, dilectissimi,' (begins a preacher, who is very great on such occasions,) 'verus venerator est et 'pius cultor, qui nec de Incarnatione Domini aliquid falsum, 'nec de Deitate aliquid sentit indignum. Paris enim periculi 'malum est, si illi aut naturæ nostræ veritas aut Paternæ gloriæ 'negatur æqualitas.'[2] The same truth is thus antithetically, too, announced in the verses of our extremely beautiful English hymn, 'Hark, the herald angels sing,' and in a thousand poems of other times and other lands. Thus, to take the first examples we chance to light upon, sing Peter the Venerable in the twelfth century, and Manzoni in our own day:—

'Matris alitur intactæ
Puer-Deus sacro lacte,
Res stupenda sæculis!
Esca vivit alienâ
Per quem cuncta manent plena;
Nullis par miraculis!

[1] Essay on Man. Pope may possibly have obtained the ideas, directly or indirectly, from Pascal.
[2] S. Leo. Sermo vii. de Nativ. Domini.

Pastu carnis enutritur
Vitam carni qui largitur:
Matris habet gremium,
Quem et Patris solium:
Virgo natum consolatur,
Et ut Deum veneratur.'
De Nativitate Domini.[1]

'O Figlio, o Tu cui genera
L' Eterno eterno seco,
Qual ti può dir dei secoli:
"Tu cominciasti meco?
Tu sei: del vasto empiro
Non ti comprende il giro:
La tua parola il fe':

'E Tu degnasti assumere
Questa creata argilla?'
Inni Sacri.—Il Natale.[2]

Moreover, the work of Christ on behalf of man, although intended *ultimately* to sanctify and harmonise the operations of body, soul, and spirit, yet, during the process, must frequently cause the contradictory principles to be more clearly perceived and acutely felt; for the presence of what is good brings out evil, as the sunlight the shadow. Satan sows the tares among the wheat, not in the barren field; he attempts to rival the workings of holiness by counterfeit imitations: 'for after the Prophets 'come the false prophets, and after the Apostles the false 'apostles, and after Christ the antichrist.'[3] And this internal contradiction, so vividly painted by S. Paul, (if, with a majority of commentators, we may understand the well-known passage in Rom. vii. of his regenerate condition,) is repeated, though in a different way, if we regard the condition of the Apostles themselves. Their social position so humble, their spiritual one so lofty; the present so full of distress, the future beaming with such glorious promises; the contempt of the world, the stripes and dungeons, here; the certainty of the praise of Christ before men and angels, and the 'twelve thrones' hereafter: these make the first followers of our Lord, and many a one since who has walked in their footsteps, examples of this living contradiction.

We owe an apology to the reader for so prolix a statement of positions, which to many will appear the merest truisms. But strange errors demand, as has been already remarked, the reassertion of the most obvious truths. And we are anxious to insist upon the consideration that in all these cases—human nature, unregenerate and regenerate, the person of Christ our

[1] Trench's Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 97.
[2] Parnaso Italiano (Parigi, 1847), p. 356.
[3] Καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τοὺς προφήτας, οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται· καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι· καὶ μετὰ τὸν Χριστὸν, ὁ ἀντίχριστος. S. Chrys. Homil. xlvi. in S. Matt.

Lord, and the condition of his Apostles—the *antithesis* is one *of fact*. When this is once called to mind, there will be a due appreciation of the exceeding erroneousness of a thinker, who can see, in the descriptions of these phenomena, little more than ingenuities of language, and a proof of its insufficiency for dogma. Because, forsooth, poets and orators have often imparted life and vigour to their expressions by some bold contradiction, which is after all but a figure of speech, *therefore* the description of things, which are in their very nature contradictory, is to be regarded in the same light. Such is the teaching of Dr. Bushnell. That we may not wrong him, we subjoin the passage:—

'We never come so near to a truly well-rounded view of any truth as when it is offered paradoxically; that is, under contradictions; that is, under two or more dictions, which, taken as dictions, are contrary one to the other.

'*Hence* [!] the marvellous vivacity and power of that famous representation of Pascal: "What a chimera, then, is man! What a novelty! What a chaos! What a subject of contradiction! A judge of everything, and yet a feeble worm of the earth; the depositary of truth, and yet a mere heap of uncertainty; the glory and the outcast of the universe; if he boasts, I humble him; if he humbles himself, I boast of him; and always contradict him, till he is brought to comprehend that he is an incomprehensible monster."

'Scarcely inferior in vivacity and power is the familiar passage of Paul—"As deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

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'Probably, the most contradictory book in the world is the Gospel of John; and that for the very reason that it contains more and loftier truths than any other.'—Pp. 46, 47.

We submit that a writer, who exhibits such a confusion of rhetorical and poetical forms of speech with matters of fact, can hardly be considered a safe guide in the very profound and difficult questions which beset the connexion of thought and language. Indeed, he appears to us like a man who has got hold of many valuable truths, but is not successful in marshalling them together. Thus, for example, Dr. Bushnell is quite right in maintaining that our ideas of things immaterial can only be expressed in terms derived from our sensible experiences of material things, nor are we aware that the position has ever been denied. 'We speak of a "great" mind, of "elevated" 'strength, of "low" desires, of a "hardened" conscience, of 'a "clear" understanding, of a "brilliant" imagination, of 'a "black" heart, of "foul" passions. All these are metaphors '—metaphors taken from the material world.'[1] This quotation is from a writer of a school the most opposite to Dr. Bushnell:

[1] Mr. Sewell, Christian Politics, p. 12. Cf. A Lecture on Symbolism, by Chas. Browne, Esq., M.A., p. 6. (London: Masters, 1855.)

but he proceeds to add, with great justice, what the American author before us either ignores, or admits at best but very grudgingly and imperfectly; namely, 'that they are metaphors 'taken not by compact and convention, as words intrinsically 'inapplicable, and requiring to be stamped by art with other 'new significations, but *offering themselves by an internal fitness* 'and similitude to express unseen and spiritual ideas.'

That dogma is impossible by reason of the defects of language must mean, either that theological science cannot be constructed upon a basis of words, or else that words are inadequate to express the results of such science, when they have been obtained by other means. Let us look at each position separately.

If it be meant that theological science cannot be constructed on a base of words, the assertion is probably true; but then it must not be confined to theology. It may with equal probability be asserted of all science, philology, and perhaps (in some sense) pure mathematics alone excepted. We do not mean to assert that erroneous views upon this head have never prevailed; but they must be allowed to have prevailed at least as fully in the domain of physical as of mental science. To have overthrown this error in respect of the investigation of external nature, is the great triumph which is claimed for Bacon. So far as the error has prevailed in divinity, it has been exhibited in some of the early heresies, or in that extreme and undue love for completeness of system, explanation of scriptural terms, and deductive theology, which, with all their high and noble gifts, must, we think, be admitted to have distinguished tho schoolmen. It was exhibited by Arius, who was well versed, the historian tells us, in logical discussion, [1] and who thus argued from the earthly meaning of the terms *Father* [2] and *Son*, that such relationship involved priority of time upon the part of the Father, and disproved the eternity of the Son. It has been exhibited by those supporters of Sabellianism, who have attempted to give illustrations of the force of the word *Person* by analogies drawn from the union of offices in one man (such as those, *e. g.* of the same man being at once a bishop and a temporal peer or prince), or Cicero's *tres personas unus suscipio*. And if a similar charge be brought in some degree against the scholastic divinity, we shall not be thereby supposed to rank its constructors with heresiarchs or apologists for heresy, or to apply to their labours that tone of contempt which was so common in the earlier part of the present century. That contempt, indeed,

[1] Οὐκ ἄμοιρος τῆς διαλεκτικῆς λέσχης. Socrates, Hist. Eccles. i. 5.

[2] Φησὶν, εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθεὶς· καὶ ἐκ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός.—Ibid.

proceeded in great measure from a very simple cause, to wit, an almost entire ignorance of their writings, or at best from a judgment of them founded upon partial, and often very unfairly extracted, specimens. Far different had been the judgment of 'the better writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth 'centuries, in most of whom we may discern the influence of 'the scholastic logic in which they were trained,'[1] such as Herbert, Hooker, Sanderson, and others. Far different, so far at least as regards the intellectual valuation, is the judgment of those of our own age who have really made acquaintance with the schoolmen, such as Coleridge, Sir William Hamilton, Sir G. C. Lewis, Prince Albert de Broglie, and others, who are unanimous in admitting their 'extraordinary penetration and amazing compass of thought,' as well as their 'admirable skill.'[2] But although a large amount of our non-acceptance of their conclusions may be traced to difference about the premises to be employed, as is shown by Bishop Pearson in the first of his *Lectiones de Deo et Attributis*,[3] yet it may be found that in many cases the legitimacy of the process is likewise open to question. Thus, to mention a single example, the scriptural terms (we take for convenience two already alluded to), 'only-begotten,' 'proceeding' (*μονογενὴς, πορευόμενον*), imply a certain distinction between the relation in which the Persons of the Holy Trinity, to whom they are respectively applied, stand towards the Father, who is confessedly the *Fons et Origo Deitatis*. It is possible that we may be able to obtain a glimmering of light, so as to perceive some faint reason for such distinction. But Aquinas, though admitting that human reasonings cannot attain to the mystery of the Holy Trinity,[4] yet certainly does assign reasons for the use of these terms,[5] with a fulness and a positiveness which few can, we imagine, think safe or satisfactory, and which stands in marked contrast with the language of S. Austin on the self-same theme. 'But of the difference between *birth*

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[1] Guesses at Truth. First Series, p. 272. (Ed. 1847.)

[2] Bishop Hampden, Lect. ii, p. 100.

[3] 'Satis quidem sunt acuti in illationibus conclusionum, satis in deductionibus assertionum perspicaces. Sed in ipsis locis ex quibus reliqua deducunt sæpissime peccant, *et in ipsis principiis unde disputant semper aliquid est reformandum.*' The Bishop proceeds to name the appeal to apocryphal books of Scripture, to non-ecumenical councils, to spurious works of Fathers, and to decrees of *any* Bishop of Rome, as premises involving dispute. Might he not have added the undue deference displayed by some, especially of Aquinas, to Aristotle? It should be observed that the lecture recommends, with these cautions, the study and even imitation of the schoolmen.—Minor Works, Ed. Churton, vol. i. p. 3. *et seq.*

[4] Summa Theologiæ, Pars I^ma^. Quæst. xxxii. art. 1.

[5] Ibid. Pars I^ma^. Quæst. xxvii. arts. 1, 2, 3, especially art. 3. This is rather, perhaps, an example of over-explanation than undue deduction. But the latter is not far to seek. Thus, *e. g.* can the conclusion, 'quod beatitudo dicatur in Deo

'and *procession*, who, in speaking of that most surpassing nature, 'is able to explain? Not everything that proceeds is born, 'although everything which is born proceeds; as not everything 'that is biped is man, although every man is a biped. *This 'I know; but to distinguish between that generation and this pro- 'cession I know not, I have no power, I cannot avail.* And for 'that, both the one and the other is ineffable, just as the Prophet, 'speaking of the Son, saith, "Who shall declare His generation?" 'so, too, concerning the Holy Spirit, may it be truly said, "Who 'shall declare His procession?" Enough, then, for us that the 'Son is not from Himself, but from Him of whom He is born; 'the Holy Spirit is not from Himself, but from Him from whom 'He proceeds.'[1] But we must not digress further in the question between words and things (the distinction between real and verbal truths being often, as students of logic are well aware, a much more difficult thing to settle than appears at first sight), except to observe that the scholastic authors are, after all, if studied with the cautions of Bishop Pearson, far safer guides even in this respect than Dr. Bushnell. And here we leave the objection against theology being constructed as a science upon a base of words, repeating that however justly it may be urged against certain teachers of theology, it leaves untouched the dogmatism of the creeds, the great bulk of patristic theology, and a very considerable portion even of the treatises of the schoolmen; and that it may be as fairly pressed against physical as against mental and moral philosophy. If (to take an example suggested by a friend, all *endogenous* plants should be proved by experiment to be *monocotyledonous*, we may then feel sure that such and such plants which we have in our hands, being endogenous, are also monocotyledonous. But this conclusion (assuming, for argument's sake, our major premiss to be correct) did not arise *ex vi termini*. That we called these plants *endogenous*, signified that we knew *already* that their accretions were formed inwardly. The scientific terms sum up, as it were, what we already know, and serve to exclude, with definiteness and precision, certain erroneous notions; but from the terms themselves we can conclude little beyond mere verbal truths,

secundum intellectum,' (P. i. Qu. xxvi. art. 2,) be considered a safe inference from the premises?

[1] 'Quid autem inter nasci et procedere intersit, de illâ excellentissimâ naturâ loquens, explicare quis potest? Non omne quod procedit nascitur, quamvis omne procedat quod nascitur, sicut non omne quod bipes est homo est, quamvis bipes sit omnis qui homo est. *Hæc scio: distinguere autem inter illam generationem et hanc processionem nescio, non valeo, non sufficio.* Ac per hoc quia et illa et ista est ineffabilis, sicut Propheta de Filio loquens ait, Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? ita de Spiritu-sancto verissimè dicitur, Processionem ejus quis enarrabit? Satis sit ergo nobis, quia non est à se ipso Filius, sed ab illo de quo natus est: non est à se ipso Spiritus-sanctus, sed ab illo de quo procedit.' S. Aug. cont. Maximinum Arianum, lib. ii. cap. xiv. (Tom. viii. p. 703. Ed. Ben.)

such as that these *endogenous* plants are not *exogenous*, and the like. Other truths concerning them must be discovered by observation, not from the force of words.

Now, we submit to those who are already, or shall by study become, competent judges of the question, that it was the *latter*, the true function of scientific terminology, and *not* the mistaken one of seeking in any wise to rear science upon it as a basis, that the framers and defenders of the creeds attempted. Even in a later day, the famous Master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard, is found arguing against those heretics who maintained that the human soul is of one substance with the Creator (insisting on the *term* 'breathed into,' in Gen. ii. 7, inasmuch as that which any being breathes forth must be part of himself), as clinging with *obstinacy to the words* of Holy Writ (verbis scripturæ pertinaciter inhærentes).[1] And of the important difference between the East and West, upon the single or the twofold procession of the Holy Spirit, he expresses the opinion, which may, we trust, be found correct, that the difference is verbal rather than real: 'etiam in hoc in eandem nobiscum fidei sententiam convenire videntur, *licet in verbis dissentiant.*'[2] And if we go back to the doctors of those earlier ages, whose authority stands with us so much higher than that of the schoolmen, the case seems still more clear. At Nicæa each Bishop appears to have rehearsed the faith, which had been always professed by himself and the church over which he presided, and all (with some eighteen exceptions at most) condemned the views of Arius as unheard-of.[3] What was sought was some new phrase which should exclude the new error. But that the master mind, which virtually ruled that council, only regarded the famous *Homoousion* as the expression of old truth, stated in such a way as to put a seal to the teaching of the Church, and its true interpretation of Holy Scripture, and effectually protest against the nascent heresy, is shown, if we mistake not, by the following words, among many similar ones which we might quote, addressed by S. Athanasius to the Semi-Arians:—

'Those who accept everything else that was defined at Nicæa, and quarrel only about the *One in substance*, must not be received as enemies; nor do we attack them as Ariomaniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers; but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word.'[4]

This is surely not the language of one who was inclined to build up theology upon mere words; nor is it possible to judge the mind of the Church of that date more fairly than by the

[1] Sentent. lib. ii. distinct. xvii. [2] Ibid. lib. i. distinct. xi. D.
[3] Vide Keble, Sermons, (Postscript,) p. 386.
[4] S. Athanasius, Epistle on Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, chap. iii. (*P.* 138. Oxf. Tr.)

tone of one who ultimately became in these matters its spokesman and representative.

But does it therefore follow that, because a science is not strictly deductive, it thereby ceases to be a science? Such a doctrine would annihilate the inductive sciences at a blow, and all others which do not attain to the rank of purely deductive sciences. But definitions may still prove extremely valuable in the way of keeping us out of error. 'This,' says a recent editor of a work by Malthus, 'is the real use (and a most important 'one it is) of definitions in political economy, to determine 'what they do or do not include. They are intended to avoid 'ambiguity, and not, as in mathematics, to serve as the basis of 'our reasonings.'[1]

Now, if Dr. Bushnell means, as we suspect he does mean, that language is insufficient, in the case of theology, for this latter object, all we have to remark is, that the assertion is a mere *ipse dixit*, which remains unproved, and is contrary to the general sense of the Christian world. As a plain matter of fact, the *dogmas* of Nicæa (which he especially attacks) have remained as a witness against all forms of Arianism for more than 1,500 years. Lambeth, and Trent, and Augsburg are here at one. 'Ecclesiæ magno consensu apud nos docent, Decretum 'Nicænæ Synodi de unitate essentiæ divinæ et de tribus personis '*verum et sine ullâ dubitatione credendum esse.*' These are the opening words, not of an Anglican article or Tridentine decree, but of the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. 'The consub-'stantiality of the Father and the Son was established,' says Gibbon, 'by the Council of Nice, and has been unanimously 'received *as a fundamental article* of the Christian faith, by the 'consent of the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Pro-'testant Churches.' Will the rationalism of Germany, will the cavils—for such we must call them—of Dr. Bushnell, succeed in persuading us to relinquish that inheritance? We speak more of the Nicene Creed than of that which bears the name of S. Athanasius, simply because it is the primary object of assault in the book before us and in kindred works, not as for a moment supposing that the latter is not equally defensible, and has not, like a finger-post marked 'dangerous,' saved numbers from the precipices of heresy.

> 'Creed of the saints, and anthem of the blest,
> And calm-breathed warning of the kindliest love
> That ever heaved a wakeful mother's breast,
> (True love is bold, and gravely dares reprove,)
> Who knows but myriads owe their endless rest
> To thy recalling, tempted else to rove?'[2]

[1] Definitions in Political Economy. New Edition, with Notes. By John Cazenove. (London, 1853.)

[2] Lyra Apostolica.

Even if the language of these creeds imparted *only negative* ideas, which we are not prepared to admit, it would be much, if we cannot learn what our Creator is, at least to know what He is not. We need not have recourse to professed theologians to gain an admission of this principle. '*Les notions négatives*,' writes a famous metaphysician, '*servent à nous garantir de l'erreur.* 'Elles ne sont pas donc pas nécessaires dans le cas où il est 'impossible de se tromper. *Elles sont très-necessaires, très-impor-* 'tantes, par exemple, par rapport au concept que nous nous 'faisons *d'un être tel que Dieu.*'[1] Dr. Bushnell feels the force of this view, and makes large admissions concerning it, (p. 295.) How he reconciles these admissions with the general purport of his argument, and his condemnation of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, we do not understand, and must leave to others to discover.

Amongst the advantages divinely vouchsafed, we must still humbly believe, to the former, at least, of those solemn documents, is that of having been composed in Greek. The Semitic languages, unsurpassed in the expression of all that is simple and pathetic in narrative, or wise in moral precept, or sublime and awful in devotion and denunciation, yet fail in the combinations required for subtlety of argument, and definiteness in the expression of what is abstract. Thus the Koran, being composed in Arabic, a Semitic language, reminds us (it has been truly said) in its finer passages far more of Moses and the Prophets than of Apostles and Evangelists. The New Testament, we may boldly say, *could not* have been composed in Hebrew. A vehicle for its teachings was provided in that western tongue, which had already been tried, and not found wanting, in every species of human composition, whether requiring copiousness or precision,—that 'musical and prolific 'language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body 'to the abstractions of philosophy.'[2] It proved, as might have been expected, equally well adapted for the flowing eloquence of a Christian orator, like S. Chrysostom, or the terse definiteness of dogmatic confessions, and the apologies for them, by S. Athanasius, or S. John Damascene. Indeed, S. Augustine, if we recollect aright (though we cannot at this moment point out the passage), declares that he need not have written upon certain questions of doctrine, had there but existed any good translations from the works of the Greek fathers.

If the difference between the relation of language to material and to immaterial objects in reality render it inadequate

[1] Kant's Logic, (Introduction,) chap. viii. French Transl. by M. Tissot. (Paris, 1840).

[2] *Gibbon*, chap. lxvi. Cf. S. Augustine's 'Græci, quorum lingua in gentibus *præeminet.*' (De Civ. Dei, Lib. VIII. cap. x.)

for dogma, the objection must apply not merely to theological science, but to all mental science whatever. Are our secular philosophers prepared to admit this conclusion? Have the labours of Greece and Alexandria, Germany and Scotland, in ethics and metaphysics, been so wholly futile, as not to deserve the name of science? The truth is, that the dislike to dogma in matters of faith too often, we fear, proceeds from something within the breast far deeper than any sincere belief in the inadequacies of language. Men who would be the last to resign their confidence in the conclusions of mental science, are often obstinately opposed to the possibility of religious dogmatism. Dr. Bushnell, however, at once more honest and more pious than many of his fellow-workers, grants that his arguments include other things beside creeds.

'The views of language and interpretation I have here offered suggest the very great difficulty, *if not impossibility, of mental science* and religious dogmatism.'—P. 61.

That admission will, we feel convinced, cause many an impugner of creeds to shift his ground, and resign the position taken up by our author. With other objections to dogma we are not, however, so immediately concerned. Let thus much alone be borne in mind, that if moralists and metaphysicians do not assert for their conclusions the certainty which is claimed for the dogmas of the universal Church, they have not a written revelation to appeal to, which, when rightly understood, must be infallible; they do not form a body whose collective decisions have the promise of a blessing from on high. 'Lo, 'I am with you alway (*πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας*), even unto the end of 'the world.' 'This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: 'my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in 'thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the 'mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, 'saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.' [1]

In asserting that Dr. Bushnell appeared to overrate the powers of language with respect to physical science, we intended not only to signify that such science cannot be raised upon that basis, but likewise that *words*, even respecting matter, can convey to us no more than the impressions gained from the senses. And do the senses impart to us any true idea of the *essence* of matter? They show us the *qualities*, but do they exhibit the *substratum?* Bacon thought it possible for man to attain to a knowledge of the forms or laws of essence or existence, but his confidence has not yet been realized. 'The fact 'is,' says Playfair, 'that in as far as science has yet advanced, '*no one essence has been discovered*, either as to matter in general,

[1] Mat. xxviii. 19; Isa. lix. 21.

'or as to any of its more extensive modifications.'[1] We may possibly find room, ere we conclude, for a few additional remarks upon the case of the physical sciences; at present we quit them, with the observation that this last-named feature of the question ought not to be ignored. What marvel that our ideas and symbols of the Almighty should be earthly, and viewed as by a mirror and enigmatically,[2] when perchance neither our senses, nor consequently our words, can ever fathom the real nature of His created works?

And as to the position (one very closely allied to the rest we are opposing, and perhaps favoured by some portions of Dr. Bushnell's Lectures) that there can be *no* legitimate ratiocination in the things of faith, it is surely opposed to the common sense of Christendom, and never consistently maintained and acted upon. If it be true, the work before us must be as worthless as all other treatises on theology, for its pages are replete with argument. In truth, all religionists, orthodox or inorthodox, *do* employ reason in support of their own views, and in refutation of the views of their opponents. They may reason, indeed, in very different tempers; in a humble or a proud and self-sufficing manner, with a due or an undue submission to authority, under the influence of an enlightened and sanctified conscience, or in a hard, dry, coldly critical spirit; but argue they do, and probably will, until the end of time.

'The use of human reason in religion,' remarks Lord Bacon, 'is of two sorts: the former in the conception and apprehension 'of the mysteries of God to us revealed; the other in the 'inferring and deriving of doctrine and direction thereupon. 'The former extendeth to the mysteries themselves,—but how? 'by way of illustration, and not by way of argument; *the latter* '*consisteth indeed of probation and argument.*'[3] And although we fear that we may seem to make quotations *usque ad nauseam*, and in defiance of all rules of composition, yet let it be pleaded in mitigation of the offence, that on so serious a theme the laws of literary excellence may well be left in abeyance. We are anxious to show how largely our views are supported by the authority of the wise and good among our friends, and even in many respects by the admission of opponents. It is, we regret to say, in this last-named category, that we must rank the following observations of Bishop Hampden:—

'It would be perfectly illogical and absurd for any one to deny conse-

[1] Cit. ap. Hallam, Introduct. to Lit. of Europe, vol. iii. cap. iii. p. 199. (Ed. 1839.)

[2] Δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[3] Adv. of Learning, book ii. In what follows there is more agreement with the opening of the 'Angelic Doctor's' famous *Summa Theologiæ* than might be expected from an enemy of scholasticism.

quences *rightly drawn* from admitted premises. If, for instance, Scripture shows, as it does, that our Saviour is truly God as well as truly man, the consequence is irrefragable that he united *two* natures in one person; for we have already set forth the same truth in the premises. Stated at length, the argument would be, that whoever unites in himself the peculiar attributes both of God and man, unites in his person *two* distinct natures. Our Saviour is clearly evidenced to us in this light. Our Saviour, therefore, united in His person two distinct natures. A consequence of this kind is nothing more than what has been already affirmed in Scripture: we have done nothing more than collect or put together the affirmations of Scripture. Though we may not, therefore, read this conclusion *totidem verbis* in Scripture, it is as much in Scripture as if it had been read there *totidem verbis*. Whatever, then, can be thus argued from Scripture is as true as Scripture is true. In this way, things spiritual are compared with spiritual, and a consistent sense is drawn out by just reasoning on the comparison. If in one passage our Saviour asserts, "He who hath seen me hath seen the Father," &c., and in another, "The Father is greater than I," these are to be taken together, and we may reason from the joint declaration, that He is neither to be separated from the Father, nor to be confounded with the Father;—in one respect, He is one with the Father; in another respect, the Father is greater than He. And a conclusion thus irresistibly follows,—*which is no mere deduction from terms*, but a result from all the passages bearing on each of these heads,—adverse both to the Arian and the Sabellian notions of our Lord.'[1]

The belief that Christ's Church has never been left to *discover* or *gather* the truth by this kind of collation or inference need not, it was justly observed in a critique by Dr. Mill, at all interfere with our acceptance of the principles here laid down. We commend them to the consideration of any reader who may chance to sympathise with Dr. Bushnell, and pass onward to another branch of the discussion.

We have accused Dr. Bushnell of ignoring important and relevant texts of Holy Scripture, important and relevant facts of human nature. But it may be well, before entering on these points, to exhibit some evidence of another charge, that, namely, of the existence of a mistaken dogmatism of his own on the part of our author; for this point is, perhaps, thus far of prior importance, that the error, however individual in its details, is by no means essentially peculiar, but simply the exhibition of a general law. *Religion cannot dispense with dogmas.* If we except the vague and shapeless creeds of polytheism, there is no religion that lives and energizes, which does not possess articles of belief which its adherents hold and act upon as dogmas. The Buddhist believes in the continuous incarnations of Buddha, and that is a dogma to him. The Mahometan maintains the unity of God (which is true), and the apostleship of Mahomet (which is false); and these are both as dogmas to him. All Christian sects, Wesleyans, Baptists, Independents, &c., feel

[1] Introduction to *second* edition of Bampton Lectures.

instinctively that *some* distinctive principle, be it only of a negative character, is necessary to the very existence of their community. And Dr. Bushnell, who admits the truth of this last sentence, and wishes to see all these differences merged in the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed (to the exclusion of all others), *he* too has his own peculiarities of belief, not indeed very new, but most assuredly very unsound.

It ever has been, it ever must be thus. The men capable of any depth of thought and warmth of feeling, even if they resign the teaching of revelation, will accept from a pseudo-philosophy some kind of creed, or else invent one for themselves. Frequently, too, has the same thing been displayed by erring Christians.[1] Thus the Arians denounced the *Homoousion* as unscriptural, and, in pleading against the defenders of Catholic truth, 'urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy.'[2] Admirable consistency! When defeat is imminent, the question is found to surpass human faculties, and the term put forth as the expression of the true view is opposed as not being in Scripture. And yet the leader of this party had thought proper to ventilate these *incomprehensible* subjects in light songs, in his wicked poem, the 'Thalia,' of which the very metre was adapted from an impure heathen writer, Sotades; and his followers, while professing to reject all phrases that were not Biblical, had a mass of watch-words of their own, not one of which was to be found in Holy Writ, such as '*ingenerate*,' '*out of nothing*,' '*alterable*,' &c.[3] applied to the Eternal Son, to contradict and supplant which was the object of the terms employed by the orthodox,—how successfully we need not pause to say. But a few years, and the need for the condemnation of these *special* phrases had passed away, while the opposing symbol lives for ever, until time itself shall be no more.

And even in our own day, and in cases where the *animus* is often far less objectionable, how frequently does the same spectacle present itself! Thus, in a most unhappy epilogue appended to certain reprints from a popular Review, the essayist, in condemning the foolishness of debates about the incarnation and atonement, remarked: 'No speech or language in use 'among mankind can express, no human intelligence can con-'ceive, the true sense of that revelation which exhibits to us 'Him who is love, as becoming in the person of His Son 'a sacrifice for us.' 'Surely,' was the just and happy comment

[1] Vide Sewell's Horæ Platonicæ, p. 312. [2] Gibbon.

[3] Ἀγέννητος, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, ἀλλοιωτός. These two last terms were *specially* condemned in the original Nicene Creed. Cf. S. Athanasius, *ubi supra*, cap. iii. § 6, where he denounces the unblushing inconsistency of the Arians with wonderful force and vigour.

of an excellent rejoinder,—'surely, a very decided and a very 'wrong sense of that revelation is hereby both *conceived* and '*expressed*.' And, to return to the work under review, its author apparently persuades himself, that he has in the main gathered his religious tenets out of the Bible for himself. We suspect that he is far more indebted to the dogmatism of the Church universal than he is aware. While he clings to that teaching he is right, but when he quits it, his speculations (unlike those of some men whose private notions, if unproven, are still innocent) diverge rapidly into serious error,

There can be no question but that the *tendency* of a portion of Dr. Bushnell's first lecture (pp. 146—9) is to deny the existence of a distinct human soul in the person of Christ our Lord, or at any rate to condemn those who affirm it. The expressions may be somewhat misty, but they mean this, or they mean nothing. *This* view our author probably *may* have worked out for himself. But alas! for the novelty of misbelief, Dr. Bushnell is but gravitating towards the ancient error of Apollinaris, which was published, denounced, and refuted some 1,400 years ago. That error—the assertion that the divine *Logos* supplied the place of a rational soul in the person of the Saviour—was sympathised with by Arians and Eutychians. But among heresies, though all must needs be unscriptural, this is, perhaps, one of the most violently and glaringly so. Either the second Adam *had* a human soul, or He was not true man. That He was free from every taint of sin, original and actual, in no wise interferes with the perfect truth of His humanity. Sin is a privation, and no part of that nature which the Almighty created, and, in the person of the first Adam, placed in a state of innocence in Paradise. But such passages of Holy Scripture as speak of our Redeemer being 'in all points tempted like as we are,' and therefore capable of sympathy with our infirmities, are absolutely meaningless, unless He who is as man, our elder Brother, had a soul like our own: the awful scene in the garden of Gethsemane would lose, on the Apollinarian hypothesis, at least one-half of its significance. And inasmuch as a firm grasp of true doctrine is the only real antidote against error, we must venture to quote at some length a noble passage of a real theologian, who, so far as mortal pen may avail for the task, has treated this solemn subject worthily:—

'Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the essence and nature of both. The nature, therefore, of God being one, there are not in God divers wills, although Godhead be in divers persons, because the power of willing is a natural, not a personal propriety. Contrariwise, the person of our Saviour Christ being but one, there are in Him two wills, because two natures, the nature of God and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Christ there is a divine and there is

a human will, otherwise He were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as heretics, for holding that Christ had but one will.'

Then, after setting forth the important distinction between the objects of human will, that some are sought for their own sake as ends, some only as means to an end,[1] and that, consequently, the will may be led by reason to prefer one good thing before another, and forego meaner for the attainment of higher desires, he proceeds:—

'These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easy how in Christ there might grow desires seeming but being not indeed opposite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of His speech be weighed; "*My soul is now troubled*, and what should I say? Father save me out of this hour. But yet for this very cause am I come unto this hour;" His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the like whereunto, in force and efficacy, were never presented in that manner to any but only to the soul of Christ. There was presented before His eyes in that fearful hour, on the one side, God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet unappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet never mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also, peradventure, more than is either possible or needful for the wit of man to find out, finally himself, flesh and blood, left alone to enter into conflict with all these; on the other side, a world to be saved by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest over death through the power of that Deity, which would not suffer the tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an utter disappointment of all the forces of infernal powers, through the purity of that soul which they should have in their hands, and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel that in this case the soul of Christ was much *troubled*.'[2]

The recollection of this grand statement would of itself be sufficient to save any well-intentioned mind from a lapse into tendencies towards Apollinarian or Monothelite errors. Indeed, it is one of the great blessings resultant from a study of treatises such as that of Hooker, or the immortal work of Bishop Pearson, that they preoccupy the mind with such a body of truth as to render it instinctively conscious of error, whenever it is subsequently met with. If Dr. Bushnell had more real acquaintance with these works, which he implicitly condemns, he would perhaps have learned to estimate at its proper worth the importance of this benefit, and would, moreover, have probably been saved from the inculcation of very dangerous mistakes; for to blame the assertion of a most important truth, plainly proclaimed in God's Word, and taught (excepting the heretics just named) *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, is, after all, to have a private dogmatism of one's own, a dogmatism of a most pernicious character.

[1] Cf. Aristot. Eth. lib. i. cap. ii. τέλος . . . τῶν πρακτῶν, ὃ δι' αὐτὸ βουλόμεθα, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο.

[2] Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. v. ch. 48. § 9.

Still more strange, perhaps, is the assertion made in the following passages of the second of these discourses:—

'It was needful that Christ, in his life and sufferings, should consecrate or reconsecrate the desecrated law of God, and give it a more exact and imminent authority than it had before—*this too without anything of a penal quality in his passion, without regarding him as bearing evil to pay the release of evil, or as under any infliction or frown of God*, and yet doing it by something expressed in his life and death.'—P. 198.

'*My doctrine* [!] is summarily this; that, *excluding all thoughts of a penal quality in the life and death of Christ, or of any divine abhorrence to sin, exhibited by sufferings laid upon his person*, ... he does produce an impression in our minds of the essential sanctity of God's law and character which it was needful to produce, and without which any proclamation of pardon would be dangerous—any attempt to subdue and reconcile us to God ineffectual.' —Pp. 215, 216.

'*My doctrine*' is here again, unfortunately, quite unscriptural. The language of Prophets and Apostles, to the effect that the eternal Son *did* undergo the wrath of His Father, as well as the hatred of sinners, *did* 'bear evil to pay the release of evil,' is too clear to be misunderstood, too emphatic to be explained away. 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he 'was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace 'was upon him, and *with his stripes we are healed. . . . It pleased 'the Lord to bruise him;* he hath put him to grief—thou shalt 'make his soul *an offering for sin.*' 'He hath made him *to be sin 'for us*, who knew no sin.' 'Christ hath redeemed us from the 'curse of the law, *being made a curse for us.*' 'Christ also hath 'once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.' 'Who his own 'self *bare our sins in his own body on the tree* . . . by whose stripes 'ye were healed.' 'I am the man that hath seen affliction by 'the rod of his wrath . . . surely against me is he turned.' 'My 'soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death. . . . O my Father, 'if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' 'And being in 'an agony, he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat was as it 'were great drops of blood falling to the ground. . . . *Thus it is 'written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer*, and to rise from the 'dead the third day.'[1] If, indeed, Dr. Bushnell could show that the literal sense of these, and many kindred texts of Scripture, was balanced by apparently opposing texts, and needed to be reconciled with such, and therefore modified; if he could display any weight of authority, so that interpreters of name, and orthodox upon the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, were found to have taught that the *primâ facie* interpretation of these passages was not the true one; nay, if he could even prove their obvious meaning to be wholly opposed to sound reason, and inconsistent with the analogy of the constitu-

[1] Isa. liii. 5, 10; 2 Cor. v. 21; Gal. iii. 13; 1 Pet. iii. 18, ii. 24; Lament. iii. 1, 3; Matt. xxvi. 38; Luke xxii. 44, xxiv. 46.

tion and course of nature;—on any of these hypotheses his teaching, if not found ultimately tenable, might at least appear plausible, and deserving of some extended examination. But it is not possible for him to take up any of these positions: there are *no* texts which even present the semblance of contrariety: there is *no* orthodox commentator, ancient or modern, we believe, who ever understood these passages in any but their most plain and natural sense, or doubted, in this case at least, the perfect applicability of Hooker's well-known rule, 'That where 'a literal construction will stand, the furthest from the letter is 'commonly the worst;'[1] there is *no insuperable* difficulty in conceiving that the analogy of our course of life on earth, (where the innocent are so often permitted to undergo pain and trouble, that they may save the guilty, where all nations have concurred in the expediency of appeasing offended Deity by sacrifices, that is to say, by *the vicarious sufferings of other animals*[2]) may at least suggest some deep ground of reason at the foundation of a doctrine, which at first sight appears unreasonable. To reject the plain teaching of the word of God on the plea that we *must*, in our present condition, have a clearer view of its conformity to reason than this, is nothing less than pure unadulterated rationalism. Yet such is the only ground of rejection that we can discover in Dr. Bushnell's Lectures. He does, it is true, cite a single passage of S. Paul, (Rom. iii. 25.) which he makes to support his view by inserting that view in brackets between the words of the text, and assuming that whatever is *not* stated in this particular passage is no part of a Christian's faith.[3] But although he thus attempts to claim the sanction of what he is pleased to call the Apostle's 'standard text,' (p. 216,) (another mere assumption—why more standard than any other?) his real reliance is evidently placed upon the thoroughly rationalistic scheme of interpretation. The doctrine,

[1] Eccl. Pol. v. ch. 69. § 2.

[2] Vide 'Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion,' by Soame Jenyns, Esq., (10th Edition, Edinburgh, 1798, p. 124.) This very short Essay is excellent upon this point, and hence obtained great praise in that interesting book of De Maistre's (which Archdn. Hare called 'one of the wisest and most delightful works of recent times,') *Les Soirées de St. Pétersbourg.* But the eulogy is somewhat excessive. Soame Jenyns is less original and less free from mistakes, than one might imagine from Count Joseph's language. Still, his book has great merits, and may reach quarters inaccessible to clerical pens, and difficult treatises like Bp. Butler's.

[3] It is due to ourselves, no less than to Dr. Bushnell, to give a specimen of this remarkable quotation. We reprint it, brackets and all, precisely as it stands in his book. (P. 216.) 'Whom God hath set forth [made conspicuous in the flesh] to be a propitiation [propitiatory or mercy-seat—made so, not by standing in any penal attitude under God, but] by faith in his blood,' &c. Now we should be glad to know where S. Paul affords the slightest hint, that in the term *propitiation* (ἱλαστήριον) he involves the idea that our blessed Lord did '*not stand in any penal attitude.*' By thus filling up the clauses of holy Scripture with intermediate fancies of our own, we would undertake to make any text mean anything.

however clearly proclaimed in Scripture, is not to be received, because it seems to *him* 'to involve something offensive to our moral sense or repugnant to our ideas of God.' (P. 198).

Such is the almost invariable course pursued by these opponents of dogmatic confessions: they put aside the majestic and righteous, the scriptural and necessary dogmatism of the Fathers of Nicæa,—it is too straitened and confined for them,—and then offer us the results of speculations, opposed alike to Scripture and to all sound philosophy, ushered in with the dogmatism of that brief and self-complacent formula, '*My* doctrine is *summarily* this!'

We turn to the elucidation of the charge that Dr. Bushnell has ignored other passages of holy Scripture and facts connected with the constitution of human nature. We are not, of course, so unreasonable as to expect that in a few lectures the wide field of holy Scripture should be fully investigated, or the territory of man's nature be thoroughly mapped out. But it is desirable to consider such points in both, as are too intimately connected with the question to be passed by with safety. Thus, for instance, we have alluded in the earlier part of this paper to that class of texts, which speaks of 'the form of 'doctrine,' 'the form of sound words,' 'the faithful saying,' 'the 'deposit,' 'the good profession professed before many witnesses,' 'the word which ye heard from the beginning;' and the like.[1] Now to understand these phrases as allusive to the Gospel dogmas proclaimed by the *Church* (for the New Testament *Scriptures* were not yet complete, many being still unwritten) is a clear, simple, intelligible sense,—a sense, moreover, never doubted nor called in question by primitive interpreters. And we have a right to ask the opponents of dogma, what these passages *do* mean, if they do not mean this? There may be an answer forthcoming, but that answer it has never yet been our fortune to hear or see. As for anything contained in Dr. Bushnell's work, his edition of the New Testament might, for ought that we can perceive, have been robbed of the whole collection of these constantly recurring phrases. Nowhere, that we can recollect, does he make the slightest allusion to them, or even appear conscious of their existence. But the student who accepts, with us, their natural and Catholic interpretation, will thus be enabled, on a glance, to put on one side whole masses of verbiage, poured forth by the anti-dogmatists, all resting upon the hollow and unwarrantable assumption, that there is no allusion in the pages of the New Testament to the existence of any Christian dogma.

[1] Rom. vi. 17; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14; iii. 15 (*et passim*), vi. 20, 12; 1 John ii. 7.

There is likewise another family of texts highly relevant to the present discussion; those, namely, which speak of heresy, and class it among grievous sins. Heresy, which is a sin of the intellect, is condemned in terms similar to those employed concerning lack of love for Christ, which is a sin of the heart and affections. 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him 'be Anathema Maranatha.' 'Though we, or an angel from 'heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have 'received, let him be Anathema.'[1] Thus, too, S. Peter speaks of 'heresies of perdition,'[2] *i. e.* we presume, tending to perdition. And in the long list of 'works of the flesh,' as opposed to 'the fruit of the Spirit,' set forth in the Epistle to the Galatians, heresies are classed with murder and adultery. Moreover, the heretic is, after due admonition, to be avoided (or *rejected*) on the ground that he 'is subverted, and sinneth, being self-condemned.'[3] In these apostolic warnings, the Christian who has the happiness to be trained in accordance with primitive belief finds no difficulty, so far, at least, as concerns their meaning. Assuming the ordinary definition of heresy, as 'the denial of saving truth,' and believing that, though intellectual in form, it is, (when wilful,) essentially allied with a certain moral tone, and frequently referrible to a kind of spiritual pride, he can well understand how its adoption may be a temptation to many who have overcome, or been kept free from, the snares of sensuality and worldly ambition: just as in one of the accounts of the wondrous scene in the wilderness, the invitation to spiritual presumption is recorded *after* the failure of the allurements to appetite and temporal power. And, not to dwell too long upon the *moral* element which enters into heresy, it may suffice to observe that it is almost proverbially said concerning certain forms of misbelief, as *e. g.* Socinianism, that it is the *heart* that needs to be touched, not the head to be reasoned with. Let it be owned that this admixture of two elements, the moral and the intellectual, in heresy, necessitate especially, in times like those in which our lot is cast, great caution, and the very largest charity, in any attempt to judge the case of individual Christians. The age, the country, the parental influence, the kind of education, the misrepresentation (often quite unintentional) of true doctrine, and in short the entire *animus* of the erring thinker, must be duly taken into account. 'Those,' says S. Augustine, 'who defend their opinion, 'although it be false and perverse, without any obstinate ani-

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8. [2] αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας. 2 Pet. ii. 1.

[3] Titus iii. 10. The Vulgate renders παραιτοῦ by *fuge*, our authorized version by *reject*. Neither sense is very classical; but the latter, if a shade further from classic usage, seems supported by 1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 23; and Heb. xii. 25.

'mosity, (especially an opinion they have not engendered by the 'audacity of their own presumption, but have received from 'parents who have been led astray and lapsed into error,) and 'seek the truth with heedful anxiety, ready to be corrected, 'when they have discovered it, *are by no means to be ranked with* '*heretics.*'[1] But it does not, therefore, follow that there is *no* such thing as sinful heresy, because our judgments concerning its manifestation in individual instances must, for the most part, be judgments *in foro exteriori* rather than *in foro conscientiæ.* For the principle is applicable, with very slight modifications, to our human decisions concerning all sin and criminality whatever. Heresy, it has been just remarked, is mentioned by the Apostle in the same breath with murder and adultery. No one, we presume, denies the two last sins to be highly criminal. But will any man pretend that the degree of guilt is in all cases identical? For instance, in the age of Charlemagne there prevailed a miserable laxity (in which that great monarch most amply shared) concerning the indissoluble nature of the marriage tie, and the question whether Christians might have concubines. In a later day, Froissart writes of a leader in the pay of the king of England: 'Geoffrey Testenoire was a cruel man, and void of feeling, and would as soon kill a knight or squire as a villein.'[2] Now it may be very lamentable, that in *any* state of society the sixth and seventh commandments should be thus wrongfully limited in their application. But, the fact once admitted (and it is unfortunately in no wise confined to the middle ages), who can doubt but the guilt of an offender, brought up with such notions rife around him, must be, not annulled (*μὴ γένοιτο*), but in some degree palliated in the judgment of any equitable tribunal? The case of heresy is precisely parallel; those who commit the greatest sins are not, therefore, of necessity, in God's sight, the greatest sinners: those who hold what are abstractedly the wildest and most destructive errors, may, nevertheless, be free from that temper of mind which ancient writers call *hæretica pravitas.* But to come to the point here at issue between ourselves and the anti-dogmatist writers. If heresy be a sin, as the Bible assures us it is, and if its guilt consist in a proud and wilful rejection of some article of saving truth, and if the individual Christian be anxious, as he surely must be, to eschew the sin if possible, in the spirit of that well-nigh proverbial speech of S. Augustine, '*errare possum, hæreticus*

[1] 'Qui sententiam suam, quamvis, falsam et perversam, nullâ pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audaciâ præsumptionis suæ pepererunt, sed à seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cautâ sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cùm invenerint; nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi.' Epist. 43, Ed. Ben. (162 in earlier editions.)

[2] Chap. 171. Quoted in notes of Taylor's 'Philip Van Artevelde.'

esse nolo;' how, if dogma in religion be an impossibility,—how is he to form any just conception of heresy? No Christians maintain *all* points of belief to be of equal importance; some may be of minor weight (as we have already observed), held to be true, but never imposed as necessary. Allowing for some occasional degree of perplexity, through the existence of a debateable border land between dogmas and pious opinions, the principles we have been endeavouring to affirm supply at the least a rule sufficient for most cases, a rule at once fairly clear and practical. Such truths as come under the definition of dogmas, which we have ventured to lay down,—these when denied involve the impugner in the charge of heresy. They may have been enshrined in the Creeds, or they may rest upon the consciousness of universal Christendom. Among these latter are such verities as the following:—'We can do no good without the grace of God;' 'Canonical Scripture is the unerring impress of the mind of the Holy Spirit;' 'human nature is not as a whole, nor in any of its parts, *essentially* bad;' 'the sinful tendency of man's nature continues, though not unchecked, under grace;' 'the Sacraments of the Gospel are channels of God's grace.' No dispute concerning ulterior propositions arising out of these and the like statements affect *their* claim to be dogmas of the universal Church of Christ. And again we ask how, without the existence of a Dogmatic Theology, the passages of holy Scripture bearing upon heresy can be shown to have any meaning at all. Need we say that these texts, though intensely relevant, are all passed *sicco pede* by Dr. Bushnell? Attacking dogma, he is compelled to discard the very notion of destructive error respecting objective truth. We almost doubt whether the Scriptural terms 'heresy,' 'heretic,' are alluded to or named throughout his Lectures. Yet what can be the worth of a course of argument, however elaborate, which leaves untouched a topic of such vital importance; one, moreover, so intimately linked with its conclusions, so fatal to those conclusions, if the views here presented have a shadow of truth!

The next indictment against the work before us, namely, that it ignores important and relevant principles in human nature, may be fitly conjoined with some evidence of its scanty, or else deeply prejudiced, survey of history. This portion of our subject brings us to the consideration of that which we believed to be the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the cardinal fallacy of Dr. Bushnell's argument. *He assumes, throughout, a necessary opposition between dogmatism and spirituality.* Emphatically, once for ll, do we deny the truth of this position, and we appeal, in upport of that denial, to men's experience of their own hearts

and of the world around them; we appeal to history and biography.

With persons of any seriousness (for we are not concerned at present with the godless and reprobate) the salvation of their own souls is the one great object of their religion. And this is right; next to the love of God should certainly stand the love of our own souls. But there are, and always will be, spirits of a more expansive range:—

> 'There is not on the earth a soul so base
> But may obtain a place
> In covenanted grace;
> * * * * * *
> All may save self;—but minds that heavenward tower
> Aim at a wider power,
> Gifts on the world to shower.'[1]

The latter class will probably be found to fall under *three* main divisions (allowing, of course, for the occasional possibility of the same person being so versatile as to claim a place in more than one section). 1. The practical men, great as Reformers, or as missionaries, or in the humbler sphere of a parish; 2. the mystical and devotional writers; 3. the Doctors of the Church, who expound her discipline and moral code, interpret holy Scripture, and help to bring out into clear consciousness truths ever held by her implicitly, and which need at length a fuller and clearer statement, by reason of the rise of some fresh heresy. Of the first we need only at present affirm that *some* knowledge of Dogmatic Theology is indispensable for them, if they are 'rightly to divide the word of truth,' according to the spiritual necessities of those who receive it at their hands. Of the mystic writers, it may be remarked, that although the mystical and dogmatic tendencies have at times been found somewhat intolerant of each other, in consequence of excesses on both sides, yet that they are capable of harmony, and flourish best when mutually assisting and mutually corrective. But if a devout and humble student of Theology, whom God has gifted with superior powers of intellect, do not become a mystic, he will generally be found to apply himself with peculiar intensity and delight to the study of Dogmatic Theology; and such an one may, now and then, be enabled (though this requires a rare combination of spiritual and intellectual gifts) to make some worthy contribution to its stores. A nascent heresy may summon him 'to strive earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints;'[2] or he may at least re-set ancient jewels in a fashion more suitable for modern times. Even in the prosecution of this humbler task, he may

[1] Lyra Apostolica.

[2] ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει. S. Jude, 3.

possibly make an offering, however small and feeble, of his own; may hope, 'with that poor widow, to cast, out of his poverty and weakness, something into the treasury of his Lord.'[1]

So far, indeed, from there being a natural opposition between ardent piety and dogma, we unhesitatingly assert that there is a natural alliance between the two. The religious mind pants and yearns for some fixed dogmatic truths, on which it may rest. Hence the keen desire of Plato for a special revelation from on high. Hence, we cannot but think, in part the success of Mahomet in his own country, where belief had become so vague and syncretized. Even dogma involving falsehood is more acceptable to mankind than none. A lively faith imperatively demands a certain amount of definiteness in its creed.

Do we assert that such a feeling may never urge men into extremes? Far from it; it may do so, it has done so. Like all other right sentiments, it needs some degree of limitation: and there have been those who, forgetful of the probationary nature of an earthly state, and the narrowness of our earthly faculties, have looked for *too much* certainty, *too great* clearness, like that Apostle who refused to believe the truth of his divine Master's Resurrection, unless he should actually see and feel the print of the nails and of the soldier's spear. But here, again, as ever, *abusus non tollit usum:* some degree of precision and certainty faith must enjoy or perish. And when we cast our eyes over that important country across the Atlantic, and think with sorrow of the Babel of its jarring tongues, the vagueness of its national faith in Christ, it seems to us as if the man who, in such a land and such an age, exclaims against the dangers of dogmatism, would (to use the often-quoted simile of Johnson) 'have cried out *fire* in the middle of the deluge.'

Dr. Bushnell has some passages of much force and beauty, and marked with the impress of great sincerity, upon the superiority of practical watchfulness and inward experience of the power of religion, to any mere knowledge obtained through the understanding. In the need of such warnings we thoroughly coincide; but it is a great mistake to imply, as he appears to do, that they are in a very special, and almost exclusive sense, required by the believers in Dogmatism. *All* need them; there is scarcely a Christian child whose practice does not fall *far* short of the knowledge to which even the tenderest age may attain; in whom envy, or vanity, or falsehood, have not already sullied the whiteness of the baptismal robe. Nay, the very heathen were conscious how sadly their practice fell short of

[1] The opening words of Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences:—'*Cupientes aliquid de penuriâ ac tenuitate nostrâ cum pauperculâ in gazophylacium domini mittere.*' A marvellously beautiful image!

their theory. Few but must remember the words which Ovid places in the mouth of Medea, the now trite, '*Video meliorâ, proboque Deteriora sequor,*' a sentiment anticipated in that fine drama of Euripides, where Phædra tells[1] how she had often, in the long watches of the night, meditated upon the corruption of the life of mortals, and concluded that they act wrongly, *not* from following the dictates of their judgment (for many could *think* aright) but alas!

> 'The good we fully know and understand,
> But bring it not to action; idleness
> Preventing those, and these in virtue's stead
> Choosing some form of pleasure.'[2]

The authors of famous treatises on dogmatic subjects ignore, or but imperfectly admit, Dr. Bushnell evidently supposes, the importance of such principles as these. The *slightest* acquaintance with the real teaching of any one of the great and good men, who have laboured in this department of Theology, would suffice, once and for ever, to dispel such a baseless and imaginary supposition.

All would agree with the *dictum* of our great philosopher (himself, as we have seen, fully sensible of the worth of dogma) —'that which quickeneth both these doctrines of faith and manners *is the elevation and consent of the heart:*'[3] all would strive to enforce the words of that devout book, more often reprinted than any, save the Scriptures:—

'Quid prodest tibi, alta de Trinitate disputare, si careas humilitate, unde displiceas Trinitati?

'Verè alta verba non faciunt sanctum et justum, sed virtuosa vita efficit Deo carum.

'Opto magis sentire compunctionem, quàm scire ejus definitionem. Si scires totam Bibliam exteriùs, et omnium philosophorum dicta: quid totum prodesset sine caritate Dei et gratiâ?'[4]

What is learnt (all would say) must be not only perceived by the mind, but desired by choice, and perfected by practice.[5] All would apply to the entire cycle of religious truths those thrilling words of S. Augustine:—'Spiritaliter intelligenda 'sunt. Intellexisti spiritaliter? spiritus et vita sunt. Intel-'lexisti carnaliter? etiam sic illa spiritus et vita sunt, *sed tibi non sunt.*'[6]

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[1] Hippolytus, 375 *et seq.* (Ed. Dindorf.)

[2] τὰ χρήσ' ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γινώσκομεν,
οὐκ ἐκπονοῦμεν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀργίας ὕπο,
οἱ δ' ἡδονὴν προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ
ἄλλην τιν'.—Ibid. 380—383.

[3] Lord Bacon. Adv. of Learning, *sub fin.*

[4] A Kempis. De Imitat. Christi, lib. i. cap. 1.

[5] Bp. Jer. Taylor, (adapting S. Aug.) in his Sermon, entitled 'Via Intelligentiæ.'

[6] In Joannis Evang. Tractat. xxvii. § 6. (Tom. iii. pars 2. p. 504. D. Ed. Ben.)

If we do not pause to prove these assertions by a survey of some of the principal dogmatic treatises of ancient or of modern date, this arises, partly, from the consideration that the proof, though abundantly easy, might be somewhat prolix, (and we are already liable to the charge of prolixity,) and partly from a hope that the position may be virtually, if not formally, established, in the course of our discussion of another point at present left untouched.

We turn to history. How is it treated by our author? He says, as we have intimated, but little, and that little is unworthy of his better self. Here, for instance, is his partial and one-sided view of the Medieval Church:—

'The Church becomes a vast human fabric of forms, offices, institutions, and honours; a store-house of subtleties and scholastic opinions, a den of base intrigues and mercenary crimes, *as empty of charity and humanity as of Christian truth itself.*'—P. 264.

A sketch may be rendered utterly false in practice simply by the *suppressio veri*. Such must, probably, be the verdict of impartial judges upon Mr. Kenelm Digby's 'Ages of Faith.' But little as we are disposed to accept the pictures of the medieval period which are given in that work, still less can we tolerate the equally false, and far more uncharitable, portraiture here offered to the youthful students at Andover. The first part of the indictment may, indeed, possess a lamentable *amount* of truth, though it presents but one aspect of that truth; but the words we have italicised are indefensible. Twenty years ago there might have been the excuse that the authorship of the day was at one in this respect. But such palliation cannot now be offered by any honest man of literary tastes and habits. The labours of the Thierrys, of Palgrave, of Milman, and of Maitland and many more, but above all, and prior to all, of M. Guizot, have imparted to literature a very different tone from that which prevailed in the last generation concerning the middle ages. That tone had resulted in part from honest ignorance, in part from the partial and unjust representations of the latitudinarian Robertson, and the infidels Voltaire and Hume. Far be it from us to wish that the reaction should overstep the bounds of equity and truth, or to deny that in some quarters such a danger may be reasonably dreaded. There was in those days superstition and corruption, there was an excessive and wrongful Dogmatism, and nothing less than the shock of the Reformation could, so far as we can judge, have purified Christendom and saved it from destruction; but there *was* also *charity*, deep and fervent; there *was humanity*, keen and active; there *was* the *truth* in all its noble lineaments, overlaid, but not destroyed. The school of Hume, Mably, Henry,

and Co., were successful in misleading their generation. 'By a peculiar ingenuity of disingenuousness,' says one who warns his readers against undue recoil, 'they convert the efforts made 'by the medieval Church for the repression of vice and immora- 'lity into accusations against her. The woful examples of 'profligacy, avarice, worldliness, corruption, and depravity, 'abounding during the middle ages (as they do amongst all 'men and in all ages), brought forward so prominently, occur- 'ring in a state of society offering far greater temptations than 'our own, and affording far fewer opportunities of concealment, 'are recorded by the Pontiffs who warred against the delin- 'quents—by the Canons of the Councils legislating against the 'iniquities, by the good and holy men who deplored the 'scandals and the sins of their times. Those who adopt a 'similar plan act as a foreign traveller might do, were he to 'gather from the metropolitan police reports and the trials at 'the Old Bailey, the peculiar characteristics of the morals of 'England.'[1]

The fact is that the intense prejudice of Dr. Bushnell against all Church dogma, makes him quite unable to judge with candour either the ages which fostered it (duly or unduly), or its relation to heresy, and to the inward life of Christians. We have just seen how, in one brief sentence, he disposes of the medieval Church. Let us now look at a specimen of the perverse ingenuity with which he can read history backwards:—

'Indeed, it has always seemed to me that any attempt to get away from the proper divinity of Christ, as held in this (the Baptismal) formula, must be taken to proceed from a most disingenuous spirit; were it not that the practical difficulties thrown upon the souls of men, the bewilderment they have suffered, the confusion that has enveloped their religious nature, *under our supposed orthodox views of the trinity* (!) may have created such a necessity as must be allowed to excuse almost any kind of violence. And, were it not for this, I do not believe that any reader of the New Testament, least of all, any true believer in it, would ever have questioned for a moment the real divinity of Christ. *In fact, it never was seriously questioned* until *after* the easy and free representations of the Scripture, and of the Apostolic fathers, had been hardened into dogma, or converted by the Nicene theologues, and those of the subsequent ages into a doctrine of the mere human understanding, an assertion of three metaphysical persons in the divine nature.'—Pp. 113, 114.

A bolder appeal to the ignorance of an audience, we can scarcely call to mind in the pages of *any* theological discourse. That it met with more than partial acceptance it were unjust even to imagine. If there be one fact patent upon the face of

[1] Sir F. Palgrave. Hist. of Normandy and England. Vol. i. (preface).—A perusal of the last of the short Lectures, delivered at Edinburgh in 1853, by the fiercely Protestant Mr. Ruskin, would stagger, we think, the convictions of any candid reader who had been nurtured in our old exaggerated tone of sweeping denunciations of Mediævalism.

Ecclesiastical History, and clear to the merest tyro in such studies, it is that *heresy necessitated dogma*, not that dogma was the cause of heresy. 'A mesure,' writes M. Guizot, 'qu'une 'question apparaissait, soulevée soit par un événement, soit par 'quelque écrit, elle était examinée, debattue par les chefs de la 'société religieuse; et son opinion officielle, la consequence de 'ses croyances générales, *le dogme en un mot*, etait proclamé."[1] Nor let it be thought that this is only an inference obtained by the keen analysis of an observer who submits events of the fourth century to the alembic of the philosophy of the nineteenth. That inference would not, it is true, be necessarily incorrect, even if the announcement of it were purely modern: for men may work out an end with but little self-consciousness, with little perception of the process, and but an imperfect one of the result. But, in truth, the patristic Church was far from being unconscious in this respect, far from being taken by surprise and unawares. Had not her Divine Founder given warning in the most emphatic manner:—'it *must needs be* that offences come?' (*ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα.*) Had not the great teacher of the Gentiles said;—there must be (*δεῖ γὰρ . . . εἶναι*) also heresies among you, that they which are approved 'may be made manifest among you?"[2] Hence the hope that even misbelief, in itself so great an evil, might *incidentally*, through God's good providence, be converted into an instrument of good. 'We worship the Trinity,' writes the historian Evagrius, 'and glorify the Unity; and God the Word, begotten 'before the ages, made flesh in his second birth in mercy to his 'creatures. And if on other points some strange novelties have 'come to light, even these have arisen by the permission of the 'Saviour, with the full authority of God herein, in order that 'the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church might bring things 'spoken in this and that quarter, as it were, captive to duty and 'religion, and conduct them to one straight and well-cut road.' Then, after quoting the above text from Corinthians ('for there must be,' &c.), he proceeds, 'And even in *this* one may admire 'the unspeakable wisdom of God, who said to the inspired Paul, '"*My strength is made perfect in weakness.*" For by the very 'events by which the members of the Church have been rent 'asunder, have the true and faultless dogmas (*τὰ ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀμώμητα δόγματα*) been the more fully polished and set forth, 'and the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God hath gone on 'to increase and a heaven-ward ascent."[3] 'Many things,' says

[1] Civilisation en France. Tome i. Quatrième Leçon.

[2] Matt. xviii. 7; 1 Cor. xi. 19.

[3] Evagrii Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 11. (P. 13, Ed. Oxon., 1844.) A passage, we fancy, rather overlooked.

the great Bishop of Hippo, 'pertaining to the Catholic faith, 'while in course of agitation by the hot restlessness of heretics, 'are, with a view to defence against them, weighed more care-'fully and understood more clearly, and preached more earnestly, 'and the question mooted by the adversary hath become an 'occasion of our learning.'[1] And as for Dr. Bushnell's assertion, that the Divinity of Christ our Lord was never seriously questioned until *after* the Church had drawn up her dogmatic confessions—it would be difficult to frame a statement more hopelessly and irredeemably false. It was *because* Arius troubled the simplicity of the faith, that the 318 met at Nicæa to confute his false theological terms with a true one: and although that heresiarch may have been the first who contrived to impugn the Eternal Sonship and full Godhead of the Saviour, with formal argument and dialectic skill, and also by various artifices (such as his songs) to render his teaching popular, yet no one who had the least acquaintance with the history of the anti-Nicene era, would ever dream of seriously maintaining that the denial of Christ's Divinity was unknown until the time of Arius—unless indeed he were defending an hypothesis (*θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, as Aristotle calls it), for in that case a man may persuade himself into anything. And Dr. Bushnell *is* defending an hypothesis: having laid down the position that dogma is the parent of error, historical facts must be brought to its support. If they refuse to support it, why then (as the well-known French story has it)—*tant pis pour les faits;* they must be made to do so by a fresh arrangement of history and chronology. We cannot afford to waste time over any lengthened refutation of such really absurd anachronisms. Suffice it to remark, that Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, about A.D. 260, had already most 'seriously questioned' the divinity of Christ, and had thereupon been deposed from his bishopric. Artemon, about A.D. 200, and his friend Theodotus, had anticipated this Paul. And at a still earlier date, all Gnostics 'agreed in not acknowledging the unity of the human and divine nature in *the person of Christ*;'[2] a tolerable approximation, at least, towards 'seriously questioning' the full divinity of the Redeemer, seeing that they made Christ the Son of God, united to the man Jesus, on the occasion of the baptism in the Jordan. Those who wish to refresh their memory upon these points, or shrink from the acceptance of our statements without

[1] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 2; Dr. Hook, quoting the passage in Univ. Serm. (ii. p. 56. Ed. 3d), justly observes that this is a favourite opinion with S. Augustine. On the difference between this teaching and the modern Roman doctrine of development, see the admirable remarks of Dr. Moberly in his *Discourses on the Great Forty Days.* (Preface, and Discourse iv).

[2] Neander. Vol. ii. p. 28. (Eng. Tr. — Bohn's Ed.)

further proof, may consult Eusebius,[1] Dr. Burton,[2] Mosheim,[3] Neander,[4] Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Biography,[5] in short, almost any writer or critic of Church history, always excepting Dr. Bushnell.

It is the misfortune probably, rather than the fault, of our author, that he has so little perception of the close and intimate union that exists between dogma and the spiritual life. In one, somewhat rhetorical passage,[6] he countenances asceticism: evidently on the supposition that it has a tendency towards mysticism, with which he sympathises, and is alien from the great object of his dislike, dogmatism. This, like a large proportion of Dr. Bushnell's surmises, is at best but a half truth. It is, to say the least, an even chance, mainly dependent (under God) upon temperament and circumstances, whether an ascetic regimen will conduct to a love of mysticism or of dogmatism. Dr. Bushnell is perfectly right in supposing that it will *in some way* affect men's theological convictions. A person, who even makes regularly a very slight difference in his food on successive Fridays, will probably, ere long, judge differently of many doctrinal questions. But so far as our own experience goes, ascetics are generally keenly interested in the discussion and defence of dogmas. And the past confirms the impressions which we derive from our knowledge of the present. Even our Caroline Nonconformists, who were certainly encouragers of fasting, took great interest in dogmatic theology, and were by no means unacquainted with the Schoolmen. And in the middle ages, if the ascetic Franciscans were generally inclined to an excess of mysticism, the equally ascetic Dominicans were as ardent in the cultivation (also, we think, to excess) of scientific dogmatism. But Dr. Bushnell seems to want all grasp of the natural and necessary alliance between the objective and the subjective in religion. Had he been trained beneath the shadow of Episcopacy, he might have heard week by week (or, in New York and other cities, day by day) that sublime and ancient hymn, unsurpassed among human compositions for blended majesty and pathos, which, commencing with the praise of God, *Te Deum laudamus*, in company with the Angelic host, and the Church triumphant as well as militant, passes onward to the dogmatic confession of His Triune Nature, and of the work wrought by

[1] Hist. Eccles. v. 28, vii. 30. [2] Bampt. Lectures, p. 185, *et alibi*.
[3] Institutes, ed. Soames, 1845, vol. i. p. 196.
[4] *Ubi supra*, and ii. 327—332. [5] *Arts.* Artemon and Paulus of Samosata.
[6] P. 306. We call the passage *rhetorical*, because Dr. Bushnell can hardly contemplate the possibility, under any circumstances, of the students he addresses resolving 'to shave the crown, put on hair girdles, ordain a year of silence,' &c. But if any *did* act thus, he would find them the very last to resign dogmatism. *Their* danger would then lie all the other way.

the incarnate Son; and then, by an easy transition, pleads that work on behalf of the individual worshippers, who build on it their hopes of *present* governance, and exaltation and conquest over sin, and of *future* safety from confusion and inheritance with the saints in glory. He might have seen in how many of those brief collects, the quintessence of all earthly prayer, this and that *external* historic fact of Christianity is inseparably intertwined with some correlative expression of the believer's *inward* hopes and fears, penitence and joy; and how too, the need (which he so fully recognises and enlarges upon) of viewing the faith in all its varied aspects, is provided for by a round of services, which present in turn the awe of Advent and the gladness of Christmas, the humiliation of Lent and the triumphs of Easter and Whitsuntide; services which give to doctrine and practice alternate prominence during the two great divisions of the ecclesiastical year. While such offices of worship last, dogmatism can never perish.

We must not linger over other kindred deficiencies, such as the omission (though that omission is full of meaning) of all reference in these lectures—we do not say to the importance, but —to the very existence of the Christian Sacraments. One more point, however, before we proceed, must be at least suggested to the reader. Allowing, as we have done, that, but for heresy, the particular scientific terms of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds would not have been needed, we are yet quite at a loss to understand how it is possible to conceive the idea of Revelation without a dogma. There are three leading lines of thought concerning the Revelation of God's will. One is, that the Almighty has not made any such Revelation; this is the supposition of the Deist. Another, that He *has* made a Revelation, and that it contains certain definite doctrines, (how many they are, and which they are, is matter of further question;) this is the belief of *every* organized Christian community, as such; the belief, moreover, of the Jew, and even of the Mahometan and the Mormonite. The third form of opinion is, that God has indeed given to man a Revelation, but one of so vague and indefinite a character, that its teaching cannot be with any certainty attained to; and that, consequently, it matters little what is held and taught, so but every man act up to his light. This last is the hypothesis of the Latitudinarian; and it is surely of all three the most improbable, the most rarely maintained with even the semblance of consistency. False and dreary as is the Deistic tenet, that the silence between Heaven and Earth has never been broken, it is surely less hard to imagine, than that a Revelation *has* been made, but that it virtually means nothing. But if Revelation h[illegible]ess a definite

meaning, if Christianity have *any single doctrine* which is *essential* to its existence—then that definite meaning, that essential doctrine, must, in the nature of things, involve a dogma. Heresy may throw it into new shapes, cause fresh combinations of ideas, summon forth additional safeguards, but it was there, at least implicitly, often explicitly, from the very first. When Moses, at the Divine command, said to those whom he led; 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord,' he proclaimed to them a dogma, namely, the Unity of the Godhead; a dogma essential to their religion, distinguishing them from the polytheistic nations around, a dogma to be held as their very life, by pious Israelites who hoped for salvation. And when in the New Testament we read: 'He that believeth not shall be 'damned:' 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of 'the Holy Ghost:' 'I and my Father are one:' 'hereby know ye 'the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus 'Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that 'confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of 'God;'—in these and many similar texts we can see no choice between the assertion of a dogmatic belief—or *nothing*: and the Universal Church has ever beheld in them the announcement of her two chief articles of faith, the sublime Mysteries of the Trinity in Unity, and the Incarnation of the Eternal Son. And when, therefore, we are told, as in the work under review, that 'Christianity entered the world as spirit and life;' we reply, that most assuredly it did, but that it entered as a dogma likewise.

We have tried to confine our strictures of Dr. Bushnell's Lectures to such points as involve some general principle. Hence, leaving untouched many things that look to us unsafe or inconsistent, we pass onward to those pages near the end of his work, wherein he asserts that—

'Two great truths, of the highest practical import, need to be set in the minds of all students of theology and all preachers of Christ, as probably they never have been, *since theology began to be attempted*.'—P. 305.

These two truths, and most weighty truths they undoubtedly are, the lecturer explains to be; 1st, one which we have already noticed, the necessity of knowing divine things by experience, not by mere head-work; and 2d, that the Christian preacher must not look for influence in mere rhetoric and personal accomplishments, but in spiritual strength and earnestness. Gladly do we render full homage to the unworldly and fervent spirit in which our author inculcates these lessons: we

[1] Cf. Tracts for the Times. No. 85. Lect. ii.

are sure that they are often needed,—we hope that they can never prove unwelcome. But we cannot conceal our *amazement* at the tone in which the writer evidently intimates that *he*, Dr. Bushnell, is probably the first who ever duly insisted upon their worth. We involuntarily pause to ask, what *possible* course of theology the writer can have studied? And although we had intended to spare the reader any quotations on these points, yet we must, on second thoughts, make two, simply assuring him (if indeed the assurance be needed) that, prodigal as we have been of extracts, we could produce passages parallel to the following from doctors in every single school of theology that deserves the name,—Patristic, mediæval, Latin, Oriental, or Anglican. The first shall be taken from that sermon of Bishop Jer. Taylor's, the '*Via Intelligentiæ*,' already referred to in a note.

'He that goes about to speak of and understand the mysterious Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, or by such which signify contingently; . . . . . *if he only talks* of essences and existences, hypostasies and personalities, distinctions without difference, and priority in co-equalities, and unity in pluralities, and of superior predicates of no larger extent than the inferior subjects; he may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like S. Peter's upon the Mount of Tabor at the transfiguration; he may build three tabernacles in his hand, and talk something, but he knows not what. But the good man that feels 'the power of the Father,' and he to whom the Son is become 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption;' he in whose heart the love of the 'Spirit of God is spread,' to whom God hath communicated 'the Holy Ghost, the Comforter;' this man, though he understands nothing of what is unintelligible, yet he only understands the mysteriousness of the Holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the Article of the Holy, Blessed, and Undivided Trinity, but he that feels the mightiness of 'the Father begetting him to a new life,' the wisdom of 'the Son building him up in a most holy faith,' and the 'love of the Spirit of God making him to become like unto God.'

And the other, from a 'Caution before Preaching,' by S. Fulgentius, inserted among the devotions of Bishop Andrewes.

'Let the preacher labour to be heard intelligently, willingly, obediently. And let him not doubt, that he will accomplish this rather by the piety of his prayers, than the eloquence of his speech. By praying for himself, and those whom he is to address, let him be their beadsman before their teacher; and approaching God with devotion, let him first raise to Him a thirsting heart before he speaks of Him with his tongue; that he may speak what he hath been taught, and pour out what hath been poured in.

'I cease not, therefore, to ask from our Lord and Master, that He may, either by the communication of His Scriptures, or the conversations of my brethren, or the internal and sweeter doctrine of His own Spirit, deign to teach me things so to be proposed and asserted, that I may ever hold me fast to the truth: from this very truth I desire to be taught the many things I know not: I have received the few I know.'

But Dr. Bushnell likewise asks, and he clearly anticipates but one reply,—'Whether it is not possible to be very much dis-

votaries are not mere fanciful enthusiasts; as some who have little eye for form or colour, can yet imagine, that the sculptor and the painter and architect *may* have reason in maintaining that there are laws of beauty superior to all transitory conventionalism; even so, too, there will be found among those who are conscious of their own comparative unfitness for the task of upholding and explaining and reasoning upon sacred truth, numbers who yet believe that the renowned teachers whose names are associated with the science of Dogmatic Theology, were, despite all human frailties and shortcomings, no utterers of a merely technical jargon, no self-deceivers as to the importance of the dogmas for which they strove. That importance, indeed, was shown by the conduct of opponents, no less than of supporters. Men do not thus contend about a purely unreal and evanescent object. The anti-dogmatic theory has always seemed to us to do great injustice to the sense and ability of many famous heresiarchs, no less than to the wisdom and courage and deep piety of those who resisted them. Assuredly men like Pelagius and Eutyches were far above the common stamp; their endowments, moral as well as intellectual, were of the highest order; at what point error became obstinate and involved spiritual guilt—(for no one, says Evagrius, of those who invented heresies among Christians *primarily* intended to blaspheme, or went astray with desire of dishonouring the Almighty[1])—can be known to God alone; though, in some cases, even human judgment may discern reasonable evidence of the sad change. Of many a one may it be truly said,—

> 'Si non alium latè spirâsset odorem,
> Laurus erat.'

They have often been free from the temptations which ordinarily assail the sons of men; but they were attacked by others peculiarly suited to their tempers: they yielded, and, in proportion to the height of their position, was the greatness of their miserable fall. Their very gifts and acquirements turned to their own despite; 'the things that should have been for their wealth were unto them an occasional falling;' and their sin became the probation of thousands more in many a land and many an age,—here but too successfully employed by the Evil One as an instrument of injury to the soul; there, thwarted by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and made to contribute to 'the perfecting of the saints.' And ever as the eye gazes over the panorama of past history, behold, as the new impugner of sacred truth arises, its champion and avenger is at hand: the rebel and

[1] Οὐδεὶς . . . τῶν αἱρέσεις παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς ἐξευρηκότων πρωτοτύπως βλασφημεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἢ ἀτιμάσαι τὸ θεῖον βουλόμενος ἐξωλίσθησεν.—Evagr. *ubi supra*, p. 12.

as in England; that Elizabethan doctor, whose powers and attainments surprised even the (not favourably biassed) judgment of a Roman Pontiff into exclamations of astonishment and eulogy:—these, and others who might be named, it were difficult in the Church's later ages to excel. But the works of Bull, of Pearson, of Hooker, are so well known, and so accessible, that any one may, with little trouble, form an opinion concerning them. Let reference be made, for instance, to what Pearson has said upon God's fatherly love and our consequent duty of resignation; or the drawing upward of our hearts which the thought of Christ's ascension into heaven ought to effect; or the terrors of judgment, or the glory of the Resurrection—when he comments upon the words, *Father, ascended, shall come to judge, Resurrection of the body*—and the inquirer may decide for himself what weight is due to the notion of 'piety being limited by dogma,' which is so prominent in the work before us. If only the very great and good, such as Pearson, can exhibit the highest combination of zeal for dogmatic truth with deep religion of the heart, let us hope that even the humblest learner from his pages may be able, with the Divine assistance, to imbibe some portion of his spirit.

We look backward to an earlier age, the age of the Schoolmen. If, as we have granted, dogmatism had at that time usurped an undue prominence over other branches of theology, yet who doubts the ardent personal piety of the scholastic teachers; of Albertus Magnus, for instance; or, again, of Aquinas, who has left behind him hymns (which all who know them will admit to be grand and impressive) and prayers of the most fervent devotion? We are writing mainly for English Churchmen. Turn we, then, to our own primatial See. In the year of grace 1348, King Edward promoted to the Primacy 'the profound Doctor,' as he was called, Thomas Bradwardine. His very name will suggest to many the notion of what is popularly termed *hard-headedness*. His chief work, entitled, '*De causâ Dei contra Pelagium*,' is elaborately metaphysical. In mathematics he distanced all contemporaries. When Sir William Hamilton would recal to our minds the logical glories of Oxford in the Middle Ages, he terms it 'the University of Duns Scotus and Bradwardine.' In like manner, the father of English poetry classes him with S. Austin and Boethius, upon the deep and difficult question of predestination:—

> —— 'in scole is gret altercation
> In this matere, and gret disputison,
> And hath ben of an hundred thousand men.
> But I ne cannot boult it to the bren,
> As can the holy doctour Augustin,
> Or Boece, or the Bishop Bradwardin,

Whether that Goddes worthy foreweting
Streineth me nedely for to don a thing,
(Nedely clepe I simple necessitee,)
Or elles if free chois be granted me
To do that same thing, or do it nought
Though God forewot it, or that it was wrought;
Or if his weting streineth never a del,
But by necessitee condicionel.' [1]

Here, then, we might expect a good example of stiffness and dryness of spirit; of 'piety limited by dogma.' But how stand the facts? Writers whom no one will accuse of undue partiality for the Middle Ages—we may mention Milner in his Church History, and Mr. Le Bas in his Life of Wiclif—especially select Bradwardine as the representative of all that was best and truest in his age. 'His habitual rigour of inquiry,' says the latter, 'never appears to have impaired the humility of his temper, or 'the warmth of his affections. His heart seems to have been 'throughout quite as vividly at work as his understanding. '*Thoroughly furnished*, as he was, with all the mental accomplish-'ments of his age, every thought of his was evidently *brought* '*into captivity* to the wisdom and righteousness of God.' If we had room, the citation of the touching and glowing prayer of his, which these writers quote, might go far in itself to disabuse the minds of many of the notion of piety and love for dogmatism being incompatible.

In the reign of the abandoned William Rufus, the same see was occupied by S. Anselm. The inventor of that *à priori* argument for the existence of the Deity, since adopted by Descartes and Clarke (and which, whether solid or not, is certainly ingenious, and an index to the possession of no ordinary powers of mind): the framer of a theory concerning the satisfaction made by Christ, which is replete with deep and subtle ratiocination: is Anselm, too, a mere systematizer with the head, devoid alike of living faith and love? He is somewhat in fashion among theologians just now, and we will own to a peculiar fondness for him. It was with great pleasure that we read the just and worthy eulogium lately passed on him by a Lecturer at Oxford.[2] Yet not to merely partial judges, such as Möhler in Germany, or de Remusat in France, would we appeal; nor even to the

[1] Chaucer, Canterbury Tales: The Nonnes Preestes Tale.

[2] 'Perhaps no writer, in the whole history of the Church, has brought to the study of the philosophy of religion a keener intellect chastened by a faith more humble. "I do not seek, O Lord," says he, "to penetrate thy depths; I by no means think my intellect equal to them: but I long to understand in some degree thy truth, which my heart believes and loves. For I do not seek to understand, that I may believe; but I believe, that I may understand."'—Thomson's Bampton Lectures, p. 161.

distinguished scholar who has republished his contributions to this Review.[1] We would be content that the student should again refer to Milner; or, better still, to a little book by Anselm himself, namely, his *Meditations*, which may be obtained in the original Latin cheaply and easily. There is hardly a sentence which can be objected to by members of a Reformed Church; one objection, indeed, may be felt on its perusal: one question may be suggested—'*Am I fit to take into my own mouth confessions so fervid and sincere?*'

Among the recent Oxford translations of the Fathers there is one which has, we believe, enjoyed what may be termed a popular (as distinguished from a merely clerical and literary) circulation: we mean the *Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Its attraction must mainly arise from the warmth of pious feeling, and the knowledge of the human heart, which it displays. These are characteristics of its author: and to trace the workings of such a mind, and be able to sympathize with its struggles, lends, no doubt, an additional charm to the particular work referred to. But this same master of practical theology is likewise the triumphant antagonist of the Donatists, the asserter of Divine grace against Pelagius, the refuter of the heathen calumnies against Christianity. Moreover, he has left us a great dogmatic work, the fifteen books *de Trinitate*. If *his* 'piety was not limited by dogma,' shall we learn to look at the dogmatism as an amiable weakness, a concession to the taste of his day? Most certainly he did not thus regard it, and perhaps his gifts were not less eminent than those of our modern anti-dogmatists.

We might speak, not very dissimilarly, of S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen. But if we must fall back upon some *one* name, as the very type of all that is grand and exalted in connexion with the defence of dogma, that name shall be *S. Athanasius*. Yet who are *we* to follow in the wake of his eulogists, from S. Augustine to Erasmus? Who are *we* to praise that intimate knowledge of Scripture, that largeness of mind in judging others, that keen insight into the subtleties of heresy, that kingly and commanding, though still humble, temper, which extorts even from Gibbon (amongst other praises) the admission that he 'displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which 'would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons 'of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy.' If Christianity was saved from lapsing from Trinitarianism into Arianism, from Arianism into Socinianism, from Socinianism into Pantheism and Atheism, it is owing, under God, to the first noble stand which was made by the saintly hero of the fourth century, 'whom'—(we gladly borrow the words of Hooker)—

[1] The Rev. R. W. Church.

God's will at all? Schleiermacher sympathized with the views of these Lectures, but then Schleiermacher attacked the Canon of Scripture likewise. Many, indeed, are the illustrations of a warning uttered by the writer of a tract some ten years since:—

'Too true, I fear, it is *in fact*,—not only that men ought, if consistent, to proceed from opposing Church doctrine to oppose Scripture, but that the leaven which at present makes the mind oppose Church doctrine, *does* set it, or *will* soon set it, against Scripture. I wish to declare what I think will be found really to be the case, viz, that a battle for the Canon of Scripture is but the next step after a battle for the Creed,—that the Creed comes first in the assault, that is all; and that if we were not defending the Creed, we should at this moment be defending the Canon. Nay, I would predict, as a coming event, that minds *are to be* unsettled as to what is Scripture and what is not; and I predict it that, as far as the voice of one person in one place can do, I may defeat my own prediction by making it.'[1]

Many, indeed, are the points which we must leave unnoticed, but the reader will probably rejoice to be released. What are the aids supplied by writers of our own time (Bishop Forbes, Dr. Mill, Dr. Moberly, and others,) towards the study of these difficult questions? How far the denial of the possibility of dogma may drive, from the recoil, Romeward, those whom it does not render Latitudinarian? How far the physical science of our day lends support to the views here propounded? What degree of admission might be gained from the works of our admirers of the (so-called) *positive* philosophy, Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Grote, and Sir G. C. Lewis?

But enough for the present to mention these. We will add that if we wished to see Dissent ruining itself, we might be glad that it should adopt such views. An American work of considerable power, entitled '*A Presbyterian Clergyman looking for the Church*,' is on our table. It gives the account of the writer's conversion to Episcopacy; and the firmness of Trinitarian dogmas among Episcopalians, as contrasted with the doctrinal lapses among sects, was evidently among the main causes of the change. But we are too conscious of our own shortcomings, too sensible of the good which some forms of Dissent have (amidst much that is saddening) wrought in many places, to wish for an instant to see it fraternising with the opponents of dogmatism. We are glad to find that in the American Colleges, where Dr. Bushnell lectured, his views were not favourably received. We are pleased to know that in some Dissenting colleges in England, the works of Bishops Pearson and Butler form part of the course of study. And it is likewise with heartfelt satisfaction that we cite from a very recent work by a distinguished Nonconformist, at least equal to Dr. Bushnell in powers and acquirements, the following sentiments concerning the Nicene Creed. According to

[1] Tracts for the Times, No. 85, p. 72.

Dr. Bushnell, that creed (equally with the Athanasian) is 'a sub
'terranean region, where the smoke of human wisdom, hereafte
'*to stifle the breath of religion*, is just beginning to rise, and *th*
'*feeble cant of dogmatism is trying its first rehearsal.*' (Pp. 262-3.
That we should have spoken with some severity of a thinke
who has the temerity to use such language as this, can hardl
be made matter of surprise or of complaint. But at present w
are content to set before the patient reader, who has wade
through our protracted criticism, the remarkably opposite ton
adopted by Mr. Isaac Taylor:—

'Not one of those schemes of biblical belief which, in the lapse of time has disputed the ground with the Nicene Faith, recommends itself by tha charm of Interior Congruity which this latter so conspicuously possesses It is this alone that is an entire Belief, and concerning which it may b affirmed that its elements—abstract, moral, and spiritual—are in unison. I this Belief there is proportion, and symmetry, and that grandeur and sim plicity which is the inimitable characteristic of a Great Truth in any depart ment. With this Belief at my heart, the logical ground of the histori evidences is firm to the foot: without it, while attempting to give coherenc to the body of proof, I tread a shifting sandbank. Without it, the super natural narratives of the Gospels stand out as unsustained, and as dispro portioned to the doctrine; and I am fain to rid myself of them. if possible with it, the miracles of Christ's public life take their places of fitness as th graceful accompaniments of the ministry of Him who "dwelt among us' for effecting a purpose far greater than all miracles, and more arduous than the uttering the creative fiat.

'Although I can grasp no one element of my Creed, either meditatively or scientifically, for each is a property of the Infinite, yet in the meditative contemplation of it I am at rest; for the object before me contradicts no intuition of my moral nature. The contour is that of Majesty—the person meets and gives contentment to the highest conceptions I can form, both of perfect humanity, and of Divine benignity and wisdom.

'Then, as this Catholic Belief is entire in itself, and as it fully realizes whatever is true in human nature, and whatever we may conceive of as proper to the Divine nature, so does it interpret itself into the language of my own spiritual life with a happy and a health-giving facility. Those emotions which it finds in me dormant, and which it wakes up in me, I cannot but yield myself to, and gladly obey, when once they are thus quickened.

'In an hour of perplexity and dismay—such as are incident to every human spirit that is not lost in sensualities, or occupied with sordid aims —if in such an hour, when the atmosphere of hopeless woe is that in which one can breathe the freest—if at such a time I ask, and ask it as if no bright answer could be returned to such a question, what that eternal life might be of which I, such as I am, could be the recipient, and which it would be possible for me to enjoy, or even to wish for—I find my answer in my Creed.'[1]

We must not pause to think, *O si sic omnia.* Happy to agree with Mr. Taylor so largely, we quit the discussion for the present, hoping only that our own weakness may not have injured the cause we advocate, nor our hands have been laid, like Uzza's, without warrant, upon the ark of God.

[1] Restoratoin of Belief, part 3.

ART. V.—*Points to be dealt with in Revising College Statutes. February* 23, 1855. *Paper issued by the University Commission.*

OXFORD is wearily handing over its work of self-reform into the hands of the University Commissioners as Cambridge begins her labours. For the former, the two last years have been a stirring time. Discussions, debates, pamphlets, attacks, defences —*observationes, testificationes, seductiones testium, secessiones subscriptorum*—have been the order of the day within the walls of our elder University. Each party has tried to carry its own pet measures, and each section of each party; there have been moves and countermoves—trials of strength, defeats, and victories—severing of old ties, and strange coalitions for present support—all, for the most part, carried on in an honest and above-board manner, in a genial and kindly spirit. Then there has been the abolition of the old Board, and the institution of the new Council; legislation interminable; each day S. Mary's bell has tolled for a Congregation, or a Convocation, and there has been heavier work than any of these things. There have been 'sittings upon Statutes,' following upon the hours of lectures, and occupying almost all of the winter afternoon or summer evening; examinations into leases and rent-rolls, and the construction of schemes for reducing household expenditure: and now Oxford men are relieved at the prospect of having nearly done with these extra labours—not because of the weariness of flesh ensuing from them—not because they are indifferent to, or unready to work for, their *Alma Mater*, but because their toil has been ungrateful in its results, and their efforts have, to a great extent, been crowned with disappointment. We do not think that there is one man who has interested himself in this subject, to whom the University Bill can be a source of unmixed satisfaction, unless it be one able Reformer who has contrived with consummate ability to make Masters of Arts within the University, and Statesmen out of the University, accommodate themselves to his schemes, and even to his crotchets. For some the Bill has gone too far, for some not far enough; some see principles violated, some question the expediency of many measures adopted; while deep down in the heart of Oxford, there is a feeling that she has been wronged. She threw herself heartily into the work before her on one condition—that her Church character should not be assailed. At the eleventh hour, when she was now unable to make use of the instruments which she had in her hands for influencing public opinion, the condi-

tion was broken, and that character was assailed. Who it was that wrought the wrong, or who that failed to prevent it, she does not now wish to inquire. Let by-gones be by-gones. Of one thing she is quite sure, that the heart of her noblest son was still with her, whether his hands were tied by colleagues with whom he had to deal, or his judgment for once led astray by an unhappy application of the principle of Concession. However this may be, there are causes enough to make the University Bill, and all that is connected with it, distasteful, and so Oxford is glad enough that she has nearly done with it.

But there is one point of moment both to the University and the Church, as yet untouched in Cambridge, and over which the different Colleges in Oxford have still control, at least by means of passive resistance; and on this we propose to offer a few considerations. Is it right—and if it is right, is it desirable—that Clerical Fellowships, which Founders appointed to be held by Clergymen, should be made tenable by Laymen? We will first consider the expediency of such a measure, and then proceed to the question of Right.

Is it, then, for the good of the University and the Colleges, of the Church and of education, that the obligation of taking Holy Orders should be removed from the holders of Fellowships? and if so, of many, or of few? Let us first consider the result which would follow if a considerable number of Clerical Fellowships were exchanged for Lay—a case not simply hypothetical, as shown by the fact, that the Commissioners have in three Colleges sanctioned an arrangement by which half of the Fellowships may be held by laymen.

The effect of such a measure as this must clearly be one of two things. Either the lay Fellows will reside, or they will not. If they do not, they will probably live in London and study at the bar, as many Fellows do at present, for such a period as by Statute they are able. Would there be any gain in this? The interests which we should especially desire to regard, are those of the Church, of the University, the College, and of education. Would any of these be benefited? We cannot see how. A certain amount of talent now devoted to these interests—that is, if the half-and-half system was adopted, one moiety of the talent of Oxford, would at once be transferred from the banks of the Isis to those of the Thames, and the same proportion of the revenues of the Colleges would be withdrawn from the direct service of the Church, the support of the University, and the furtherance of sound education, and be placed in the pockets of young, middle-aged, or it might be elderly men, highly meritorious in their own sphere, pushing their way in the world, and rising step by step through the

different grades of their profession. Far be it from us to depreciate the barristers of England as a body, or as individuals. In the former capacity we regard them as an honour to their profession and to their country, while among them there are found individuals who are incomparably more useful to the Church than many a Bishop, and to Christian education than many a clerical Fellow. But this is accidental to their profession as barristers. As such, they can in no sense be said to be engaged in the direct service of the Church, or employed in the propagation of the truths of Christianity. Supposing, then, that the half of the Fellows who were 'released from the obligation' of taking Holy Orders should in consequence reside in London and study at the bar—which we believe no one can deny would most probably be the case—the change thereby effected would not, from our point of view, be advantageous, unless it can be proved that there is at present such a plethora of talent in the service of the Church, and such a store of revenue at the disposal of the Church for purposes of education, as actually to defeat their own object by their over-energy and superfluity. We wish that there were a sufficient verisimilitude in such a proposition to make it necessary for us to argue against it.

There remains the other alternative. Perhaps the lay-fellows will reside. In that case, far more than half of the Fellows of Oxford will be lay. Already, according to a calculation made last year, there are 178 Laymen to 305 Clergymen. Supposing that half are allowed to be *permanently* lay, the Clerical Fellows will make a mere minority. Will this be advantageous? We think not; and it is clear that the general sentiment of the country is with us in this opinion. To whom do parents send their children for their education when they require private tutors? Invariably to Clergymen. Thus it is plain that there is at least an instinct that the Clergy are the proper persons for such an office. Nor is this instinct unreasonable. There are numbers of things which are perfectly unobjectionable in themselves, which cannot be found fault with on the score of morality or general propriety, and yet they are not desirable in the education of youth. These are precisely the things which public opinion permits and approves of in laymen, but condemns and frowns down in clergymen. Who would presume to find fault with a layman for wearing a peculiarly shaped and strangely coloured coat? or for smoking his cigar in his room, or on his walk? or for going out to see the hounds meet? Yet would these things be becoming in tutors? Would they be desirable in men whose example would set the fashion to the young men submitted to

their control? Would parents be pleased to learn that t sons would be initiated in these fashionable mysteries by t tutors? Would it be a subject of congratulation to see lows, Tutors, Deans, and Vice-Presidents, trotting out to co leading the way over fences, and returning to supper at hotel with their pupils? But why should they not? Bec such conduct would be reprehensible and disgraceful in cle men; but it would not be reprehensible or disgraceful in men, and such scenes would be witnessed if the majorit Oxford residents were laymen.

There is at present a tone about Oxford—no one knows w it is, and whence it comes—it is called the *genius loci*; bu *genius loci* is not really a pantheistic pervading spirit, o real live δαίμων. It is produced by something. What p duces the *genius loci* of Oxford? Assuredly the character consequent habits of those who lead the thought and set example of life in the place. If you wish to change the pres thoughtful, quiet, religious character of the place, (wh spite of all complaints, does really belong to it,) change occupation, habits, and calling of the Fellows of Colleges. *genius loci* will change too, and will become a demon incentiv loose living, or to revolution, (as in many Continental Univ sities,) and men will smile at the times when parsons used insist on morality, and plead, and not in vain, for Christ Truth.

Whether, therefore, the newly-created lay Fellows sho reside or be non-resident, we think that a large increase of th in our Colleges would not be advantageous, but, on the c trary, highly detrimental to the best interests of the Universi the Church, and the nation.

But shall *any* of the Clerical Fellowships be exchanged Lay Fellowships? There could not be equal objections to t course. Might it be desirable and advantageous? The v same evils would accrue, only in a less degree. But we h it said that something must be done in the larger Colleges, a that there at least some laymen would be of use. Well, let examine this statement. We shall thus have the strongest c —a large college, and a few laymen. Would it be desira on grounds of expediency to introduce the latter in place Clergymen?

Now it may have been very wrong in William of Wickh and William of Waynflete to have been so lavish and magn cent in their endowments, just as 'the royal Saint' might h saved himself the 'vain expense' of King's College Chape Wickham, Waynflete, and Henry VI., ought, perhaps, to h

cut down their conceptions so as to square with those of the nineteenth century, and not to have launched out into anything so extravagant, uneconomical, and unpractical as they have done. But the evil, such as it is, is performed. We are the heirs of Magdalen, New College, and King's College Chapel, and must make the best of the bargain. Let us suppose then that there is a large College with so many Fellows belonging to it, that they cannot be all employed in filling the College offices, and carrying on the every-day work of education. Whether there is anything very distressing in this must depend upon the estimation which each person has of the purposes and value of a College. But would there be any help found for the difficulty by exchanging some Clergymen for some Laymen? None that we can see. Those Fellows for whom Collegiate work was not provided, must, as before, be either non-resident or resident. If they are non-resident and clerical, how would they employ themselves? Experience shows us, that with few exceptions, they employ themselves in one of two things. Either they take curacies or they become masters in schools. In either case they are engaged in the direct service either of the Church or of education, and are ready to be called up for the benefit of their College and University at any time that their assistance is needed. But now, if they are non-clerical, how would they be employed? Certainly not in the direct service of the Church—almost certainly not in the advancement of education—most probably, as we have said before, in the study of Law and the pursuit of professional distinction, from which no calls of the College or of the University would afterwards divert them, or in the ordinary avocations of a country gentleman's life. Would this be of any advantage for the Church? for the University? for the College? for Education?

But again, these 'superfluous' Fellows might reside. Now, if they did so, which would be most likely to devote himself to study, the Layman, engaged if he please in hunting, shooting, and other manly sports, or the Clergyman, to whom these occupations are denied, and who is by profession and calling a bookman, and naturally disposed to those studies for which in truth Fellowships were founded? 'We cannot contemplate with 'any satisfaction,' say the Cambridge University Commissioners, 'the simple removal of all obligations to select a profession at 'a certain period of life. If it be left free to the Fellow of a 'College to determine at his own time and pleasure, whether 'he will be of any or of no profession, we cannot doubt that the 'sinecure character of Fellowships would soon become such as 'to demand some very sweeping measure of reform. Such a 'change in the law of the College would also be likely, as we

'think, to produce an injurious effect upon the tone and man-'ners of the University.'[1]

We have not yet touched on the question of Right. How are we to decide whether or no this is a matter of right and wrong, or simply a matter of expediency? If we laid down the principle that all the provisions of Founders might be fairly changed, or if we maintained that no changes in their regulations were to be allowed, our answer would be equally easily made. In the first case there would be no right possibly violated, in the last there could be no doubt that wrong was committed. But broad views are not always the truest, and we think that the present case is one which admits of a distinction being drawn. It is not necessary for us to say that Founders' wills may be changed on all points, or to deny that they may be changed in any. The following principle is, we think, in accordance with equity and with common sense. Where the Founder has laid down what have been called paramount provisions, which make a substantial part of his purpose, there no power, once having accepted and bound itself to maintain the foundation, can equitably interfere and overrule those provisions, unless they have become not relatively, but absolutely, injurious, in which case the foundation ought to be suppressed. Where, on the other hand, the Founder has laid down simply subordinate provisions, only intended to be a means of carrying out his main purpose, then it is justifiable in the Supreme Trustee, the State, to step in by a commission or otherwise, and say, 'These provisions having ceased to conduce 'to the end for which they were instituted, we will now substi-'tute for them such other regulations as will more fully carry 'out the main designs.'

Starting with this principle, our next question must be, 'What was the purpose of Founders of Colleges? to benefit me-'ritorious individuals in their upward struggle in life, whatever 'that line of life might be, or distinctly to support men in Holy 'Orders, devoting themselves to the service of the Church and 'the advancement of Christian education and learning? Is Holy 'Orders an accidental or an essential condition of their bene-'factions?' If the former, then we may allow that changes may be equitably introduced in respect to clerical tenure of Fellowships, provided that it be made out that it be more expedient than not to do so; if the latter, then we must deny that such alterations are rightfully permissible, unless it can be demonstrated that positive harm ensues to the commonwealth from the present state of things, to such a degree that it would be

[1] Cambridge University Report, p. 171.

better for the State that the Fellowships should not exist at all, than that they should exist.

This is not a question of argument or opinion. It is a question of fact, to be decided, like other questions of fact, by an appeal to documents and to history. And there cannot be much difficulty about it, as the Statutes are documents which must speak one way or the other. And they do speak plainly and clearly. It is not worth while to go through the whole list of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. We will take a few examples. Thus, in the thirteenth century, Merton College is founded for *Scholares docibiles, in artibus liberalibus, Canone et Theologiâ studentes.* In the fourteenth century Oriel College is entitled *Quoddam Collegium Scholarium in Sacrâ Theologiâ studentium.* In the fifteenth century, Lincoln College is *Quoddam Collegium Theologorum.* In the sixteenth century, Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, declares *omnes et singulos Artium Magistros in quarto ad minus anno post gradum Magisterii susceptum sacerdotes esse volo.* In the seventeenth century, the Statutes of Jesus College, granted them by Queen Elizabeth, appoint *ut Magistri Artium ante completum sextum a gradu Magisterii suscepto annum, sacrum diaconatûs ordinem suscipiant, et ante completum proximè sequentem annum, id est, a suscepto gradu antedicto septimum, ad sacrum presbyteriatûs ordinem promoveri faciant. Quæ si quis eorum, prout oportet, non fecerit. . . . a dicto Collegio amoveatur.* In the eighteenth century, the Statutes of Worcester College require *quod quicunque sive in socios sive in scholares admittendi sunt, ex Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ sint talesque permaneant . . . quod intra quatuor annos a gradu Magisterii suscepto (modo sacrum ordinum sint capaces) sacris ordinibus initientur, et post annum a diaconatu ad sacrum presbyteratûs ordinem promoveantur . . . Nec plures unquam quàm duos in facultate aliâ quàm theologiæ incipere aut profiteri permittimus.* And so in Cambridge. The University Commissioners bear witness that, 'in the case of several of the 'Colleges it was manifestly the intention of the Founders to ap- 'propriate their endowments to the maintenance of a succession 'of men who should devote themselves to the service of God *in* '*the ministry of the Church*,' a thing which they think 'should 'be borne in mind in considering the question of Holy Orders.'[1]

Nor is the evidence of History less clear than that of Statutes. On this point we will make use of some observations by the late Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, whose grasp of thought and sobriety of judgment make his words valuable. We are the more glad to call attention to his remarks, as the letter in which they occur was published at the end of another pamphlet, in the midst of the storm of letters, fly-sheets, protests, appeals, and pamphlets, which resulted from the pro-

[1] Report, p. 171.

posals of the University Bill, and may not therefore have been considered as it deserves. He writes:—

'The one great motive which led to the foundation of our Colleges in Oxford, was the desire to provide for the education of Clergy, and to promote the study of Theology. Some have spoken on this subject as if the present preponderance of Clergy in Oxford were due to a one-sided development of the original scheme. This is done in one of two ways.

'Either they confuse these institutions with the monasticism of the middle ages, and hint that the modern representatives of *such a Clergy* are to be found in the aggregate of the present liberal professions, and that nothing but an interpretation gradually narrowing has brought Oxford into the hands of the present Clergy of the Church of England; or, it is suggested, that the views of Founders were more liberal, and that their object was to endow learning in all its forms; but that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Theology being the one absorbing study, other subjects were omitted as of less importance, or only acknowledged in their relation to Theology. The partial concession to the study of Canon Law is thought to favour this latter view.

'Now surely the data are not so few nor so hopelessly wrapt in mystery that we are left to conjecture on the subject. The language of the Statutes and history of the times leaves no room for a reasonable doubt as to the intention of Founders, and the definiteness of such intention. There was a great want of a good local Clergy. Learning existed in monasteries, and there were preaching friars itinerating throughout the land; but the people were left without pastoral care. The worldly importance of the great monasteries had set them too far aloof from the poorer laity, and the abuses of the itinerant system were already the subject of general scandal. From neither of these classes could the elevation of the people be expected.

'The only hope for the Church lay in the improvement and increased efficiency of the stationary and secular Clergy. I appeal for support of this view to a man who understood his own times. The descriptions of the monk, the friar, and the poor parson in Chaucer's Prologue, are the best testimony to the feelings and circumstances to which Colleges owe their origin. The reader may here see that the monastic and itinerant systems were degenerate and effete; and that earnest men looked for the edification of the Church at the hands of the secular Clergy. This corps was supplied from the youth of those classes to which the corruptions of wealth and luxury were unknown. In Chaucer, the parson's brother was a ploughman. But if they were free from the enervating effects of luxury, they were on the other hand but half reclaimed from rustic ignorance and insensibility. Education was needed to fit them for their task, and the schools of the monasteries were not to be thought of. Many were at this crisis sent to Oxford by private munificence.

'At first, this charity wrought in an irregular, unorganized fashion. Young men of humble birth, but lofty aspirations, would set out and walk through the thinly populated land, and apply at the houses of the more wealthy for help to get a University education. Doubtless many did thus collect the means which supported them in this place. The founding of Colleges was only a systematical way of exercising this charity.'

Professor Earle then quotes some of the Statutes from which we have already made extracts, to show the objects of the institutions as definitely expressed by their Founders. He then continues:—

'As these expressions leave no room for doubt that the objects of the foundations were *clerical*, in the present sense of the word, so does the history of their origin and progress alike show, that they were in no sense *monastic*. Even if they were not anti-monastic in their origin, they were at least entirely distinct from, and independent of monasticism. The nation has pronounced monasticism obsolete, and has considered itself at liberty to remould or alienate its material resources. Those who are impatient of any checks in University Reform are too fond of associating our Colleges with the monastic system; because, by that word they obliterate all historic associations, and all right and title which in our country such associations are supposed to convey.

'But if the Colleges had formed any part of the conventual system, they would have fallen with the suppression of that system. There were such Colleges in Oxford, and they were suppressed. On the site of Trinity College there was an house in which the young scholars of the Priory of Durham lived, and studied under a Warden; they were accordingly dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII.

'Enough, then, has been said to show that the Colleges in Oxford spring from the same period and the same circumstances as the existing English Clergy; the Clergy and the Colleges are from the first related to one another, as two parts to one whole; and it is not by any gradual usurpation that the Clergy have that preponderance which belongs to them in this place.

'So far from this, the innovations in the original design are to be found in those cases where laymen are permitted to hold fellowships on the ground of a study of Canon Law being recognised in the Statutes. Any one who will look at the language of the Statutes may see that there is not the least idea traceable there of the admission of laymen to the benefits of the foundation. The study of Canon Law (sometimes also of Civil Law) is only conceded for a period, as a part of the clerical course of study, and as subsidiary to the grand pursuit of Theology, which is always to be returned to after a limited term devoted to those subjects. I need not occupy space by quoting Statutes which are patent to all who wish to inform themselves on the subject. I will just produce one illustration from the thirteenth century. Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, died in 1282; and his university career is thus described under that year, in the annals of Nicholas Trivet: "Studii autem exercitatione literarum adquirens peritiam, primo in artibus liberalibus, deinde in jure rexit canonico; *tandemque ad Theologiam* totam intentionem transtulit mentis suæ." Here we see that Canon Law was only an extension of the preparatory course, and by no means a study which was followed independently of Theology.

'I have confined myself merely to the historical question, *To whom do these Foundations rightfully belong?* I will not attempt to combat the arguments, or rather the insinuations, which for lack of argument have been used to undermine the position of the clerical profession in this place. If matters come to such a pass that this position needs to be defended, I hope that better pens than mine will be wielded in the cause. For the present I conclude by merely reiterating that the origin of our Colleges, and the rise of our *present* English Clergy, were intimately connected—that their history has run in one united course from the beginning hitherto—and that those who are for disinheriting us have first to surmount the obstacle which the idea of *alienation* always presents to the English mind.'[1]

It appears, then, from the testimony of statutes and of his-

[1] Letter to Rev. J. W. Burgon, appended to Letter, by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, to Endemus and Ecdemus.

tory, that the support of a learned Clergy was a paramoun object in the mind of Founders in their institution of Colleges and, accordingly, if the principle which we have laid down is sound one, it is contrary to Right no less than, as we befor showed, to Expediency, to substitute a lay in place of a clerica tenure of Fellowships, whether for many or for few Fellow The trust has been accepted by the State; and to alter th trust in its main features, unless its provisions are found to b immoral or absolutely and *per se* deleterious, is a wrong don to those in whose behalf the trust was accepted. In additio it is a weakening to the Church, an impoverishment of the Uni versity, a maiming of the College, and a loss to Christian edu cation. Then, why should it be done?

The reasons given by the original Oxford University Com mission are five:—1. That the obligation to take Holy Order serves as a temptation to some persons to become Clergymen whe they are unfit for a clerical life. 2. That 'at the time whe 'most of the College statutes were framed, the Orders in ques 'tion were those of the Roman Catholic Church.' 3. That ' 'change has taken place in the relation of the clerical order t 'the other learned professions.' 4. That 'the University ha 'been at various times during the last three centuries the focus o 'theological controversy.' 5. That 'it is probable that even i 'the rule were abrogated in all the Colleges, the great bulk o 'the resident teachers in Oxford would after all remain clerical '. . . None of the Fellows of Wadham College are now bound t 'take Orders, but the majority of them do, in fact, becom 'clergymen.'[1]

The last of these reasons shows how much wiser it sometime is to state a probability without stating the grounds from whic such a probability is deduced. At the time that the Report wa being drawn up, there were several Tutors and many of the resi dent Fellows of Wadham in Holy Orders. Four years have sinc that time passed away, and now, of the Wadham Fellows wh are 'teachers,' only one is in Holy Orders—viz., the Divinity Lecturer; nay, of the Wadham Fellows who are resident, onl one is in Holy Orders. We have not, then, much confidenc in a probability which is rested on such an example as this. A to the University having been the focus of theological contro versy, we believe that what is meant by it is, that it has bee the centre of the Church's life—a thing which we do not think so objectionable as the Commissioners seem to think. That it ha been the clerical character of Oxford which has saved it from tha kind of theological and social controversy with which the Germa

[1] Report, p. 109.

universities have been shaken, is a patent fact. The argument as to the change which has taken place in the relations of the clerical order and the other learned professions has been disposed of in the extracts from Mr. Earle's letter which we have quoted. That the Orders which were required by Founders were those of the Roman Catholic Church, is a fallacy—a fallacy which Irish members of Parliament are very fond of passing off, while amidst 'cheers' they refer to the institutions founded by their 'Catholic ancestors,' with a covert hint that they have therefore a right in equity to them. The Colleges were founded in connexion with the Church of Christ in this land, and the Fellows were to be clergy of that Church. Whatever change, therefore, the Church itself underwent, the Colleges in connexion with that Church, of course, necessarily underwent likewise. We really believe that there are men who imagine that in the sixteenth century there were two Churches, the 'Roman Catholic' Church and the 'Protestant' Church, and that the State, in the plenitude of its power, stepped in and took away the Colleges and the University from the first, and gave it to the last. These gentlemen should be invited to a consideration of the history of the sixteenth century, and should be dissuaded from showing their ignorance of facts so boldly as they at present do. Churchmen should recollect that not only the whole property of the Church, but the whole claim of the Church to be Christ's Church in this land, hinges on the question lying at the foundation of this fallacy. Are we the old Church 'with our face washed,' or are we a novel creation of the sixteenth century? If the latter, let us no longer profess to be the Church of England; if the former, the fact of the Orders required being 'those of the Roman Catholic Church' is wholly irrelevant.

The remaining argument is that on which the late Commissioners lay most stress:—'As regards those who are induced to 'take upon them the vows of the Christian ministry, solely or 'mainly, because of the loss which a refusal to do so would in- 'volve, the effects of such obligation are manifestly evil; and the 'removal of this obligation would be a removal of a scandal from 'the University and the Church. We are of opinion that this 'reason is of itself sufficient to justify an enactment relieving Fel- 'lows of Colleges from the necessity of taking Holy Orders.'[1] That is cleverly put. It does not inquire whether the present system does so work as to drive unfit men into Holy Orders, but, leaving that to be quietly assumed, it pompously puts forward a sentiment with which no one can fail to agree. Nor does it condescend to notice the fact, that it is conceivable that there may be

[1] Report, p. 163.

quite a sufficient number of persons to fill those posts who are conscientiously devoting themselves to a clerical life, who, however, could not be raised to those posts if they were already filled by lawyers and country gentlemen. In this matter we must be even-handed. It is possible that the obligation of Holy Orders attached to Fellowships may sometimes induce an unfit man to enter Holy Orders. We do not desire to lighten the sin of which that man is guilty. But the same argument is applicable to all endowments whatever,—to Bishoprics, Deaneries, Canonries, Benefices, nay to competencies. Unless, then, we are prepared to maintain that our Clergy should be reduced to the *status* of begging friars, we cannot consistently hold this language. For that Fellowships do in any special manner tempt men into Holy Orders beyond other endowments is untrue. Let a man throw his eye around the Common-rooms of Oxford and on an equal number of clergymen in the country. Among the latter will he not find a larger proportion of men who have been induced to enter Holy Orders on secondary motives than among the former? This charge against Oxford, says the Fourth Report of the Tutors' Association, 'is only true to a very limited extent at present, 'and it will be probably met entirely by a better system of 'election to Fellowships.'[1]

There are two other arguments. It is said that lay-fellows would be a means of spreading the influence of the University and the Church among persons engaged in the active professions. This is in effect Sir John Awdry's argument. 'The object,' he writes, 'of such Founders as intended to influence through the 'Church the active mind of the nation will be defeated by insist-'ing on Holy Orders, effected by associating in the colleges laymen 'in the active professions. Lay Fellowships, influencing not only 'those who gain them, but all whom either hope or fashion causes 'to precede professional by University education, are of vital 'importance to enable the University to learn the national 'mind.'[2] Of this view we will only say that the purpose is excellent, but that the means proposed to effect that purpose are singularly well fitted for frustrating it. 'To influence through 'the Church the active mind of the nation' is indeed a great work for the University, or, as we must now unhappily say, the Colleges, to do. And what better method for fulfilling this object can be conceived than that of placing the education of those who are to go out into the active professions in the hands of the Clergy of the Church? Is not the clerical character of our Foundations one main cause of the learning and ability of the

[1] Report, p. 119. [2] Evidence to Tutors' Association, p. 55.

English Clergy? Is not the learning and ability of the English Clergy one main cause of their being able—so far as they are able—to influence the minds of an educated generation? Would it not be a thing which, above all others, would weaken and narrow the minds of the Clergy themselves, that the branches of *general* education as distinct from theological instruction should in any large degree be transferred from their hands to those of others? And if they are to any extent removed from contact with the mind of the nation in its intellectual pursuits, will they not to that same extent lose their hold on the national mind, and drift off, as we have seen to be the case in some foreign countries, into isolation?

Again, we do not doubt that the effect on the professions produced by the Fellows who, on the supposition, would enter them, would be advantageous: so too, if our Canonries were bestowed upon eminent lawyers and professional men, on condition of their being Churchmen, we do not doubt that a certain change would be effected in those professions, and that they would be more leavened than at present with Church feeling. But that is no reason for so bestowing our Canonries. In one case, and in the other case, the evils which the Church would suffer would be greater than the good which would accrue to her. And further, we believe that this 'leavening' process may be performed by men who are temporary, as well as by those who are permanent Fellows, for it is not to be supposed that their influence in this direction will cease as soon as they give up their Fellowships. And this is, in effect, our present system; for there are a certain number of years, often about eight, during which most Fellows may follow lay pursuits according to the practice which is now sought to be altered.

There are two classes of the community, the higher and the lower, over which the Church has influence: there is one, the middle class, with whom she is powerless. Why is this? One great reason is, that the education of the higher and lower classes is in the hands of the Clergy of the Church, and that of the middle class has passed away from their control. Accordingly men, wise in their generation, are vigorously and perseveringly assaulting our Universities and our National Schools. Were Churchmen wise as they, they would combine in a determined defence of the character of these institutions, and in earnest efforts to recal to themselves the education of that part of the population which is now abandoned by them to Dissent. But it is much easier to concede strongholds than to build up new ones; and concession is, unhappily, a policy which finds too much support in the present day.

The most weighty consideration we have reserved for the last. It is said, and with truth, that there are some laymen who conscientiously remain laymen, and yet are known by experience to be well fitted for holding Tutorships and College Offices, which Fellows can alone hold.

'The clerical restriction,' says Professor Vaughan, 'has prevented some from devoting themselves to literary and scientific pursuits, who may have had a real call to such occupations, without feeling any such call to "preach the gospel" as ordination presupposes.'—*Evidence quoted in Oxf. Univ. Rep.* p. 161.

That this argument holds as well against the Marriage restriction as that of Holy Orders is plain, and if allowed as good against the latter, it can hardly be resisted when brought against the former. But we will not dwell upon that point. What we have to say is this: first, that the permission of a certain number of lay-fellows does not meet the difficulty at all; and secondly, that it can be otherwise met very fully.

Let us suppose a College with twelve Fellows—three Fellowships are made tenable by laymen. After a short time these three Fellowships become filled up by, say, two professional men, living in London, and one gentleman with no special occupation, living, perhaps, in Oxford, and using his College, according to his tastes, as a club or a shooting-box. Then arises the difficulty in question: a junior Fellow is found to be fitted for a literary life, but has not 'a call to preach the gospel'—is he helped by the three lay-fellowships? Not in the least; and so he is equally 'prevented from devoting himself to literary and 'scientific pursuits.'

But fruitless as this plan is, there is another which will meet the difficulty—and this is the plan which was recommended by the Oxford Tutors' Association—viz.: 'to grant to the Visitor 'of each College a limited power of dispensation, with a view to 'the service of the College.'[1] Thus would no principle be violated, and every purpose effected. Wherever any measures in the direction of lay-fellowships beyond this recommendation have been adopted, we count them to be an evil—an evil fraught with much future danger and harm to the Church and to the University, and wherever the question is still untouched, we hope that nothing further than this suggestion will be admitted. In point of learning alone, the advantage derived from clerical Fellowships are incalculable.

'It was because he had first been a studious Fellow of Corpus,' writes Mr. Burgon, 'that Hooker was enabled, long after, to write his Ecclesiastical Polity at Bishopsbourne, in Kent. Sanderson made himself a ripe scholar while he was a Fellow of Lincoln; else had the world never seen

[1] Reports, p. 120.

the splendid Divinity which is dated from Boothby-Pannell. When did Hammond become a theologian, if not in the ten years during which he was a Fellow of Magdalen? Bull depended upon an annual excursion to the University for those stores of sacred learning which enabled him to become the champion of the Faith. Butler went straight from Oriel to deliver his immortal Sermons at the Rolls' Chapel in London.'[1]

'Has Theology ceased to be a study? and is it true that there is no longer any need of a body of learned clergy? Is it not rather the case that the Colonial Church has been created within your memory and mine? that the demand for Clergymen, at home and abroad, is greater than ever was known before? that fresh avenues of labour are opening in every quarter? and that the amount of hard *work* which devolves on an incumbent does for the most part so effectually deprive him of the opportunities of study, that our only remaining chance of possessing a learned Clergy seems to spring out of the fact that these time-honoured institutions afford a temporary shelter for students in theology, before they are called out into the field of active exertion? If a foundation for such Students was deemed requisite in the days of Edward II., what is there to warrant the belief that such a foundation needs not to be retained *in all its integrity* now?'[2]

The Cambridge University Commissioners declare themselves 'inclined to recommend only such a relaxation in the existing 'law of *some* of the Colleges as would allow of a reasonable in-'terval of time before a newly-elected Fellow should be required 'to enter into Holy Orders, or vacate his Fellowship:' and this period they fix at five, six or seven years from the M.A. Degree.[3] The Oxford Tutors' Association 'does not think 'uniformity in this respect a thing necessary or desirable; and, 'except in such cases of dispensations as are above specified, 'sees no reason for interfering with the regulations laid down 'by different Founders on the subject.'[4] If any change is to be made, we hope that a greater regard will be paid to the expressed opinions of the Oxford Tutors' Association and the Cambridge University Commissioners than to a recommendation of the late Oxford University Commission, singularly unfitted as that body was to approach the present question with temper and moderation. And should any attempt be unhappily made to force upon Colleges a change which they have not asked for, and to which they are conscientiously opposed, we trust that they will use that method—that only method—of defence, which the University Bill of 1854 has left to a united body of Head and Fellows.

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[1] Letter to Endemus and Ecdemus, p. 12.
[2] Ib. p. 11.
[3] Report, p. 171.
[4] Reports, p. 122.

ART. VI.—1. *Third and Final Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed November* 10, *A. D.* 1852, *to inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales. With an Appendix. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty,* 25*th May,* 1855.

2. *Additional Cathedrals. A Letter, written at the request of a Member of the Cathedral Commission on the Question of what existing Churches would be available as Cathedrals in case of the Erection of additional Sees. By* GEO. GILBERT SCOTT, *Architect.* London: J. H. Parker, Strand. 1854.

THE Cathedral Commission, having had its tenure of office enlarged for that purpose, has presented a third and final Report, signed by the whole staff, with the one notable exception of Lord Blandford. Within the few days which have elapsed since the publication of the Blue Book, its recommendations have had the honour of being snarled at by the *Examiner*, in a diatribe remarkable for its superabundance of bile, and of being quizzed by the *Times*, in an article equally conspicuous for deficiency of logic. From all these circumstances, our readers will pretty safely combine the inference that the document embodies that renewed appreciation of cathedral institutions which is, assuredly, in despite of amateur and noble statesmanship and of popularity-hunting journalism—slowly (it may be) but—surely, making its way in the public mind.

It will be observed that the present report is the *third* issued by the Commission; the two Blue Books of last year having contained the first, with its gigantic appendix. The *second*, it seems, was entirely devoted to one special object, Dr. Walker's noble offer to found the bishopric needed by Cornwall, at his living of S. Columb, a proposal which, we are happy to say, met with the cordial approbation of the Commissioners, no less than of both houses of the Convocation of Canterbury. The former, indeed, as we see, considered it so important as to forestall in favour of this scheme the ordinary course of its final report. Of this offer we shall have to speak more fully when we come to consider the references made to it in the present document.

The Report begins with a briefly emphatic recapitulation of the 'orignal purpose of a cathedral church,' both at the period when the term signified simply—

> 'The Bishop living together with his associated Clergy; maintaining the constant worship of Almighty God; educating the young in the faith of Christ; and sending forth Preachers of the Gospel into all parts of the Diocese.'—*Cathedral Commission: Third and Final Report*, p. vi.

and as it was at a later date adapted to the 'altered circumstances of the Church,' after the parochial system had grown into shape, and the cathedral had become 'the spiritual metropolis, or mother-church of the diocese.' The Commissioners then refer to the downward course of these old institutions when the 'term allowed for *absence* in the year became the term prescribed for *residence*,' and canons have 'thus become less capable 'of united action, less sensible of corporate responsibility, and 'less available to the Bishop, as his council of advisers.'

The mighty measure of Cathedral reform, as understood in 1835, is then taken up, epitomized and left behind in two paragraphs, not filling eight completed lines. *Sic transit*, &c.—a quotation which we leave to the most noble the Marquis of Blandford to finish, if he can find time from his ponderous statistics to cultivate the lighter studies of the Gradus ad Parnassum.

We now arrive at the first recommendations, not of 1835 but of 1855, which we quote:—

'We have come to the conclusion, that the full efficiency of the Cathedral bodies cannot be secured, without a return to the spirit of the ancient rule with respect to residence.

'We therefore humbly recommend to Your Majesty, that (so long at least as the present suspension of Canonries shall last)—

'"Every Dean and Canon Residentiary hereafter appointed shall reside at his Cathedral Church for nine months in every year."

'In the process of framing the Cathedral Statutes in accordance with this rule, we propose to recommend that such limitations be introduced as will allow the time spent in diocesan or professional duties annexed to a Canonry, to be reckoned as part of the term of residence.'—P. vii.

To this recommendation the article immediately following is a necessary corollary:—

'"That hereafter, in every Cathedral Church where the offices of Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, or Subdean exist, the Dean and Canons Residentiary, with the assistance of the Minor Canons, be responsible for the fulfilment of the duties belonging to those offices, each person having his allotted share; and that hereafter no other persons be appointed to those offices."'—P. vii.

We are glad to observe that the Commissioners state that their conviction of the necessity of enforcing long terms of residence is confirmed by the suggestions of several Bishops and Chapters, portions of which are cited in an appendix.

The two names which first appear in juxtaposition are the Bishop of Exeter and the Bishop of Hereford. Of non-episcopal recommendations the earliest is that of the Dean of Bristol, who says, 'Bind the members of the Chapter by compulsory residence 'to the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, and the Chapter will 'become something more than a mere name;' 'it will be then 'impossible,' Dr. Elliott continues, that 'the demands of the

'interests committed to their charge be not more justly appreci-
'ated and more readily met than they are now.'

Two members of the Commission record their dissent from the proposed enactment of residence. The first is Mr. Montagu Villiers, who bases his objection on the grounds, *inter alia*, that 'the plan proposed is confessedly a return to the old Cathedral 'principles,' and that it 'will certainly lead to a demand for an 'immediate change in the social position of the heads of the 'Church.' *Euge* Mr. Villiers. These objections are at least characteristic; and we leave them to be refuted, not by the consentient voice of the Christian Church, but by the more enlightened judgments of Archbishop Sumner, Bishop Hampden, and Dean Elliott.

The other dissentient is one whom we are surprised and sorry to see in such a juxtaposition—the learned and excellent Dr. Wordsworth. No doubt so large a measure of reform as that which is embraced in the recommendation above quoted, cannot be brought into working order without half a hundred particular and exceptional difficulties crossing the path of reformation. Possibly, too (though this is very dangerous ground to tread), several of these difficulties may point to the necessity of either some fixed rule or of some fixed tribunal of dispensation. But still the fundamental principle surely remains untouched, that the members of a capitular body have the same obligation of residence incumbent upon them in respect to their *corporate* cure, which is incumbent upon the *persona* of a parochial cure in respect of his personal cure. And unquestionably, to advance another step, residence continuing three quarters of the year, with a 'long vacation' of three months, and the liberal allowance, moreover, which the Commission admits, of spiritual duties in the diocese being taken in commutation for physical presence at the Cathedral itself, is a sufficiently lenient interpretation of that residence. Again, it must never be forgotten that the suggested proposition is purely prospective, and in reference to dignitaries who accept stalls under the new constitution, or to those who have been appointed since the issuing of the Commission, and who, it will be recollected, were by a special Act of Parliament to be subject to any regulations it might lay down. Their case, of course, involves no grievance, for they took the preferment with their eyes open. All these circumstances therefore considered, we think that Dr. Wordsworth would have acted better on behalf of the interests which all Churchmen know he has so deeply and warmly at heart, by signing the recommendation of his brother Commissioners, as a *starting* ing, we need not add, to himself such e nk necessary in the fut er, as his

objections are, *in genere*, perfectly different from those of Canon Villiers; so the conclusion to which he arrives assuredly implies no protest against a 'return to the old Cathedral principles.' We may leave Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Villiers to neutralize each other.

'"I would rather respectfully suggest, that, it being laid down as a general fundamental principle, that the energies of Canons should be devoted as much as possible to their Cathedral, the Cathedral City, and the Diocese, it should be left to the authority, which the Cathedral Commission has recommended to be constituted for the revision of Cathedral Statutes, to examine carefully into the circumstances of each Cathedral Church, City, and Diocese, severally, and to make regulations accordingly, as to the residence of Canons, and as to the Tenure of Benefices with Canonries."'—P. xlv.

The word 'energies' in this minority report is unfortunately a somewhat vague expression. The substitution of 'time' would have improved the clause, which would then have been, in spirit, identical with the Report itself[1]—the nine months being assumed as the symbol of the requisite concentration of time.

But to revert to the body of the Report. The Commission proceeds to handle the far too long and much neglected 'Greater Chapter,' and recommends its recal to renovated life under provisions based upon the sound advice that 'the constitution of 'the Old Foundation[2] (in its later form, as above described) be 'taken as the model for all Cathedral Churches.' It is then suggested that the Prebendaries of the Old and the Honorary Canons of the New Foundation be termed for the future (*simpliciter*) 'Canons,' that they, being not fewer than twelve, be appointed by the Bishop, and form together with Dean, Canons Residentiary, and Archdeacons, the Greater Chapter of the diocese, and enjoy the right now possessed by the Prebendaries of the Old Foundations 'of *voting at the election of a Bishop, and of a 'Capitular Proctor of Convocation,*' and 'take their places in 'Choir and Chapter next to the Canons Residentiary and Arch-'deacons, according to seniority of appointment.' A provision follows, that the Canons 'Non-Residentiary,' as they are styled through the remainder of the Report, *ipso facto*, forfeit, except under licence, their position by ceasing to reside in the diocese.

[1] The Journals of the House of Commons at this instant afford a curious instance of the popular appreciation of the truth, that Canons ought to work at their Cathedrals for their stipends, while at the same time they show into what blunders ignorant and self-confident reformers are apt to fall when they apply the axe and not the probe. We refer to the very objectionable Carlisle Canonries Bill, now before the House, under the care of Mr. Ferguson, one of the members for that city, which passed its second reading by the narrowest majority. This measure proposes to confiscate the next stall at Carlisle which may fall in, in favour of the parochial Clergy of Carlisle. The idea that the Canons themselves could never be awakened to spiritual work in the place seems to have struck the promoters of the scheme.

[2] We take for granted that our readers are aware of the distinction between the Old and New Foundations.

The next topic is the attitude of the Bishop towards the Cathedral and the Chapter, which the Commission rightly wishes to place upon a footing perfectly different from that which it has heretofore practically been in every cathedral, however in those of the Old Foundation a different state of things may exist on paper.

'In the words of the late Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop has in general, "extraordinary jurisdiction as Visitor, but no ordinary jurisdiction as Bishop."

'At the same time we find that the Bishop's authority as Visitor has not been exercised either regularly or frequently.

'To provide a remedy for these defects, we deem it desirable to connect the Bishop, the Chapter, and the Greater Chapter with the Bishop, so as to ensure, as far as possible, periodical revision of Cathedral affairs, and to provide opportunities of mutual conference; by which means, we trust, many questions, which might otherwise grow up into subjects of appeal, will be considered and adjusted as they arise.'—P. viii.

The first recommendation towards carrying out these not very reactionary nor withal very revolutionary suggestions is one with which it pleases the *Times* to make itself very merry —'for gentle dulness ever loves a jest.'

'"That the Bishop, wherever it may be practicable, have a place of residence in the Cathedral City, or in its immediate neighbourhood."'—P. viii.

Of course we do not pretend to follow any argument of our daily contemporary, for argument there is none about him. The point of the joke, that 'Mrs. Bishop' is to be bored to death with the cathedral, &c. &c. Q. E. D. Is Printing-house Square so very delectable that a twelve or even a nine months' residence there and thereabouts is a thing to be sighed after for its own sweet sake?—and is there no Christian chivalry in the ministers of the Christian religion which makes them undergo cheerfully for their Lord's sake a degree of coercion much less than that which the scribes of a *soi-disant* 'leading journal' will readily accept for the sake of the advantages, real or imaginary, which their position offers? But, after all, there is no need to argue the point. This sort of Machiavellian logic, grounded upon a creed of universal Cynicism, is the easiest basis in the world on which to set up a flippant tirade, and, for the same reason, most difficult to expose to those who choose to be bamboozled by claptrap. The rest of the world do not demand a reply, for they see through the sophistry, however they may laugh at the word-conjuring.

To prevent the Episcopal connexion from becoming a specious nonentity, the recommendation follows, that the Bishop shall annually preside at an Ordinary and also at a Greater Chapter; and, moreover, have power to summon on any special

occasion additional meetings of either Chapter, and may preside at the same. The next reform is, to confirm the authority of the Dean, and in his absence of the Vice-Dean, or failing such office, of the Senior Resident Canon as his regular deputy.

We now come to a subject which would a few years since have excited by its very name greater trepidation, in well-disposed quarters, than it is very likely at the present day to elicit, —'Revision of Statutes.'

The recommendation of this section is—

'"That a Cathedral Commission be appointed by Act of Parliament for a period of ten years, consisting of the two Archbishops, two Bishops of the province of Canterbury, and one of York, to be chosen by the Bishops of each province, respectively, and four other persons, members of the Church of England, (one of whom shall be Dean of a Cathedral Church,) to be appointed by the Crown."'—P. ix.

and that this new Commission have concurrent jurisdiction with the respective Chapters (episcopally controlled) and their Visitors to reform, or, if none exist, to frame Statutes, subject, of course, to the form of the approbation of the Queen in Council.

We cannot refrain from a little surprise at this recommendation. Surely of Commissions touching Church matters we have enough, and more than—much more than—enough. They have fairly culminated in this most practical one, whose Report we are treating. We understand that within this very month a Select Committee of the House of Lords has crushed in the egg an imminent 'Parishes Commission.' Would not a Joint Committee of the two houses of the two Convocations of Canterbury and York be just as efficient? If such were appointed, we should not then object to the Crown nominating two or three lay assessors, one *at least* of them to be a lawyer or judge.

There is one Chapter excepted from the above recommendation as a body *per se*, and that is 'the Queen's Free Chapel, 'within the Castle of Windsor,' or St. George's Chapel, as we of the populace are wont to term it. All, therefore, that the Commission proposes in respect to this Chapel is, that out of the two Canonries which the *ci-devant* reform would have absolutely suspended, one should be attached to the Vicarage of Windsor, with a stipend of two-fifths of its actual income, and the other have its revenues distributed between the thirteen 'military knights,' as the somewhat impulsive goodnature of William IV. dubbed the charitable institution, known for centuries as the Poor Knights of Windsor.

Far be it from us to derogate rashly from the prerogatives attached to any appanage of Royalty in this levelling age. There is, in sooth, little enough heed taken of the symbolic dignity which all true philosophy of human nature says ought to hedge the personal representative of imperial nationality.

Specially at this particular crisis of Archæologists who are not foreign secretaries, and Australian notabilities who are not what they themselves threw up in a pet, and elderly surveyors, who are not Chancellors of the Exchequer, and gardeners who are not Dukes in title as well as in influence—all howling together for Administrative Reform; we should be more loth than usual to advocate any special diminution in the Royal State. But still in one feature, which we shall have to point out further on, the Commission appears to us to have respected the prerogatives of Windsor by abstaining from recommending that which would have been alike an augmentation of its dignity and a measure of practical good.

The ensuing recommendations we quote as they occur in the Blue-Book. Some, perhaps, may sarcastically hint that certain dignitaries would not now be where they are had the one which appears the first been in past times the recognised accompaniment of patronage.

'"That on the appointment to any Canonry, a written statement of the qualifications or past services of the person appointed be signed by the Patron, to be presented to the Chapter, and preserved among their records."

'It appears by the Table given in our First Report (page 41), that the Canonries in the Patronage of the Crown and of the Lord Chancellor are confined to certain Cathedrals; and that whereas in some Cathedrals, the Bishop has not one Canonry in his Patronage, in others the Bishop has the Patronage of all.

'It seems desirable to suggest a remedy for these inequalities. We therefore recommend,

'"That exchange of Patronage of Canonries be made (according to the Table annexed to this Report), on the principle that the Patronage of the Crown and of the Lord Chancellor should be more equably diffused, and that every Bishop should have the Patronage of some Canonries in his own Cathedral.

'"That in case of a Dean or a Canon Residentiary being desirous, by reason of old age or other infirmity, to retire from his Deanery or Canonry, he be allowed, with consent of the Bishop and Patron, or, if the Bishop be Patron, with consent of the Archbishop, to receive from his successor, as a retiring pension, such sum as may be approved by the Bishop and Patron, or by the Bishop and Archbishop, as the case may be."

'We also recommend,

'"That if possible the several Canonries of Norwich, Rochester, and Gloucester be severed from the headships of Catherine Hall, Cambridge; Oriel, and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford; to which they are now respectively attached, such annexation being incompatible with the amount of residence and duties which we have recommended for the Members of Chapters."—Pp. x, xi.

The result of the suggested interchanges of patronage is to add six to the number of stalls at the disposal of the Prime Minister, and to diminish the Episcopal patronage to the same extent, leaving thirty-three instead of twenty-seven Canonries in ministerial patronage, and reducing the Episcopal nominations

from ninety to eighty-four, the Lord Chancellor remaining, as heretofore, patron of twelve stalls. We cannot exactly see the reason for thus swelling the power of the Executive, while, of course, we have no difficulty in picturing to ourselves the readiness with which successive Premiers would accept, at least, this portion of the recommendations. It must, however, be remembered that, as we shall see, with the renewal of the Greater Chapter the influence of any one Canon is greatly reduced. The new arrangement will leave the Bishop of London patron of two stalls instead of one in his Cathedral; while the diocesan of Westminster will have the same amount of patronage in that Church. Two Canonries, moreover, at Oxford will come within Episcopal patronage. We wonder that the opportunity was not here taken to advise, saving existing interests, the severance of the Greek Professorship at Cambridge from the Stall at Ely, to which the arrangements of 1835 tied it. This unmeaning enactment shuts any layman out of that not necessarily clerical office. Had it existed at an earlier period, Porson would never have been Greek Professor.

The next section has reference to Archdeaconries. The recommendation is, to sever Canonries and Archdeaconries, except in the case of the Archdeaconry in which each Cathedral locally stands, the other Archdeaconries being endowed with some benefice within their circumscription, and, as we have seen, remaining members of the Greater Chapter. In the case of the Residentiary Archdeacon, the performance of his peculiar duties is to reckon as a portion of his residence, while, on the other hand, he is not to undertake any Cathedral duties which in the Bishop's judgment are incompatible with his own office. This proposal carries with it an advantage which is not at first sight evident —that of facilitating the increase of Bishoprics, against which the present connexion of the more distant Archdeacons with the Old Cathedral must operate as an impediment.

From Archdeacons the descent is rapid to Minor Canons, a branch of the subject upon which the Commission says it has 'bestowed much attention.' The conclusion attained is, that it is desirable that the 'Minor Canons be not less than four for 'each cathedral' (including, it is explained, 'Vicars Choral in Holy Orders,') 'should be for the most part young men, per-'forming their cathedral duties, and at the same time partaking 'of pastoral work in the neighbourhood of the cathedral church,' with stipends increasing with length of service. All this implies that the office is not to be a life one: at the same time it is broadly recommended with respect to the right which Minor Canons claim to capitular livings, that there shall not be an absolute compulsion to convert a good singer into a bad parish priest —while in compensation, however, there shall be a running power

to prolong the minor canonship of the priest who is clearly cut out for that work and no other, and even to give him a retiring pension. All this is very good, but there will, of course, be difficulties in getting it into working order. In a further recommendation we entirely agree, that of dissolving—saving existing interests—the different corporations of Minor Canons, and throwing their properties into the common capitular estates, the Minor Canon of the future depending upon the Chapter for his stipend. Would it not be possible, however, to combine with this change some scheme by which the Minor Canons shall not be unrepresented in the Greater Chapter? We can see no objection to one representative, annually elected by the Minor Canons themselves, being a member of that body. The concession would be graceful, and it would be politic. It would raise those who are to be hereafter a hard-working and meritorious class of men, from the apparent position of mere dependence to which they might seem reduced, and it would provide on their side a legitimate, and therefore a moderate, mouthpiece for those questions relative to their affairs which ought from time to time to occupy the attention of the governing body. With this modification we hail the proposed abolition of those selfish and touchy *imperia in imperiis* the Colleges of Priest Vicars, Minor Canons, &c. as an unmixed good. No doubt there was in old times good reason for giving them a separate existence. Now all the reason goes entirely the other way. A somewhat amusing instance of the powers of obstruction possessed by such bodies, and of a bold rough-and-ready Laudian way of overcoming it—(the only thing possible under the circumstances)—occurred some years back in the experience of the greatest living cathedral restorer of these realms—the Primate of All Ireland. Archbishop Beresford had restored his church with a princely munificence, and he resolved upon restoring also the daily choral service. But the element of obstruction was potent and well organized in a College of Vicars Choral (partly in Holy Orders and partly laymen), holding their estates under a charter of Charles I., and liable only to a contemptible fine for non-attendance to their duties. Luckily, however, the nomination to this body rested with the Primate. Accordingly, as the old members dropped off, the Archbishop appointed to the College his own friends and intimates, with the exception only of the two clerical vicarships, which are always given to clergymen who can sing and will sing. The new vicars, of course, took the office merely as a means to the end, handing over their stipends and their official residences (of which each has one, from the thoughtful munificence of a former prelate,) to a staff of singing men appointed and dismissible by the precentor, a known disciplinarian and a consummate musician.

The result is, that the choir of Armagh now stands amongst the most efficient and regular—not of Ireland, but—of England.

The next head, 'Patronage of Cathedral Benefices,' is important:—

'We recommend "That (save existing rights) the Benefices in the patronage of Capitular bodies without their respective Dioceses be exchanged under the provisions of the Act 16 & 17 Vict. c. 50., for Benefices within their own Dioceses."

'Also, "That in any case where a Benefice in the patronage of a Chapter is not conferred upon a member of the Cathedral body, the right of presentation (saving existing rights) be vested in the Greater Chapter."'—P. xiii.

We know within our own experience a melancholy instance of the misworking of the existing system of Capitular patronage, which has entailed on an important agricultural parish an Incumbent, very nearly, indeed, related to a Canon, not destitute of other sources of ecclesiastical revenue, but possessing no further qualifications except youthful inexperience in the pastoral office, and an experience in other things which the ablest *roué* and *chevalier d'industrie* might vainly hope to rival. And yet the channels of justice flowing from the highest ecclesiastical region seem unaccountably dammed. If the new Commission could only check the repetition of such a scandal, it would not have existed in vain.

Here the first branch of the Report—on the Constitution of Cathedral Bodies—ends. It next takes up their functions, and foremost among them Public Worship, basing its recommendations on these general principles:—

'The primary purpose of a Cathedral Church was the maintenance of the Worship of Almighty God in the most constant and solemn manner.

'We may at once proceed to state the general principle which will govern all our recommendations on this subject; viz.

'"That the services of the Cathedral Church, both on the Lord's Day, and on other days, should be such as may most effectually minister to the honour of Almighty God, and promote the spiritual welfare of the Cathedral City and the Diocese."

'This principle comprehends the two distinct but inseparable purposes combined in all Christian Worship; and the founders of Cathedral Churches recognised both, and provided for their fulfilment.'—P. xiii.

We quote in full the interpretation given by the Commission to the first of these purposes:—

'1. It will be seen by the analysis which we have given of the returns from the several Chapters on this subject, that the former of these two purposes is the one which has been best fulfilled in the Cathedral Churches.

'The daily choral services, morning and afternoon, have been maintained in almost all the Cathedrals; and in later years, we have reason to believe, with increasing solemnity, and with more uniform regard to the peculiar requirements of the choral service.

'We entirely agree with the suggestion made by several Chapters, that these choral services, bequeathed to us by former ages, should be maintained in full efficiency. Music and singing have always formed a part of the Public Worship of Almighty God. The solemn strains of the Cathe-

eloquence with which he has in his own country combined the maintenance of religious interests according to the views of Rome with an unflagging zeal for constitutional liberty, on his entering Canterbury cathedral while evensong was in progress. He had apparently never actively realized before that the English Church had preserved continuously the constant choral worship for which our cathedrals were originally reared, their lofty vaults arched over, and spacious choirs marked out. He did not, of course, say much, being a devoted Roman Catholic; nor did we press him; but it was clear that the use we made of those old churches which have descended to us, struck him in a light which had not before occurred to his mind.

But to resume,—

'2. With regard to the second purpose, viz., the promoting the spiritual welfare of the Cathedral City and Diocese, the Cathedral Bodies appear to have fallen short of what might reasonably have been expected from these institutions. We trust that their efficiency in this respect will be much increased by the continual residence of the Dean and Canons.

'We are of opinion that the services of the Lord's Day should be more frequent and more varied; and that the Cathedral bodies may hereafter usefully consider whether, as is now the practice in certain Cathedrals, the services of the Lord's Day can be profitably divided.

'We think that there should be not fewer than two sermons in every Cathedral Church; and that one of them might, with advantage, like the sermons before the Universities, be accompanied by short prayers and a single psalm or hymn.

'We also suggest that the usefulness of Cathedral Churches might be increased by the addition to their choral services of others without musical accompaniment, to which, on one or more days of the week, a sermon or exposition might be added.'—P. xiv.

The division of the services is a principle of which the recognition is important; and we do not think that, the integrity of the choral service being maintained,—by which we mean that every service of the Church shall be at least *once* chorally performed on each succeeding day on which that service is due—there can be any objection to the last recited suggestion. We could have wished, however, that the Commission would have expressed some opinion upon a point which has unquestionably long been the standing blot of the musical arrangements of our Cathedrals. We mean the nearly universal custom of dropping the choral element at the Nicene Creed, and leaving the holiest portion of Christian worship to be slurred over in the naked tones of ordinary reading. Of course this corruption (we can use no milder term) arose from the defective musical education of our heretofore dignitaries, a plea which we trust will disappear under the new reform. But this was no real excuse, even admitting that it gave some persons a sort of individual absolution. Because the very reverend the Dean, or the reverend the Precentor, could not if his life

depended on it, bring out a single musical note—it was no reason for the organist to lock up his instrument and the singing men to bustle out of Church and leave the Tersanctus, the Responses, and the Gloria in Excelsis to the unassisted voices of a diminished congregation awed into whispering by the vastness and the solitude of the fane into a corner of which they were gathered.

The *absolute* enforcement of the rubrical order for weekly communion in Cathedrals and Colleges was also to have been looked for here. We cannot doubt that the Commission meant to imply as much, but it was a great oversight not to have stated that in the most positive and stringent language. Many of our Cathedrals, it is well known, do comply with this rubric; but many, we grieve to say, do not; while the regular custom even of weekly Communions leaves behind those Holy Days whose appointed Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and those Octaves of high festivals, whose daily special preface point to the celebration of Holy Communion on those occasions as the clear indisputable mind of the English Church.

Of the more excellent way, however, both as respects frequency of celebration, and investing the Holy Communion with the dignity of a musical arrangement, those parish Churches—to which the Report not many lines before referred with such marked approbation—give the Cathedrals so striking an example, that it is impossible that any of them can long refuse that rivalry which is their duty. Only, for the sake of the Commission, we are sorry that it did not state as much in its report. We trust that among those popular and shorter services recommended, the Litany will be used as it deserves and is capable of being employed. It is not too much to say that our Church never has fully tested the capabilities of that majestic, and we are satisfied, most popular service, and never will have done so until the experiment has been tried of its Responses being sent up by the united utterance of a full Cathedral Nave.

The Report continues to advise that declaratory enactments should make it clear that the Bishop has the right to preach and minister in his own Cathedral at his own discretion, and it recommends the attendance at least once every day at worship, except for a reasonable cause (to be approved by the Dean and Chapter) of the Dean and Canons in residence, subject to a fine for non-attendance. The presence of not fewer than two Canons, residentiary or non-residentiary, at each choral service, is likewise counselled, and that the Dean and Canons should take some part in the daily celebration of Divine Service. Two sermons every Lord's-day, in the Choir or Nave, are also prescribed. Why not, we reiterate, weekly Communion also, not to mention the observance of all Holy Days? Finally, the Bishop is to have ordinary jurisdiction over the Capitular body.

This is the place to mention that we observed with much regret, among the papers printed in the Appendix, a body of answers, bearing date March 5 of the present year, from the (late) Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, to certain questions issuing from the commission, and leading up to the recommendations which we have just recited. This regret, we need hardly say, is greatly increased when we consider the peculiar personal weight which must attach in the eyes of all Churchmen to several members of the capitular body of Christchurch. But still, as the question is before us, we must, with all respect to those honoured persons, state our regret, that the position which they have assumed should be so wholly untenable. The first question is, 'Whether the Bishop of Oxford should 'not have the same power, place, and precedence, within the 'Cathedral, as are possessed by other Bishops in their Cathe-'drals?' The reply is, that the Bishop of Oxford has his throne in Christchurch 'in the same position as in other Cathedrals.' 'As to power,' however, 'the foundation charter of the see of 'Oxford does not convey to the Bishop ordinary and episcopal 'jurisdiction within the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford.' The corollary is, that to give 'any power' to the Bishop which the '*Founder*' had not thought fit to do, would be 'a direct vio-'lation of the fundamental principle on which both the see and 'the college were erected.' We desire to be grave, and we shall, therefore, only remark upon this chivalrous assertion, that if ever there was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of adhering to Founders' intentions, it is to be found in keeping the Bishop of Oxford in a position of inferiority to all his fellows, out of respect to the 'thoughts of fitness' existing in Henry VIII.'s mind, when he 'erected' Christchurch upon the 'fundamental principles' of swindling Wolsey out of the credit of being the founder of Cardinal College, starving the Cardinal's provision, uprooting the newly established see of Oseney, and levelling Oseney Cathedral Church to the ground.

The second question, of conferring the patronage of another stall on the Bishop, is met by the appeal *ad coronam*. The Crown, so says Christchurch, has already had its prerogative weakened by the annexation of stalls to the Archdeaconry of Oxford, and the Margaret Professorship. To give the Bishop another stall 'would be injurious to the College as an edu-'cational institution, and, therefore, contrary to the main object 'of the foundation;' not to say that Bishops' Canons could not be trusted as sub-deans or treasurers. The conclusion is, that each prime minister is sure to be the man who cares most for and knows most about the right person to work an educational institution. 'Honorary Canons,' are, of course, at once and for

ever scouted with the pertinent remark that 'no reconstruction 'of the choir for the admission of honorary Canons could be 'effected without materially affecting its use as a College Chapel.' To appreciate this remark, it must not be forgotten, that among the privileges of a nobleman is that of sitting at chapel in the highest stalls, and also that the College prayers during the week are at a different hour from the Cathedral service. Next comes the apparently harmless suggestion of 'the Bishop having apartments or a residence allotted to him in the close.' Here the opportunity is not lost of explaining that 'there is no close.' But what of that? Gloucester Hall *was* given to the Bishop by the 'Founder,' and Gloucester Hall is gone. So the Bishop cannot and shall not ever live at Christchurch. The Dean and Chapter wish him all possible success in recovering Gloucester Hall, but if he sticks at Cuddesdon whose fault is it? Besides, 'the Dean and Chapter have no lodgings at their disposal,' and no Christchurch Meadow, we suppose, to give a site in. But the richest of all is behind; if the Bishop lodged within the college there would be 'an interference with its general regulations,' which sweep in the families of all who live within Christchurch, and subject them to the Dean, *i. e.*, we conclude, that there are fears that his Lordship might conspire with his brother 'tufts' against the 'dons,' and perhaps inaugurate a systematic propaganda of burning the lecture desks in 'Quad,' nailing up the censors' oaks, and shirking chapel to an extent and with a pertinacity hitherto unexampled even in that orderly college.

We need not tell the fate that awaits the question of giving the Bishop power to summon the greater or lesser Chapter 'to advise him.' The Chapter 'submits' that if he wants advice, he had better go to his Archdeacons and Rural Deans, and not to them, and they conclude with the refrain that they 'ought 'not to be charged with other duties than those contemplated 'by their Founder.'

The proposal of a sermon at the hour of half-past three on Sundays is met by the practical and sensible remark, that it would clash with, and is in fact rendered unnecessary by, the afternoon sermon at S. Mary's. Had the respondents stopped here, they would for once have had an advantage, but they cannot forbear from adding, 'it must also be borne in mind 'that the Cathedral is not a Parish Church, but, to all intents 'and purposes, a College Chapel.'

The paper concludes by the admission that Christchurch is an 'anomaly'—but that it had better be kept such—and this document carries the signature not only of the learned and amiable, but old-world and recluse Dean Gaisford, but of every

other Canon of the Cathedral, the Archdeacon included. Its perusal has given us much pain, for the sake rather of its authors than for any weight which it has had in the Commission, or is likely to have in the world. We do not insist that the Church which is the Chapel of Christchurch College could also be effectively used as the working Cathedral of the diocese of Oxford—we will even surrender this point to the Chapter for sake of argument. But if this be the case, let it be honestly faced and explicitly owned. The Dean and Chapter throughout their document plead to be allowed to retain the dignity of a Cathedral Chapter while repudiating Cathedral responsibility, and Cathedral subordination. This is not fair. Let them on their own grounds divorce the Cathedral of the see of Oxford from the Chapel of Christchurch—the separation, according to their own showing, would entail no loss except of some imaginary dignity to the Chapter of Christchurch, who would continue Dean and Canons just as much as their fellows of the 'Free Chapel' of Windsor are such at the present instant. It would be a great gain to the Bishop and to the Clergy of Oxford. There is close to the episcopal residence, the ancient Abbey church of Dorchester, of imposing dimensions and beautiful architecture—recently, at least in part, restored, and itself the successor of that Cathedral church of Dorchester, in which in Saxon days those Bishops sat, whose descendants now occupy the Minster at Lincoln. If Christchurch find it incompatible with existing arrangements to give the Bishop his due rights in his actual Cathedral, let them petition to re-erect the throne in Dorchester church. Or let the little parish church of Cuddesdon, under the shadow of the episcopal palace, be made the Cathedral, even if a miniature one. Cuddesdon church has already become, since the foundation of its Theological College, the erection of a vicarage convertible into a deanery, and the material restoration of its fabric and arrangements (a work in which the episcopal cathedra has not been forgotten), something not at all dissimilar to a *bonâ fide* cathedral, and the coronal of clergy often collected at it wears a very near resemblance to a real Chapter—facts which were not obscurely hinted at by the Bishop of New Zealand, in the eloquent address with which, in Cuddesdon church, he inaugurated the opening of that College.

In short, let Christchurch express its willingness to co-operate in bringing about anything rather than the maintenance of the 'actual anomaly,' which only finds its prototype in some of the worst irregularities engendered by the overweening pride and opulence of corporate ecclesiastical bodies in the middle ages—in the conduct for instance of the Chapter of

Amiens, which for century after century forbade its Bishop entrance within the choir of his own Cathedral, until the hurricane of the great revolution laid Bishop and Chapter alike prostrate.

The next heading takes in the miscellaneous topics included in the comprehensive title, 'other duties' of the Chapter. We find these to be music—cure of souls in the precinct and of the Cathedral body—capitular schools—and the fabric, with arrangement of property:—the duties, that is, respectively of the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, according to the ancient Cathedral system. There are also the functions of assisting the Bishop, and of preaching in the diocese, enforced by the 35th and 43d Canons, to carry out which injunction, the Commission recommends, as we have already said, that time spent in diocesan duties should be reckoned as residence. The provisions of the unlucky 3d & 4th of Victoria, c. 86, are also alluded to as affording an analogous class of duties to be provided for.

'To the above-mentioned duties incumbent on the Dean and Canons Residentiary by the Statutes of Cathedrals and the Ecclesiastical Canons, must be added the various special duties which may be annexed, either permanently or occasionally, to particular Canonries.

'In many cases a Canon will be Archdeacon; another may be the Bishop's Assistant in promoting Diocesan Education; in some Cathedral Cities there may be a College for Candidates for Holy Orders; a Training School for Masters or Mistresses of Schools; an Hospital; and other institutions, in which the members of Chapters will take such parts as may be hereafter ordered by the Statutes of their Cathedral.'—P. xvi.

In reference to this, however, the Commission makes a recommendation which we most cordially endorse:—

'Lastly, in considering the employments of Deans and Canons, we are of opinion that it is one distinct purpose of Cathedral institutions to make provision for the cultivation and encouragement of theological learning. With this view we think it desirable "That one Canonry at least in each Cathedral be not connected with any laborious pastoral duties."'—P. xvi.

Now comes the *vexata quæstio* of pastoral duties, distinct from that general *quasi* cure of the souls of the whole diocese, which a capitular body, according to its original import, ought to possess. The Commission deals as follows with the question:—

'We recommend "That any Dean or Canon be allowed to hold a Parochial Benefice, the Church of which is not more than two miles from the Cathedral Church, and no other; and, secondly, that wherever circumstances may allow, the spiritual charge of a District adjoining the Cathedral be vested in the Chapter, with the concurrence of the Bishop, and approved by the Cathedral Commissioners."

'Such an arrangement will not only afford to the Capitular Body opportunities of pastoral work (one of the best preservatives of spiritual life, and eminently auxiliary to the faithful and effectual preaching of the Gospel), but will also provide facilities for the Minor Canons being trained by practice for the work of the Parochial Ministry.'—P. xvii.

The '*no other*' we most cordially assent to; but we have

very strong doubts as to the recommendation going so far towards implying *absolute* permission to hold *any other* within the two miles. S. Giles's, Cripplegate, is not two miles from S. Paul's. We are very far, indeed, from wishing to say that in many cases the permission might not be beneficial equally to the cathedral, to the parish, and to the dignitary; but it is as clear as day that, on comparing the suggestion with the scope of the entire body of recommendations,—that, namely, of restoring our Chapters to their primitive utility, according to the primitive idea of a cathedral,—we should find that a permission, given indiscriminately, would do much towards frustrating those intentions. In his objection to this recommention, in its sweeping and general terms, we entirely concur with Dr. Wordsworth, who, as a canon stationed in the metropolis, can, more than any other member of the Commission, practically appreciate its working in a large town. Besides, how would the Commission deal with their own proposal of a see at Westminster? By this recommendation, unless limited, Canons of London and of Westminster could both hold livings in another diocese, if within two miles of S. Paul's or of S. Peter's respectively.

The duties of the Canons non-residentiary are comprised in their attending the annual meeting of the Greater Chapter, and any special meeting summoned by the Bishop, and, it should have been added, by the Dean, *vacante sede,* to elect the Bishop, &c., and in preaching from time to time in the Cathedral; and a prospect is held out of an annual payment 'wherever provision can be made for the purpose.' The Minor Canons have to take such parts in the service as the Chapter assigns to them, and to assist in pastoral duties in the city and hamlets adjacent.

It is a pity that it was not here especially laid down that knowledge of music must form a *sine qua non* in the appointment to the latter office. This is implied all through the Report, but a specific statement to that effect would have been the reverse of mis-placed.

The next section deals with Religious Education in its two branches, (specially exhibited in the Cathedrals of the new foundation,) of chorister and grammar schools, with occasional exhibitions to the Universities. It is found that in spite of 'laudable efforts in some instances to re-invigorate' these schools, they are, generally speaking, not in a flourishing condition. To meet this state of things several recommendations are offered, comprising, in the grammar-schools, endowments for the masters of not less than £150 for the head, and £100 for the second master, with a house rent-free to each, and leave

to receive boarders: while for the pupils we hear of education free of expense to the foundation-boys, with rewards, and, if possible, exhibitions to the Universities. As to the choristers, a good general as well as musical education is stipulated for at every Cathedral, ending, on good conduct, with an apprentice-fee or exhibition to the Universities. Preference on admission to the choristers' schools is to be given to boys who are likely to rise to the grammar-school, to which it is proposed to give them right of admission (if duly qualified) upon the foundation. The duty of examining each of the schools, admitting boys, and of reporting to the Chapter and the Bishop, is entrusted either to the Dean or to one of the Canons-residentiary as guardian of the school—a portion of the duties, by the way, of the old Chancellor of the Church. The Appendix includes a schedule of the existing schools, with remarks on each.

The next heading we quote in full, congratulating the Church upon its appearance:—

'THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES.—It was stated in our First Report (pp. xxiv, xxv.) "that one of the main purposes for which cathedrals were founded was to impart Christian instruction especially to those under training for holy orders in the Church."

'Referring to the evidence there given, and to the remarks there made on the subject, we have now to declare our opinion,

'"That it would be advantageous to religion and learning if, in each of the two provinces, a certain number of theological seminaries were formed or restored."

'In selecting places for such institutions, we suggest that regard should be had to statutable provisions, and also to existing means and appliances in the cathedral or collegiate body: *e.g.* number of canons—theological lectureships—library, hall, and other buildings for the reception of students—sufficient population in the cathedral city, that the students might be profitably trained and exercised in parochial and pastoral work, under direction of the clergy of the city, in visiting the sick, teaching in the schools, &c.

'We would suggest that where a Cathedral is so situate, that in connexion with it a Theological College could be instituted, which should be under the direction of the Bishops and Chapters of several associated dioceses, the benefits of such institutions might best be secured, and the dangers apprehended from a too great multiplication of such Colleges be avoided.'—P. xix.

The Appendix contains a letter from the Bishop of Exeter, partly concerned with a most munificent offer towards endowing the Bishopric of S. Columb, and partly making another offer, also most munificent, towards this most desirable end. This portion of the letter we cannot resist the pleasure of extracting:—

'II. Theological College in connexion with the Cathedral and Chapter of Exeter.

'The bishop is so confident of the great benefit to the Church in general, as well as to his own diocese in particular, which may be hoped, with God's

blessing, to result from such an institution at Exeter, that he begs leave to offer the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds (one thousand pounds of which is placed at his disposal by a generous churchman, who desires that his name be not mentioned), for fitting up one of the old ecclesiastical houses in the close, now in the possession of the dean and chapter, for the purposes of the intended institution, if a canonry shall be annexed to the office of warden of the college.

'The bishop would propose, that the nomination of the warden should rest with the bishop for the time being, who shall state the grounds of the nomination so made to the chapter, who shall have a veto on the nomination, giving their reasons for exercising such veto privately, in the first instance, to the bishop; and, if the bishop does not acquiesce, the validity of the alleged reasons shall finally be determined by two bishops and one dean, to be named for that purpose by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.'

'The bishop would further propose that the scheme for conducting the college be arranged on consultation between the bishop and chapter; and if, on such consultation, they do not agree, that the matter in difference be referred to the final decision of two bishops and one dean, to be named by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.'—*Appendix*, p. 20.

In reference to this subject, it occurs to us that the Principal or Warden of the Theological College ought to be declared, *ex officio*, a member of the Greater Chapter of that cathedral to which his college is attached. There are certain specific foundations to which the same privilege might be assigned. Foremost among them we should name the Wardenship of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; perhaps, also, the Mastership of the Clergy Orphan School, in the course of removal to the same city. So, in a reformed or a new chapter of the diocese, Oxford, the head of the training institution of Culham, might fairly claim the same prerogative. But in allotting such a privilege, two considerations must be imperative,—one, that no institution shall be coopted to a representation in the shape of its head in the Greater Chapter, which shall not in its constitution exhibit reasonable probability of permanence and solvency. A charter of incorporation, or a trust-deed approved by competent legal authority, should be the indispensable preliminary. The other requisite is, that it should be understood that in so taking its place at the Greater Chapter, the body thus represented should not part with any of that independence which might be necessary towards doing its own duty in its own sphere. In the case of the college first named, S. Augustine's, it was, we know, the peculiar desire of its founders,—a desire embodied and rendered effective in the statutes,—to make the College perfectly independent of Canterbury Cathedral, with its own body corporate, its own usages, its own collegiate church, in which the Warden occupies his own stall on the same footing that the Dean has tenure of his in the neighbouring more stately temple. And this was done in no spirit of jealousy, but from the conviction that a corporation founded for the

benefit of the whole Colonial Church, and, therefore, in constant communication with bishops in all the five divisions of the habitable globe, had better own no allegiance to a local Chapter, however ancient and venerable, and however near its own doors. Let the Warden of S. Augustine's be admitted to the Greater Chapter on this understanding, and then it will be well for both sides; if otherwise, then let him shun, as we are certain the present admirable holder of the office would do, the dangerous addition of dignity.

Diocesan inspection is summed up in this recommendation:—

'"That, where it is practicable, one of the Canons be assistant to the Bishop in the work of diocesan education."'—P. xix.

The third main topic is the condition of the lay-members and officers—organist, lay-vicars or clerks, choristers, and bedesmen. The former should have an adequate salary, and, where it is practicable, a house rent-free within the precincts. The dissolution of corporations of lay-vicars is proposed concurrently with the extinction of those of minor-canons, and, of course, with still stronger reason.

Adequate stipends, retiring pensions, and ample resources for their removability on just occasions, of course follow. A practical hint on a minor point, though valuable in a moral aspect, is dropped respecting them and the choristers,—that their singing elsewhere than at the cathedral should be under the control of the precentor. The choristers are to be under the spiritual care of one of the canons; so are also to be the bedesmen, the increase of whose stipends is suggested. This class, it is observed, are peculiar to the cathedrals of the new foundation, and to Westminster.

The fourth great topic, the fabric, is summarily dealt with. The pith of the suggestions is compressed in these sentences:—

'We have no wish to discourage any persons from assisting by their private means so good a work as the keeping up the fabric of our Cathedrals, and the buildings connected with them. But as regards the members of the several Chapters, we think it by no means fair that they should be obliged, from the want of Special Funds, to contribute out of the limited incomes which have been or may be assigned to them by Acts of Parliament, even to so good a work; and we therefore recommend "That a fund be set apart from the Capitular Revenues of each Cathedral, which shall be sufficient for the repairs of the fabric of the Cathedral Church and the Capitular Buildings, the Chapter having power to borrow money for great emergencies."

'We are glad to find that in some places the Cathedral is open to the inspection of the public free of charge, and we recommend "That this should be the case as to all Cathedrals at seasonable hours."'—P. xxi.

The successful result of the last recommendation at Peterborough ought to settle the question of opening our cathedrals to the public. We hear that although the freest access is now

conceded in that church, the damage resulting has been almost less than nominal.

Then follows another clause, the want of which no one who is practically acquainted with the interior of our cathedral churches will for a moment gainsay :—

'It has been suggested to us as very desirable that some person or persons of high architectural knowledge should be authorized periodically to inspect the different Cathedrals, and to give their advice in regard to any proposed alterations, and in regard to monuments erected or to be erected; and without their approbation no such alterations or erections should take place.

'We think it worthy of serious consideration whether some such provision may not be necessary, with a view to the preservation of the Cathedrals according to the original designs of those who built them.'—P. xxi.

It is not needful to refer to the disgraceful condition to which Westminster Abbey, in itself one of the noblest churches of Christendom, has been reduced by its condemnation to serve as the National Walhalla. But even at Canterbury, where so very much has been done in our time with such unsparing munificence in the right direction, several mural tablets, of a wholly incongruous character, have within the last few years been allowed to blister the walls of the nave. Canterbury being a military station, there seems to have grown up an unfortunate idea that military monuments, subscribed for and erected by regiments to their fallen comrades, (in itself the emanation of Christian and laudable feeling,) were exempted from the scope of capitular criticism. From a similar feeling, we conclude, the heathen sphynx has within not many months, been permitted to rear its menacing front in one of the chapels of Lichfield Cathedral, in honour of some officers whose regiment had distinguished itself in the Libyan desert, and wears in consequence that hieroglyphic badge.

Capitular Property and Revenue is the fifth consideration, beginning with the expenses of capitular establishments; in which, at starting, the present 'unequal and uncertain' condition of the incomes of Deans and Canons is, as it deserves, animadverted on. The first recommendation is for a return in the right direction from the reckless reductions of 1835, by fixing 1,500*l.* as the minimum income of an English Dean, and 750*l.* of an English Canon, and proportionably for Wales, with careful security from diminution by any future change in the value of money.

The machinery for effecting this object, desirable at all times, and now indispensable, if next to no pluralities and nine months' residence become the law, is as follows:—

'"1. That inasmuch as by the Act 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113. s. 49. and 4 & 5 Vict. c. 39. s. 6. it is provided, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall

receive for every suspended Canonry all the dividends and emoluments thereto belonging, 'in like manner as the holder of such Canonry, or his successor, would have been entitled to receive the same;'

'"In future the Ecclesiastical Commissioners be entitled to receive for each suspended Canonry in any Cathedral (the revenues of which Canonry are now or hereafter may be payable to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners) a payment equal to the average revenue of such Canonry for the last fourteen years.

'"2. That all the improved revenue derived or to be derived from the Capitular property by enfranchising copyholds, sales of reversions, and purchases of leasehold interests, be invested for the benefit of the several Chapters, the interest to be applied hereafter towards the augmentation of Capitular incomes and the improvement of Cathedral institutions; provided always that no present member of any Chapter shall derive any increase of revenue from this fund.

'"3. That for every Canonry augmented, or partly augmented, according to the proposed new scale, the payment to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for one suspended Canonry be augmented equally at the same time; and so on, till the payments for all the suspended Canonries are so augmented."'—P. xxiii.

Of course, the question was not *tabula rasa* with the Ecclesiastical Commission in existence; and a compromise was accordingly inevitable. Sixteen Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, it is stated, would not require augmentation.

It is proposed that the stipends of the Minor Canons would increase with length of service, and that where the Precentor is a Minor Canon, he should have an additional gratuity of 50*l.*, and be constantly resident. Of course, if the Precentor is to be a Minor Canon, we must approve this suggestion. But we should have much preferred if the Commission had taken a bolder line, and recommended that in the Cathedrals of the new foundation, according to the wiser rule of the old foundation, (of which it expresses its own approbation,) the Precentor should be a Canon Residentiary—his nomination, of course, to be contingent on his possessing musical knowledge. We should further advise that in *all* Cathedrals, old and new, one of the Minor Canons should be *succentor*, with the proposed augmentation of 50*l.*, and the obligation of constant residence. He would be, of course, peculiarly responsible to the Precentor. Perhaps, in the existing condition of musical knowledge among our Clergy, permissive powers might be given to the Dean, if he were competent and liked the work, to act as Precentor, of course without augmentation of stipend. But on this point we would rather not speak positively.

Estimates of the various items of expenditure under the different heads are suggested for the use of the Cathedral Commissioners, and an annual statement of accounts is to be laid before the Great Chapter, future variations having to be laid before the Bishop and Great Chapter, and sanctioned by the Archbishop of the Province.

The next consideration is the management and improvement of property, and augmentation of vicarages. We suppose no one will disagree to these remarks.

'By the Act 14 & 15 Vict. c. 104. power was given to the Chapters, with the sanction of the Estates Commissioners to sell reversions of estates to their lessees, or to purchase leasehold interests from them, and to exchange portions of property, for the purpose of vesting the estates in fee simple in possession in one party or the other.

'This permissive Act was renewed in 1854, for a period ending with the session of 1856.

'We think it is of extreme importance that, before any new measures are taken with regard to this subject, full and precise information should be obtained as to the actual advantage gained, or likely to be gained, by the transactions already completed.

'We are strongly convinced that the long-continued system of Church Leases should not be changed hastily, nor without the strongest assurance of considerable benefit to the Church.'—P. xxiv.

Accordingly it is proposed that the permissive Acts of 1851 and 1854 should be in force for seven years as respects Capitular property.

'We further recommend, for the reasons stated in our First Report,—

'"That, except in special cases, the reversions of Capitular tithe rent-charges be not sold, but that they be brought into hand gradually by means of the sums received for the reversion of lands, manors, and houses."

'By this means the repair of Chancels will rest directly upon the Chapters; and we recommend, as in the case of the Fabric Fund, "That the Chapters be allowed to mortgage a particular rent-charge, for the purpose of meeting an emergency."

'We also recommend,

'"That on the renewal or expiration of a tithe lease, provision be made (if necessary and practicable) for permanently augmenting the Vicarage.

'"That the Chapters be empowered, with consent of the Estates Commissioners, to assign portions of funded property, as well as lands, in augmentation of Vicarages, or towards building of parsonage houses.' "—P. xxiv.

We congratulate the Church on this recognition of the responsibility attaching to the possession of tithes, and of the claims of localities to enjoy the first benefit of the income which they yield.

The Commission further recommends—

'"That all the surplus revenue obtained from the estates of York, Carlisle, Peterborough, and Chester, and any other Chapters which have made, or may hereafter make similar transfers, be held in reserve (according to the provisions of the Act of 16 & 17 Vict. c. 35.) until the estimate of expenditnre for each cathedral has been sanctioned by the Cathedral Commissioners." '—P. xxv.

The last head is, erection of new sees, and other arrangements for the discharge of Episcopal duties, a subject treated under three points of view :—

'i. The extent to which it may be thought requisite that the Episcopate should be *increased.*

'ii. The *probable amount of revenue* available for that purpose.

'iii. The choice of *sites* suitable for *additional sees*, and of churches available for *cathedrals*.'—P. xxv.

Touching the first of these the Report lays down:—

'In order that the salutary influence now exercised by the Episcopate may be maintained, it would not seem expedient to create a second class of Bishops inferior in point of social position to the present.

'The number of Priests and Deacons in England and Wales has been recently much increased, and is now rapidly increasing, at the rate, it is calculated, of about 300 per annum.

'But the number of Ecclesiastical Dignities has been *greatly diminished*, and is in course of *further diminution*. Already nearly *Sixty Canonries have been suspended in the last fourteen years;* and numerous Prebends, as far as their revenues are concerned.'

'This has tended greatly to diminish the number of honourable posts, by which the faithful services of the clergy have been hitherto acknowledged and rewarded.

'Some remedy for this evil would be provided by the increased number of Chapters which will accompany the erection of New Sees.'—P. xxvi.

A schedule, which we shall proceed to digest, is appended of dioceses admitting of division, which it is proposed should be regulated on these principles.

'1. We recommend "That a permissive Bill should be framed and introduced into Parliament (similar to the Act 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9,) empowering your Majesty and your Majesty's successors to divide any diocese, under certain conditions of territory and population; and with the consent of the Bishop, where it is proposed to effect the division before the avoidance of the See.

'"2. That in no case should a new see be erected, unless a sufficient income, with a suitable residence, be provided.

'"3. That the funds for these purposes might be provided partly by local contributions, or out of episcopal property now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners." '—P. xxvi.

'We have considered further, whether other funds for this purpose might not be in part provided by the union of the offices of Bishop and Dean.

'Reluctant as we are to recommend any course by which the strength of the Cathedral bodies would be still further reduced, we are of opinion, that it may be desirable in certain cases, on which by the division of the diocese the diocesan labours of the Bishop may be so far lightened, that the addition of the duties which would fall upon him when charged with the headship of the Chapter would be less than those of which he was relieved, and in which a provision, which could not otherwise be found, might thus be made for the foundation of a new Bishoprick, to allow the office of Bishop and Dean to be held by the same person until the Bishoprick could be otherwise endowed.

'4. We would therefore recommend "That powers be given in the enabling Act to allow Your Majesty, upon advice of the Cathedral Commission, to authorize from time to time the union of the offices of Bishop and Dean." '—P. xxvi.

The last recommendation is somewhat obscurely worded, but we conclude it means that the Bishop of the old Cathedral is to be Bishop and Dean with the original income of the Bishop,

and the Bishop of the new Diocese Bishop and Dean, with the income of the old Deanery. This is a sweeping change, but we forbear to say it may not be needed, *provided due care is taken to prevent its becoming the rule and not the exception.* Here will be found the rub. We do not, however, see why, under such circumstances, the old Cathedral, at least, should not keep its separate Dean by combining that office *downwards* with the Precentorship or Archdeaconship, rather than upwards with the Bishopric. This would save the principle which the other plan would not, of a Head of the Chapter to act as incumbent of the Cathedral, and during the avoidance of the See, while it might be understood that in this case the Bishop would be expected to interfere more actively with the interests of the Chapter, than if it were in the normal condition of having its independent Dean. The difficulty (which we can, however, hardly apprehend) that politicians might construct in the social position of Dean being thereby indirectly acquired, would be at once obviated by substituting Pro-Dean or Provost as the appellation of the interim Head of the Chapter.

But we hurry on to an important quotation:—

'"Certain places may be mentioned as offering special claims and facilities for the creation of additional Bishopricks.

'"Among the foremost of these we would enumerate

'"St. Columb (for Cornwall).

'"Westminster.

'"Gloucester and Bristol (to be again made independent Sees).

'"Southwell."

'We also record our opinion, "That there are other places in which it is desirable that new Sees should be founded." '—Pp. xxvi, xxvii.

The last recommendation of the Commission embodies a principle which ought, in a well-regulated system of Church Government, to have long since been the established rule.

'We would, therefore, recommend "That a general statute be framed, enabling Your Majesty, after due inquiry by a Commission specially appointed for that purpose, to recommend a person to be elected Coadjutor, *cum jure successionis*, to a Bishop, in case of such Bishop requiring such aid and relief, by reason of advanced age or protracted infirmity, and being ready to surrender a portion of his episcopal income in favour of such Coadjutor." '—P. xxvii.

It will not be unknown, perhaps, to many of our readers that a similar law is actually at the present moment in force in the non-established Church of the United States. The actual presiding Bishop, for example, the venerable Diocesan of Connecticut, has the aid of an 'assisting Bishop,' as the coadjutor is there called, these 'assisting Bishops' being elected *cum jure successionis.*

In the grave practical question of additional Sees, the Commission had (as they acknowledge) the assistance of Mr. G. G. Scott's valuable letter, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. This report was written at Dr. Wordsworth's request, and having been published separately does not appear in the Blue Book. While enjoying the advantage of its varied information, the Commission, however, does not implicitly follow its suggestions, neither do we profess to do so. Mr. Scott's line, as might be supposed, is principally architectural. Understanding that an addition of dioceses was contemplated, he undertook not so much to recapitulate the places most suitable for Episcopal Sees, as the old Churches most suitable by size and beauty to become Cathedrals—a most useful work, if it were only to offer a sufficient number of Churches for selection. He accordingly seems to contemplate a larger extension of the Episcopate than the Report faces.

Turning to the 'Schedule of Additional Sees,' we observe that Durham comes first with a population recorded of nearly 800,000, and nearly 2,000,000 acres. Of course the severance of Northumberland is urged, a step which would as nearly as possible halve the population. The see shall be, it is proposed, either at Hexham, with its Saxon traditions, and its noble minster; or else at Newcastle, with its teeming population and its fine Church of St. Nicholas. Tradition in this case must, we think, yield to existing needs, and Hexham give place to Newcastle. Were there any doubt on the matter, the zeal with which the citizens in common council have themselves taken up the matter under the lead of the worthy Sir John Fife, would be conclusive, and indeed we wonder almost that the Commission did not single out Newcastle as one of the places 'offering special claims.' A very sensible plan emanating from local sources, for the establisment of the see, is given as a footnote to the schedule, from which we quote the more important passages. Canon, of course, must in practice stand where Prebendary is named in the paper.

'Assuming, therefore, that the Cathedral Church would be at Newcastle, in the very thick of the population, the Parish Church of Saint Nicholas will be found, by its capacious cruciform shape, with its nave, choir, transept, and their aisles, sufficiently imposing for a Cathedral Church. The plot of ground upon which the vicarage stands is large enough to contain residences for the Dean and two Prebendaries; and within five minutes' walk of the proposed Cathedral there is a considerable property in houses, amounting to 500*l.*—say 400*l.* per annum—set apart for the maintenance of the fabric, &c. of the Church.

'The rectorial tithes now in possession of the Bishop of Carlisle and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, now amounting to about 1,800*l.* a year, will go a great way in endowing the Prebendaries.

'"Constitution and Functions of the Cathedral Body."

"Bishop.
Dean.
1. Archdeacon of Newcastle.
2. [1] Archdeacon of Northumberland.
3. [1] Archdeacon of Lindisfarne.
1. Prebendary, Professor of Divinity, and Pastoral Theology, to be resident without cure of souls, and to hold no other preferment. Patron, the Bishop.
2. Prebendary.
3. Prebendary.
4. Prebendary.
To be annexed to the Town Livings. Patron, Dean and Chapter.
Three Minor Canons, of whom one shall be Precentor and Afternoon Lecturer, with a higher stipend; one to be Librarian; the second and third to officiate as Curates of Saint Nicholas Proper.
Librarian.
Mem.—There is an admirable library, of which the Archdeacon and the Vicar are trustees, and would therefore probably annex it to the Cathedral.
One Schoolmaster, a clergyman of at least B.A. degree.
Mem.—There is a well-endowed school, of which the Vicar and Incumbents of the old parishes are trustees; and as my scheme would give them a status in the Cathedral, I *conjecture* that they would gladly bring this school under the operation of the Chapter.'—Pp. 41—42.

Manchester comes third on the Schedule, with the notification that the population is 1,395,494, and yet no hint of any fresh bishopric at Preston or at Lancaster. Why can this be? If Lancaster were taken, Carlisle might be partially relieved. York is equally passed over, with its population of 760,000, and more than 2,250,000 acres; and so is Ripon, with its population of more than 1,000,000, and more than 1,500,000 acres. Surely there is ample opportunity for new bishopries to be cut out of these monster sees. The means are ready for York, in the magnificent minster of Beverley, immediately connected by railway with the growing and populous town of Hull, or else in the only less beautiful church of Selby, or again, if the largest town is taken at Sheffield,—or better still, both at Beverley and Sheffield, the latter possibly relieving a portion of Ripon. The new Bishopric to be taken out of Ripon would be at Leeds, with its Cathedral in the Old Priory of Kirkstall close to the town, and so perfect that it only requires a roof to make it cease to be a ruin—or if Lord Cardigan will not part with this pile, in the new parish church of Leeds itself, where the materials of a Cathedral, Chapter and Choir, are so abundantly at hand, and daily musical services and weekly communions are already the rule. Still the North Riding would be left but inadequately cared for. Mr. Scott proposes the grand scheme of restoring Whitby Abbey church. If this idea should seem

[1] To hold no other preferment.

too extensive, there is the large town of Scarborough, where the nave of the old conventual church is now used for parochial purposes, and has lately been restored. A choir of moderate size thrown out (a work of no great cost) might render this a serviceable Cathedral. In the North Riding, too, it must not be forgotten, there is actually a Collegiate Church, that of Middleham, of no great grandeur, but possessing a Dean and Chapter. If Middleham were taken, the corporation *exists*. If another town were selected, might not this Chapter be gradually transferred to a Cathedral in whose diocese Middleham was to stand?

Local efforts for erecting a see at Liverpool are, however, noted under Chester; and the see of Brecon, including the counties of Brecknock, Radnor, and Cardigan, is suggested for South Wales. Brecon, it will be recollected, besides the advantages of its situation, is already the seat of a (nominal) Collegiate Chapter.

The recommendation for Lichfield runs as follows:—

11. LICHFIELD. Pop. more than a million. Area in Acres, about a million and three quarters. Benefices, 536.

'It has been proposed to leave it to the county of Stafford, pop. 600,000, if that county should not be divided into two dioceses; and to relieve it of the county of Derby, pop. 296,000, with a new See at Derby, and to annex that part of Salop, pop. 117,280, which is now in Lichfield Diocese, to the Diocese of Hereford, which already contains the other portion of the Salop, and would then have a pop. of about 330,000.'—P. xlii.

We should either suggest if Lichfield is to be divided into only two dioceses, that to Lichfield itself (standing as it does on the east side of the country) should be attached Derbyshire, with the eastern strip of Staffordshire, including the mountainous "Moorlands," the natural complement of the Derbyshire Peak,—two identical exceptional districts, parted only by a brook, and which ought to be under the same ecclesiastical rule.

Then the western portions of Staffordshire, the seat of its greatest population congregated at the iron works, should be attached to a new see to be placed in a town which is at once the commercial capital of the region, and itself the seat of one of those few non-cathedral, collegiate—(now we fear only nominally so) churches into which this Commission has had to inquire. We mean of course Wolverhampton, where there are peculiar physical capabilities just now in the fact of the Collegiate Church, a rather large cruciform structure, being under a restoration, which includes the rebuild
might thus be most easily adapted to
nation. If this suggestion took effect
whether all or part of the Bishop of
not be attached to Wolverhampton.

there ought to be both a Bishop of Wolverhampton and another of Derby. A fourth bishop of the northern mountainous tract, taking in parts of Yorkshire and Cheshire, a region by natural circumstances cut off from communication either with Derby or Lichfield, would be most desirable. The clergy thereabouts, from this isolation, are in a very backward state. In fact many of them may, like their brethren of Wales, be classed among those whom Mr. Conybeare (for he has now owned the authorship), in his notorious article on Church Parties in the 'Edinburgh,' styled 'peasant Clergy.' This bishop might plant his cathedra in the noble church of Tideswell, or in the fine but not so convenient one of Bakewell.

The creation of sees at Southwell to relieve Lincoln, and Coventry (of course, at the huge and magnificent church of S. Michael) to relieve Worcester, are adverted to, as also is the desirability of separating Suffolk from Ely and Norwich, between which it is now divided, and of establishing the see either at Ipswich or Bury S. Edmunds—of which places, the former is by far the larger town, and a memorial has been sent up in its favour; but we should imagine that the magnificence of S. Mary's at Bury would decide the choice in its favour.

The divorce of Gloucester and Bristol is also urged, giving to the latter church the city and suburbs of Bristol, and such portions of Wilts and Somerset as now belong to the united diocese, which would constitute a diocese of about 220,000 souls; and leaving to Gloucester, Gloucestershire minus the deanery of Bristol.

Oxford, with a population of more than half a million, and more than a million of acres, follows without a word of comment. We are surprised at this silence, when we remember that in the eastern portion of this diocese stands the Collegiate Church of Windsor, with its chapter and its richly endowed Dean. Surely the prestige of the 'Queen's Free Chapel' would be increased by its being made the see of a bishop, who might, under the exceptional circumstances (which the Commission itself, as we saw above, recognises), be likewise Dean, as the Bishop of London is Dean of the Chapel Royal, while the chapel itself would take the style of 'Queen's Free Chapel and Cathedral Church.'

This surely is an opportunity ready to hand and not made use of. A Cathedral, a Chapter, a Dean fit to be Bishop, minor Canons, Choir—all in existence, without a farthing to spend.

to the diocese itself, it would of course relieve Oxford, would as easily relieve another diocese close to which tands, and which requires relief as much almost as any m—Winchester, with its population of 1,000,000, ch will indeed be reduced to a half on the next

avoidance, but which still would remain large enough to demand some readjustment. Standing as Windsor does almost at the touching-point of Berks and Bucks in the diocese of Oxford, and of Surrey in that of Winchester, it surely points to a new diocese which shall include some portions of the two former counties, or at the least of Berks, and of Surrey a great deal. As we have strayed into Winchester, we may note our surprise that the Report does not suggest a Bishopric of Southwark, with its Cathedral in the venerable Choir of S. Saviour's. The establishment of a Bishopric of Westminster is directly recommended, but that of Southwark is only less needed, and the cathedral is at hand, though not as in the Abbey the Cathedral body. If this were done, then Windsor would be left more free to relieve Oxford. Likewise, we should have expected some allusion to the Channel Islands. Our readers need not to be informed of the peculiar ecclesiastical constitution of these islands; each of which (the smaller ones ranging with Guernsey) is governed by a Dean and a Synod of Incumbents, the Bishop of Winchester being diocesan. Of course his visitations are few and far between, and the necessity of something nearer home has long been acknowledged by all who have thought upon the matter, and who are aware that the Crown now holds the greater portion of the insular tithes. Three ways are open of effecting the object; the first is to have a Bishop of the united group with increased income, and his seat probably at S. Heliers. To an English eye this course would appear the most obvious, but the Channel Islanders are not English, and the reformer must bear in mind the strange anomaly of two little communities governed by two different codes of mediæval law, the Grand Coutumier de Normandie and the Grand Coutumier de Paris, both of them utterly defunct in all other portions of the globe, their own original seats included, and valid only in these islands. To meet this rivalry the episcopate might alternate between the two Deans, he of the other island being consecrated at each vacancy; or better still might be the simple step of at once raising each official to the highest order of the ministry, leaving his synodical position, rank in the local legislature, if needs be, his income, &c., as it was before, with the additional benefit of his status and powers thus becoming perfectly legitimate. Of course in no case would a Channel Island Bishop expect a seat in the House of Lords; and we might add in any case it would be advisable that the Churches respectively of S. Helier s and S. Peter's Port, should both be declared Cathedrals.

The divorce of Rochester from its strange marriage with Essex and Herts is insisted on, West Kent being assigned to it

in lieu. This is common-sense, but we cannot in any way approve of what follows. A recommendation is given to found a new Bishopric for part of Essex and all Herts, at Chelmsford or Colchester, leaving the remainder of Essex in Rochester. Chelmsford or Colchester with S. Alban's Abbey in Herts! With a church unnoticed which is famous almost above all others in our religious history, unmatched in dimension, peculiarly suited by its plan to be restored to Cathedral uses and arrangements, and easily accessible from all quarters! We cannot imagine what the Commissioners were dreaming when they threw a hint so completely preposterous. Why, in the Commission of 1846 and 1847, S. Alban's was one of the four places designated for additional Bishoprics; and, to add to its already overpowering claims, the residence of the future Bishops of Rochester has been purchased close to S. Alban's, as if to make all things convenient. We believe we are right when we say that it was only Bishop Murray's most laudable disinclination to abolish a Bishopric second only in antiquity to Canterbury, which prevented Rochester from disappearing altogether, and his now title being the Bishop of S. Alban's. Let the Commission propose to limit Rochester to West Kent, to give Herts with advantage part of Middlesex, and part perhaps of Essex, and to found moreover for the latter county the see of Chelmsford or Colchester, and we are sure they should be found on the same side. But we should much rather that Mr. Scott spoke. It will be seen that he takes for granted that S. Alban's *must* become the seat of a new see, more than he does in the case of any other Church. 'There can be but one opinion,' says he. How much would he have been surprised to find another opinion prevail in the very body which he was addressing.

'There can be but one opinion of the worthiness of St. Alban's to become an episcopal see. Occupying nearly the site of the ancient Roman capital, and having been the scene of the death of England's protomartyr, it seems to possess strong *primâ facie* claims upon our regard and interest; but in addition to these claims it possesses one of the largest and most venerable churches in the kingdom, a church equal in dimension to our largest cathedrals, and yielding in architectural and antiquarian interest to none of them.

'It is not, like Beverley, fit to be entered upon at once, without alteration or repair, for it has for ages been subjected to barbarous mutilation, and from want of funds has fallen very much to decay. Still, however, the essential features of the fabric are entire, and a re-arrangement of the internal fittings would alone render it one of the most practically convenient cathedrals for our present ritual in the kingdom, and that without the anomaly usual in our cathedrals of the congregation being crowded into the choir, nor, on the other hand, of a choir separated by inconvenient obstructions from the congregation. It would become at once a perfect and imposing cathedral and a thoroughly good parish church.

'The cost absolutely necessary to effect this would not be very great,

though it would be desirable afterwards to follow it up by a gradual system of thorough and substantial reparation. Much has been done in the way of repair during the incumbency of the present rector, but a structure of such enormous dimensions can only be brought into a proper state by a considerable repair fund, which might probably be provided in event of its becoming a cathedral.

'This church is not only one of the most curious and venerable which we possess, but it is a perfect treasury of ancient art, containing some of the very finest specimens of the whole range of mediæval architecture which are anywhere to be found. Its careful reparation would be a national benefit, as some features in its present condition are undoubtedly a national disgrace. I refer here particularly to the state of the chapels east of the choir, which, though the most exquisite work of the very finest period of pointed architecture, are now a public thoroughfare, and a playground for the boys of the grammar-school which now occupies the beautiful Lady Chapel. I dwell longer on this than on other churches I have mentioned, as I consider it far the most important of them all, and it is one for which I feel a peculiar love and veneration.'—*Scott*, p. 11.

Dr. Walker's splendid offer of founding the see of Cornwall at S. Columba, is received as it ought to be. The Commission refer to the Bishop of Exeter's Memorial, of which we quote this part in full, as we have already done with the latter portion. It is its own best comment.

'I.—Bishop of St. Columb.

'He has heard that the Commissioners have contemplated an application to Her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to issue a Queen's letter, empowering the Bishop of Exeter to collect throughout his diocese voluntary contributions towards a fund in aid of the endowment of the new see.

'The Bishop feels it his duty to state to the Commissioners that he is fully convinced that such a measure would fail of producing any tolerably satisfactory result. But he has pleasure in adding, that, if it be abandoned, he will himself contribute, during his incumbency, five hundred pounds per annum, as an increase of the temporary income of the new bishop.

'He has also pleasure in saying, that having already made arrangements with the Estate Committee, for transferring to them the interest of the bishop in almost all the property belonging to the see of Exeter, within the county of Cornwall, and having been prevented, by temporary obstacles only, from making a similar transfer of what remains, he looks forward to the facility which will thus be given, after a not very long period, of such improvement of the episcopal property in that county as will make it of itself an adequate endowment of the Bishop of St. Columb.'—*Report*, p. 20.

A suggestion follows to make a Bishopric of Bath out of portions of Bath and Wells, and of Salisbury. Would not Sherborne most fairly compete for the honour, with its grand minster so well restored, its Saxon recollections, and its more central position? We should, in another aspect of the case, have thought that what ought to be done with Bath itself, would be to unite it with Bristol, as the bishopric of Bristol and Bath. As we saw above, the separated Bishop of Bristol would have had to rule a comparatively small population. This addition would bring up the numbers with a civic population ana-

logous to that of his own city, and, by the help of the Great Western, within the easiest conceivable distance. Bath Abbey would, of course, be proclaimed his other cathedral.

Recommended as Bristol is among the earliest and most urgent cases, we strongly press the immediate consideration of this modification.

The last recommendation is that of reestablishing the see of Westminster, about which there can hardly be two opinions, except they be as to the desirability of limiting to this one additional see the division of the gigantic responsibility involved in the pastoral care of the metropolis.

No division of Chichester is advised, nor does the case seem very pressing. What the growth of Brighton may or may not necessitate some day, is a matter not now concerning us.

A most strange oversight occurs in this schedule,—no other than the *total* omission of one diocese—Peterborough, including the counties of Northampton, Rutland, and Leicester. We suppose that the framer of the schedule, relying upon his old recollection that there were twenty-six dioceses in England and Wales, and forgetting that since the establishment of Manchester the number had become twenty-seven, totted up his figures, and, finding at the end that twenty-six worked out, concluded, without further inspection, that all was correct. We will ourselves, without the aid of statistics, but only inspecting the map, endeavour to supply the defect, by saying that there is a manifest need to divide the diocese, by founding a Bishopric in the large, important, and growing town of Leicester, for the county of which it is the capital, and towards which Peterborough is most inconveniently situated, standing on the extremest eastern verge of Northamptonshire, and as far removed as possible from Leicestershire. Then, if Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire do not afford sufficient scope for the Bishop of Peterborough, that portion of the county and diocese of Lincoln south of the Wash might be with advantage added to it. Indeed, this addition would be intrinsically a benefit, as it would equalize the two dioceses; for even after the foundation of the see of Southwell, the great size of the county of Lincoln would leave the prelate who wished to work it sufficiently an amount of labour in mere travelling which it would be well, if possible, to abridge. Another change which might be made in this region would be to add, not South Lincolnshire, but Huntingdonshire to Peterborough, leaving Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire to Ely, Suffolk being collected under the Bishop of Bury.

Reviewing, as a whole, the scheme for the multiplication of sees which the Commission gives, we are constrained to say that,

sound as is the principle which animates its provisions, yet we hardly think that the execution is as perfect as it might have been, or as other portions of the Report undoubtedly are. Its authors, for example, seem to have been unaccountably scared away from grappling with and breaking up the overgrown dioceses of the North,—dioceses important, not merely for their population and their wealth, but for that *vivida vis animi* which has become proverbial with respect to the 'Manchester men.'

Before we quit this portion of our subject, we must ourselves venture a suggestion in aid of the movement for the subdivision of existing dioceses. It is, to obtain permissive powers, that so soon as the sites of the new sees shall have been definitely arranged, the Bishop of the diocese in which the future cathedral stands shall himself add the name of that town to his existing style; and that the church which is to be the cathedral, if it already exist, shall be at once called such. Further discretionary powers being provided to give or to withhold the title of Dean to or from its incumbent; and to give or withhold the power of creating a limited number of non-residentiary canons (say not exceeding half of the minimum number permitted in full-fledged cathedrals), according to circumstances, the creation of a dean not involving that of canons, and *vice versa;* with the distinction, moreover, that there should be no dean unless the cathedral already existed, but that in either case there might be canons. The powers of such non-residentiary canons—of say Liverpool or S. Columb, in the chrysalis state of the diocese, would be confined to their acting as a committee to collect subscriptions, towards the endowments needed, or the building or restoration of the cathedral, and otherwise to help on the complete development of the subdivision, both by keeping alive public spirit, and by prudently accumulating the funds in hand, for which ends the Bishop would have power to assemble them in chapter. Perhaps, also, the duty of occasionally serving and preaching at the cathedral might be added. If there were no dean, the archdeacon might preside in the Bishop's absence. Such an organized and regular movement could not fail to produce its effect upon the people. So would the measure itself, even were the creation of any see to be suspended at that point. This inchoate stage would be one of a simplicity of execution almost ludicrous. It would also, we think, be a popular step. There are few persons who really dislike any addition of dignity when it costs them nothing; and we do not imagine that the citizens of Coventry, S. Albans, or Brecon, are any exceptions to this rule. They could not fail to feel some sort of satisfaction in their church becoming at once a cathedral, and their own town's name being

added to that of the time-honoured city in their Bishop's appellation.

A precedent for this plan is to be found in the recent religious arrangements of the Church of that country, our *entente cordiale* with which is the present subject of popular enthusiasm. We should be very sorry to be supposed to hold up the French Church for admiration or imitation, either in its late doctrinal developments, or in its weathercock subserviency to any and every knot of men and form of government which may happen for the time being to have attained the ascendancy. Nevertheless, in the present instance, an example has been set which we would do wisely to imitate. It is known to every one, that when, by the famous concordat, national episcopacy was restored in France, the limits of the old dioceses (some hundred and sixty, we think, in number) were wholly set aside, and a new distribution made of bishoprics, following nearly, but not very completely, that of the numbers and the boundaries of the civil departments. A few more sees have been since recalled to life; Beauvais, for instance, and the primatial see itself of Reims, which had no renewed existence till late in the reign of Louis XVIII. But still the catalogue of old unrestored sees is most extensive. Latterly, however, different Bishops have successively obtained permission to add to their style that of Bishop of such *ci-devant* see as might have its cathedral included in their circumscriptions. And still more lately a step still more analogous to what we propose has been taken. Lille, although a city of the first importance, from the Middle Ages down to our own time, both in peace and war, as a thriving manufacturing town, and a first-class fortress, has never had its own Bishop. Recently, however, the style of Bishop of Lille has been created as an appanage of the Archbishop of Cambrai, its diocesan, with the acknowledged intention of hereafter dividing the see accordingly; and the inhabitants of the city, for their part, have come forward with a noble plan for rearing a cathedral of the old dimensions and architecture, the plan to be selected out of a European competition of architects. When bureaucratic France sets such an example of local exertions for a good work, it would be a shame if England, with its free institutions, were found lagging behind.

It has, doubtless, not escaped the reader's observation that in all these suggestions not a single word has escaped the Commissioners as to the necessity of giving the Church some safeguard, some liberty, in the selection and the confirmation of her Bishops beyond the caprice of the actual Prime Minister of the day. Why this silence should have been observed it is, of course, impossible for us to tell. Perhaps the Commission did not think the question within its scope—or, perhaps, without caring

to consider whether it were so or not, it feared and avoided the subject. But, in any case, when the reformation of Deans and Chapters has become *juris publici*, and is so freely handled, Bishops cannot be far behind, and the multiplication of sees will and ought to hurry on the consideration. It may be said, that this is an unwise word to breathe now—that it may delay the first step to reform. We do not think so. We do not believe that the relation of our Bishops to the changeful humours of short-lived Premiers—now a Russell and then a Derby, anon an Aberdeen, suddenly succeeded by a Palmerston—is popular with any set of thinking men, however they may differ in the details of the plan they may propose for its rectification, and in whatever direction they may wish the influence of future Bishops to tend.

Among Churchmen the desire for some change is not confined to those who are otherwise distinguished for the orthodoxy of their doctrines. The perfervid Canon Stowell, for example, in the intervals of his crusade against Maynooth, has, with his peculiar pertinacity, raised a cry against the State appointment of Bishops, which has not, that we are aware, been protested against by any authoritative section of the party in which he is influential. Even at the time of the Hampden nomination, Lord Denman's rampant erastianism was generally felt to be misplaced, and in worse than questionable taste. And that was seven years ago, during which time public opinion has made progress to an extent of which we believe we are but inadequate judges.

In all, then, that we have said in approbation and in aid of the scheme for increasing the number of our Bishoprics, it must be understood that we do so with the reservation, that the questions of the election and confirmation of Bishops are not to be shelved by the State, as if the Church was forced to yield them as a *quid pro quo* in return for the material augmentation.

Here we take our leave of the Cathedral Report. We have endeavoured to give our readers an idea of the several recommendations which it embodies, divested of the necessary verbiage of an official document, and at the same time more full than the précis which the Commissioners themselves have drawn up. We have accompanied our digest with observations, praising when we thought praise due, and not shrinking from raising objections where anything appeared to us objectionable.

It will be seen that our general impression is decidedly favourable. We do not of course mean to say that the Report could not be materially improved in many details; but as a πού στῶ, as a rallying-point for those who understand and appreciate the Old Cathedral system, and who desire to see it not abolished,

but reformed and made efficient, it is most valuable. Hitherto, those persons, however influential, by their own character, their own learning, and their own position, were yet technically in opposition. The current of legislation had set dead against the Cathedrals. The turn of the tide has now arrived, and we should not be critical as to the time the waters take in going down. The friends of the Cathedrals have now a Blue Book to refer to—of Blue Books we are not blind admirers, nor do we blindly believe in their infallible wisdom. But when a Blue Book does speak words of truth and honesty and common-sense, let it receive its due honour. Happy shall we be if we see one-half of what this book contains carried out without a fierce storm of unreasonable opposition. Lord Blandford's secession is an omen. The independent tone of the recommendation will, of course, exasperate that self-righteous and arrogant spirit which animates the set whose only notion of Church development is to smuggle a Liberty of Religious Worship Bill through the House of Commons in the early hours of morning, and who refuse to defend their own progeny in a Select Committee of the Upper House. Many, of course, will follow the lead for the pure love of mischief and a row, with *Punch* and his imitators to back their enterprise. Reason, therefore, it is that Churchmen should show themselves satisfied with so great a measure of improvement, and cooperate to show their gratitude in helping to carry out practical reform based upon these recommendations.

In so doing, they have signs of progress cheering them on all sides to go on and persevere. In spite of the dogged animosity of the Puritan set, and of the know-nothing dislike of all connected with the Church which the *Examiner* represents, it is certain that the cause of Cathedral institutions has made remarkable advances throughout our communion, within the last fifteen years. The Parliamentary majority which saved the bishoprics of North Wales was a first victory and a turning point. It was, as our readers must remember, accompanied by the appointment of a Commission for the particular purpose of considering the extension of the Episcopate, a leading member of which was the late lamented Lord Powis, which concluded its labours by reporting in favour of the foundation of four additional Bishoprics: Manchester, S. Alban's, Southwell, and Bodmin. In consequence, Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, and not yet the promoter of Bishop Hampden or author of the Durham Letter, brought in a bill to found at once the former see, and to provide prospectively for the remaining three. A certain amount of agitation was exercised in Parliament, and the noble Lord, after *quantum suff.* of his characteristic Hampden and Sydney talking, capitulated so far as to strike out of the bill the

prospective words, with an intimation that though he yielded so far in form, yet that his intentions were unchanged. And so the Bishopric of Manchester was founded, and the old precedent of the number of Bishoprics remaining unchanged was broken through—and to that Bishopric Dr. Prince Lee was appointed. And there we heard the last of that Commission. Not long after, Mr. Gladstone moved the insertion of a clause in some Church bill to allow voluntary munificence to endow a Bishopric or any diocese of not less, we fancy, than 20,000 inhabitants. This clause, we need not say, was not adopted. But it marked a turn in public opinion, for a statesman even to dare to think of such a thing. Let our readers imagine, if they can, such an idea crossing the mind of a minister of the Walpole era, even in the most enthusiastic moments of post-prandial excitement. Let them also imagine, if they can, a practical and bustling locality, like Newcastle, then petitioning, through its Common Council, to be allowed to become the see of a new Prelate, or a Royal Commission intimating that in a town like Liverpool it was not impossible that a similar step might be taken.

Again, the material restoration and decoration of our Cathedrals' fabrics, upon which so much zeal and so much munificence has been in these days expended, chiefly at Canterbury, also at York, owing to the heavy visitations of two conflagrations, at Armagh, at Hereford, and at Ely—notably too at Chichester, and Wells, and Durham, (though not in the last church under the best advice,)—in a greater or less increase almost everywhere—is a sign that the institutions themselves of which these piles are the habitation, cannot have lost their hold upon the minds of men, however much in their own immediate localities this influence may be often the weakest, from causes, the remedy for which this very Report seeks to discover. Such care and such cost betoken something deeper than a mere æsthetic admiration of the pile itself. People do not, unless from some strong exceptional excitement, come forward with their free-will offerings to decorate the town-hall, or the country hospital of their provincial capital. The donors to a cathedral restoration admire in the building something nobler and more sublime even than 'out of the populous city, grey cliffs of lonely 'stone, into the midst of sailing birds and silent air.'[1] Within the vaults those cliffs enclose, are the ark and the mercy-seat, and the chair of the chief pastor; and that men feel implicitly, and act accordingly.

Almost while we are writing we receive the scheme for a new Cathedral to be erected in a diocese of the province of York—the exceptional Sodor and Man. This see had once its Cathe-

[1] Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture, p. 93.

dral, a small but beautiful first-pointed Church, within the walls of Peel Castle, the fortalice of its old chief town. Time and violence have reduced its pile to a ruin, and Peel has yielded its preeminence to Douglas. Its restoration was a long-cherished wish of its former bishops, particularly of the good and great Wilson; and in our time, of Bishop Ward. Still years ran on, and bishops were consecrated, and then translated, and nothing was done. At length Bishop Powys has come forward to face the need, and taking advantage of the present year being the centenary of Bishop Wilson's death, he has formed a committee and issued a pastoral, soliciting aid to raise (in memory of his famous predecessor) a '*Cathedral Chapel*' near Bishop's Court, the episcopal residence. What the precise signification of a Cathedral *Chapel* may be, we own ourselves unable to understand. If the phrase is intended to conciliate any class of prejudices or body of objectors, we can only say that we cannot conceive prejudices the holders of which could on one side be deterred by the title of a Cathedral Church, or on the other pacified by that of a Cathedral Chapel. More probably the new vocable is meant to imply that the Cathedral is also to serve as the private chapel of Bishop's Court, or it may be that the wish is to disclaim a competition in size or magnificence with the old Cathedral Churches of England. Whatever be the explanation, we hope the misnomer will be corrected, and that so palpable a blunder may not be allowed to disfigure a proposal so noble and so necessary. In a word, a Cathedral Chapel is an impossibility. 'Cathedral,' as every one must know, is only an abbreviation for 'Cathedral Church'—Ecclesia Cathedralis—the church in which stands the seat or throne of the Bishop, and which thereby becomes the Parish Church of all the Diocese. A Chapel (*Capella*) on the other hand, is one of two things, either a place of worship dependent on a church, or in some corner of it, or else one which is moved out of the ordinary routine of the diocesan and parochial system, and is it may be private, like the Queen's Free Chapel of St. George's, or else belonging to a corporation like King's College Chapel at Cambridge—both of them buildings of cathedral-like dimensions. But how there can be a *Capella-Cathedralis*, a place of worship, which shall contain the Bishop's *Cathedra*, and so be the Mother Church of the Diocese, and still remain a Chapel after all, is a question which would puzzle the most acute Canonist.

Again we implore the excellent Bishop to modify the term, and not to leave his project—in which we earnestly wish him all success—open to the obvious criticism, that it seeks gratuitously to introduce a phraseology unknown and repugnant to the oldest

usages of universal Christendom. The size of a church, whether greater or smaller than that of the usual run of cathedrals, has absolutely nothing to do with the question of its being, or not being, properly a Cathedral church. It is the dignity of containing the cathedral, and not the architectural beauty or the superior dimensions, which makes the Cathedral church. The old cathedrals of Greece and of Russia were very small. Dr. Petrie, in his learned work on the ancient ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, proves that 60 feet was an almost prescribed length for its primitive churches, even when cathedrals. And to come to a later date, and to our own island, the Cathedrals of Bangor and S. Asaph, the two which are, we suppose, the nearest in absolute distance to the Isle of Man, are both of them in dimensions and in grandeur inferior to many parish churches of England.

We will only briefly allude to the birth (for such it literally was) and growth of the cathedral movement in the unestablished Church of Scotland, the first part of which was the Cathedral of S. Ninian, Perth, the work of the venerable Bishop Torry's old age, and now, under his energetic successor, planted on a firm basis within a building of great dignity and eminent for its solemn service. In the island of Cumbrae, too, a devoted layman has built the virtual Cathedral of the Isles; while the enterprise of the excellent Bishop Eden has resolved upon a Cathedral church on a large scale at Inverness, the capital of the Highlands, the façade of which is now in the Paris Exhibition as the last work of the lamented Carpenter.

The enunciation of the Cathedral principle is of an earlier date in the Colonies, the choragus of the movement having been no 'Tractarian' so called, but Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta. This energetic and well-meaning, though eccentric prelate, has had the rare privilege not only of being the earliest, we believe, of Colonial Bishops to originate the idea of a cathedral on a large scale, conceived with broad views of the utility of cathedral institutions, but also, of bringing his work to an adequate conclusion long before any of his brethren had achieved a similar measure of success. Accordingly, S. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, stands a huge pointed pile with a lofty spire copied from Norwich —imposing from its magnitude, and gratifying from its aim to exhibit the religious forms of older cathedrals, although in its style betokening an early period of the ecclesiological movement, and the handiwork of an engineer officer, for the nonce converted into a Church architect. But inside it are ranged stalls for the Capitular Clergy, and the Bishop's throne is not wanting, and, better than either, within it—for the first time since Calcutta became a British city—has the voice of daily prayer, according

to our ritual, continuously been sent up to that Power upon whose decrees alone rest (whatever may think the Court of Directors) the vast anomalous fabric of Anglo-Saxon rule in India.

Bishop Wilson did not only build his Cathedral, but he established Missionary canonries for the conversion of the Hindoos, to one or more of which he most properly named clergymen of colour. The novelty of the step, however, excited the susceptibility of state officials—such a thing as canons had never been heard of in India since the days of Clive or Hastings. It must bode some ill to the right divine of the Company. How could a Governor-General and a Canon coexist on the plains of Bengal? Accordingly we believe the Bishop was compelled to abandon the appellation, and India has not been lost to the British empire. There are parish churches in Bombay and Madras, which are called Cathedrals, but the real system is yet a stranger to those cities. In Ceylon, however, the case is different. Bishop Chapman, who has just returned for a holiday to England, after a continuous residence of very nearly ten years, did not leave Colombo before he had consecrated a cathedral church, planned and carried out as the correlative of his episcopate. The building is small, and a parish church rather than a Cathedral in its plan; but its conception and arrangements are quite ecclesiastical, and the institution is not wanting to the building. On the day of its consecration, the Bishop installed the Warden of his College Dean of the Cathedral, a union of duties most desirable under the circumstances, and fully carrying out the old Cathedral ideas. The Dean, for his part, installed in the Bishop's name the Canons. In Australia, the metropolitical church of S. Andrew at Sydney—a great enterprise, projected by Bishop Broughton—is gradually rising from the ground, and we already read the name of Canons. We trust that Bishop Barker will foster his predecessor's work. At Adelaide the intention of a Cathedral has long been entertained, and we are aware of two sets of most meritorious plans having been successively prepared for it in this country. A Cathedral for Hobart Town has been authoritatively projected. Auriferous Melbourne, we fear, may be the last to grapple with that which it, more than any other of our Australian cities, is able to supply. The chivalrous Selwyn's missionary duties have adjourned the Cathedral of New Zealand, which has been a desire of his heart ever since he first embarked for the antipodes. In North America, the destructive fire at S. John's, Newfoundland, has brought out good from evil, in having enabled Bishop Feild to build and to use the nave of a worthy cathedral. In Fredericton Bishop Medley

has completely carried out his Cathedral, of small dimensions compared with those of this country, but solemn and appropriate in all its appointments, and an acknowledged model to all the American Churches of our communion, not only those under the British Crown, but also those in the United States, for the dignity and the correctness of its services. Nothing, we believe, has been done in the metropolitical see of Quebec. Bishop Fulford, of Montreal, employing the powers conceded under his as under other more recent colonial patents, has constituted his Dean and Canons, although the church itself, which has become the cathedral, is no way deserving of retaining permanently that distinction. The Bishop of Capetown, we should have said, has taken the same step with respect to his town, having equally to put up for the present with an unworthy cathedral.

The Cathedral of Toronto—a city, it is said, growing in population and opulence at a much more rapid ratio than any of the United States—is, although rebuilt after a recent conflagration, a mere parish church, and we do not think that it has any capitular body attached. The reason, however, of this omission appears to be, that Bishop Strachan's unwearied energies have been directed, under the anomalous circumstances which created its necessity, to the foundation of his flourishing University of King's College, in the staff and chapel of which the correlative of a Cathedral and its body corporate are to be sought. To that University the older one of Oxford has just paid a marked compliment, by the honourable manner in which it received its Chancellor to the well-merited distinction of an honorary degree. Of the Cathedrals in the West Indian Islands we have not very precise information. Bishop Spencer has built one in his opulent diocese of Jamaica. That of Antigua, raised within these few years in place of one overwhelmed by an earthquake, is ugly, but large and substantial. Barbados has an old parish church exalted to Cathedral rank. The Cathedral of Guiana is, we believe, of more recent erection and of more ecclesiastical character. Into none of these churches, however, we imagine, has a capitular body been introduced.

In the United States, the Cathedral movement has not yet emerged from the condition of agitation into that of a *positive* success, however partial, and yet the seeds of such a success are broadcast everywhere. The somewhat slow advance of the cause is no way astonishing, when we consider the peculiar circumstances of that Church, founded in a dead age generally of Church feeling, with, moreover, a violent democratic feeling all around it, jealous of the idea of so-called titles and Episcopal thrones—words of which the sound would come to them from

suspected England with an import the more terrific because less understood. Under this condition of feeling it is a matter to be thankful for, that Episcopacy took root in any shape in that young Republic—a blessing for which, we may take this opportunity of recording, the reformed communion in the United States, with its more than thirty Bishops, is, under Providence, indebted in the first instance to one gathered to his fathers not six months since. We need not say that this man was Martin Joseph Routh, who advised Samuel Seabury to seek his consecration from the then despised, and almost, except from persecution, unknown, Scottish Church.

The American Bishops, as every one knows, took their titles from the States through which they ministered, and not the cities where they dwelt,—a state of things not favourable to Cathedral development, and almost unknown in Church history, except in the case of the Celtic dioceses. But yet the work is spreading. The newly-completed S. Mary Burlington, in New Jersey, is actually a Cathedral, for it has the Bishop's throne, and we hope ere long it will become such also in name. The opulent Trinity Church, New York, must either make itself a Cathedral, or build one out of that annual income which it is bound to and which it does most fairly spend on Church objects. As it is, it serves for the present to represent that defective element. Its building a Cathedral need not be at all a remote work, for its wealth is abundant, and it has just completed a huge new Church in New York, outwardly built to look like and called a Chapel. A few months since, a Cathedral at Chicago, a centre of railway communication growing up with astonishing rapidity upon Lake Michigan, was spoken of. Now, however, we fear that from Bishop Whitehouse's ill-advised reluctance to move his residence from New York into that city, the scheme is, at least for the present, at an end. Still, as we hear, the emancipation of Bishops in America from parochial cures, which is progressing, helps on the Cathedral cause, for it is felt not to be convenient to leave the prelates quite unfettered by local ties.

We shall not, we trust, be considered as having wandered from our subject, in having concluded our analysis of the Report of the Cathedral Commission of England and Wales, with a notice, brief and imperfect as we know it to be, of the Cathedral movement in other dioceses in full communion with our own Church. With the Scottish, the Colonial, and the American Churches, our own in its spiritual aspect has the closest and the holiest affinity, and, practically speaking, hers and their well-being are closely knit together. It is an encouragement to the Commissioners who have recommended their scheme of Cathedral

Reform, and it is a monition to the public at large, who have to accept or to nullify those recommendations, to be told that in dioceses where the authority of the British Parliament in Church affairs is either unknown or little heeded, the movement for Cathedral institutions has taken root, and spread with an earnestness and generality which prove that it is genuine. It will soon be compulsory on the ancient and magnificent Cathedrals at home, to elect whether they will follow the lead of the young and poor Colonial Churches, or else command their deference by showing them the example which a mother is bound to exhibit to her daughters.

ART. VII.—*The Greek Testament; with Notes Grammatical and Exegetical. By* WILLIAM WEBSTER *and* WILLIAM FRANCIS WILKINSON. Vol. I. containing the Gospels and the Acts. London: J. W. Parker.

THIS edition of the New Testament is defined by its editors as designed 'for learners rather than the learned,' and as more particularly intended for 'the College lecture-room, and for 'those examinations in the Greek Testament which are passed 'by candidates for degrees, or for admission to Holy Orders.' It was projected many years since, and six years ago was in a state of considerable forwardness, when its progress was suspended, till it was ascertained whether Mr. Alford's edition might not render its completion and publication unnecessary. To the judgment of the editors, that 'the system of Biblical 'interpretation might be established on principles at once more 'safe, more certain, and more intelligible,' the present volume owes its completion and appearance.

As the editors have prefixed to their commentary an introduction of nearly fifty pages, in which their principles of textual and grammatical criticism, the outlines of their system of exegesis, and their views on inspiration, are fully enunciated, it will be most satisfactory to notice these points separately.

The text is stated to be 'substantially that of R. Stephens, '1550, adopted by the late Professor Scholefield, and printed 'under his care at the Pitt Press, 1836.' For punctuation, accentuation, arrangement of paragraphs, and other textual details, reference has been made to 'the editions of Lachmann, Theile, and Scholz.' Why these three editions have been alone selected, to the exclusion of those of Tischendorf and other recent critics, is not stated. In an elementary and educational work like the present, the editors have probably exercised a judicious choice in retaining the Textus Receptus; but it is somewhat strange, as in S. Matthew ix. 36, to comment on the true reading, and yet retain the spurious reading in the text. If the editors felt so decided an opinion upon the true reading, as to devote their remarks to it, and to leave nearly unnoticed the reading in their text, it would certainly have seemed more desirable to make the change in the text, and give some typographical indication of the departure from the Greek Vulgate. We are, however, indebted to them for their forbearance from

an immature attempt at patching up a text from the edition of Stephens, compared with that of recent editors. They have here exercised a sound discretion; still we totally object to the view they have taken of the value of the labours of recent critical editors, and still more to the observation, that attention to the criticism of the sacred text is not necessary for the student in his academical course. Can we for one moment admit that *the chief value* of the labours of Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, (and we are bound to add, Scholz, Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Tregelles,) has been to silence the boastful language of Socinian and other objectors, and that their *subordinate* use has been to establish the critical incorrectness of the received text? Commentators on the New Testament are perfectly at liberty to choose that text which they conceive best suited to their general purposes; but they would do well to remember that few critical scholars, few deeper thinkers who are seriously impressed with the duty of having before them the exact words of Inspiration, would select the Textus Receptus except for a special purpose; and fewer still would regard the general subject as undeserving of the attention of students at our universities. Such language and opinions cannot be too much deprecated and deplored.

In the principle of their annotations, *considered in reference to the elementary and educational character of the work*, the editors have in most cases exercised sound judgment. They have not perplexed the student with reference to various authorities, whose very names would probably be strange to him; they have commonly expressed a single opinion with suitable brevity, and in some cases have submitted their reasons to his consideration. So far all is well; but here, again, they have spoken with precipitation upon systems of annotation which, though rightly declined in an elementary work, are yet not lightly to be set aside in sound and thorough expositions of Holy Scripture. The editors are of opinion that 'the invariable production of 'authorities is directly injurious, as leading the student to 'repose his faith in the wisdom of men rather than in the 'power of God.' Whether the student would not be far more likely to repose his faith in the power of God, and to pray still more truly and fervently for illumination, when he was briefly apprised that the great expositors here spoke diversely and doubtingly, while there they spoke confidently and in unison, must be left to the judgment of our readers. Again, the editors have probably done wisely in passing over, in a work calculated for boys and young men, the erroneous interpretations of other commentators; but their condemnation of this

practice is far too hasty and sweeping. Utterly erroneous, or clearly absurd interpretations, it is wrong in any commentator to reproduce before his reader; but, especially in difficult passages, no one system tends more thoroughly to fix on the mind the probably true interpretation, than that which distinctly, acutely, and succinctly exhibits the erroneous principles (often of a very subtle nature) in grammar, criticism, or exegesis, on which the rejected interpretations are based, and thus prepares the reader for an acquiescence in, and a more accurate retention of, that which is adopted. All depends upon the skill, perspicuity, and above all things brevity, with which aberrant opinions are noticed; but the commentator who does this faithfully and charitably contributes far more, with the blessing of God, to the accurate knowledge of divine truth, than the expositor who merely submits to the reader the opinion which he himself had arrived at, without supplying him with the means of judging whether that opinion was satisfactorily and deliberately formed or no. A good translation ought to show us exactly the interpretation adopted; a good commentary ought to show this—*and further*, the grounds on which it has been adopted, and the principles by which it can be justified. The language of Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson upon this and some other principles of general interpretation, which we have not here space fully to notice, is so unqualified, and, as we must certainly judge, so open to criticism, that we cannot but feel that their acquaintance with the best modern *foreign* commentators is limited, and that their condemnatory opinions are educed by imperfectly constructed English commentaries, in which the more scientific principles of interpretation are obscured or neglected.

Their remarks on the Allegorical and Dogmatical schools of interpretation are very far from satisfactory. That the Allegorical mode of interpretation may have often been unduly pressed,—that Origen (whose conceptions it is still hasty, not to say unjust, to characterise as 'rash and crude') may have pushed it beyond its just limits,—that in the middle ages it may have found favour, whether allied 'to the antichristian claims and blasphemous idolatries of the Papacy' or no, may be freely admitted; and yet few thoughtful readers of Scripture, especially of S. Paul's Epistles, would feel disposed to designate the whole system as 'wild, fantastic, and variable,' or to admit that its principle is fairly stated by saying, 'that the spiritual 'meaning is in a direct ratio to the distance from the obvious 'meaning.' To a certain extent Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson are themselves forced to admit it, but we think few devout

thinkers would not be willing to extend it much further, and reverently to acknowledge that there may be numberless passages, especially in the Old Testament, in which deeper meanings are involved, and mysterious intimations vouchsafed to us, of that profound harmony which reveals itself not only in the words of God, but in His deeds and dealings with men.

Equally unsatisfactory are the remarks on the Dogmatical school of interpreters; for here either the editors must be describing a very small and limited class of interpreters, which may possibly deserve the language applied to them, but who are too few and insignificant to hold a place in a tripartite division; or else they must be applying language unduly and untenably severe to a large class of earnest and devout men, who feel that there is in many passages what is termed a 'Catholic interpretation,'—an interpretation propounded by the wisdom and embalmed by the piety of the early expositors, which cannot be lightly or hastily setaside. Such men as Schleiermacher (see an article on the Colossians, in 'Stud. und Kritiken') have not scrupled to say that the interpretations of the Greek commentators deserve our best and most earnest attention. Can it then be charitable, or even sensible, to say that 'the disciple of the 'Dogmatical school recoils from the impartial and candid exer-'cise of his rational powers, lest he should be led to forego his 'shibboleth, or be compelled to own that others, whom he 'views with hostility, approach much nearer the truth than he 'imagined'? Can it be fair to say that 'the Romanist exer-'cises that sense, reason, judgment, which God has given him, 'only to render it prostrate to the authority of the Church,' when there are commentaries on Scripture yearly emanating from that Church, especially in Germany, distinguished by great fairness, good sense, and calm and critical exercise of judgment? Whatever may be the merits of Protestant, whatever the demerits of Romanist, interpreters, we are strongly of opinion that language so indiscriminating in its censure, is seriously out of place in an introduction to the message of love and mercy of God to mankind.

Still more unsatisfactory are the remarks on Harmonies and on the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. To say nothing of more ancient labourers in the former field, we feel bound to protest with indignation, on the part of our contemporaries, such as Messrs. Greswell and Isaac Williams, against language such as this which Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson employ:—

'We are convinced that much mischief has been done to the cause of Gospel truth, and truth in general, by the unscrupulous violence, and perhaps unconscious dishonesty, which have characterised many of the

conspectuses of the New Testament records, termed harmonies, both in ancient and modern times. Conceding all the demands of the most crafty, and at the same time most unphilosophical, infidelity, with regard to the nature, action, and effects of inspiration, the compilers of these synopses have failed to accomplish their own avowed object, have promoted that of the common adversary, have almost hopelessly embarrassed the great subject on which they are fundamentally mistaken, and have excited in the minds of all who take upon trust either their will or their performances, grievous suspicions against those who doubt the possibility and necessity of their enterprise.'—*Introd.* p. x.

And elsewhere, in a long and hazy dissertation, we are assured that 'defects and discrepancies in the Evangelists are not inconsistent with inspiration,' for the very unsatisfactory reason that 'they are *only such*, and indeed much less than such, as we 'meet with in many credible accounts given by ordinary historians and witnesses, and which do not in their case lead to 'the disbelief of their narrations or testimony;'—which, reduced into plain English, is, that there is no higher guarantee for the trustworthiness of S. Matthew and S. Luke than for that of Thucydides and Xenophon. Surely the present editors must know that the objection is not against the respectability and moral honesty of the writers of the New Testament, but on the point whether in any or in what sense they received superhuman assistance or guidance. Unquestionably it is but to escape this question to assure us that they have made no greater mistakes in fact, than 'ordinary historians and witnesses.' After this is it not trifling with religious convictions to talk as Messrs. Wilkinson and Webster do, in the very same page, (p. xlvii.) of 'the Spirit of God giving to mankind a written Gospel'?

We have pleasure in saying, on the other hand, that as far as we have been able to examine the volume in detail, the notes appear generally clear, concise, and instructive. The scholarship, without being either very subtle or suggestive, or displaying very intimate acquaintance with the principles of *Hellenistic* Greek, is still sound and judicious, and very well calculated for the upper classes in schools, or the lecture-rooms in Universities, the two bodies for which the editors have written. The more advanced scholar who may desire a more acute analysis of the language of the New Testament must go elsewhere: we are, however, still surprised not to have met with references to the professed grammars on the New Testament, to which students at the Universities and the higher class of readers might most advantageously have been referred. In our cursory perusal of the volume, not to have met with one reference to Winer's Grammar of the New Testament, which has been for several years translated, and is, as we know, in the hands of many even

of our younger students, seems somewhat strange, especially when few volumes have more thoroughly contributed to an accurate knowledge of the language of the New Testament.

We have noticed a few questionable interpretations in the first two Gospels, which we submit to the editors for their reconsideration.

S. Matt. ii. 17. '*ἐπληρώθη*, was entirely (?) fulfilled:' would not this be *ἀνεπληρώθη*, or some compound form? . . . . S. Matt. iii. 10. *ἐκκόπτεται*]. 'The present tense shows the certainty and the suddenness (?) of the punishment.' Surely the second explanation must be an oversight; it is the natural property of the *aorist*, not the *present*, to express suddenness. The first explanation is the only correct one; see Winer, Gramm. p. 308 (ed. 5); Green, Gramm. p. 11. . . . . S. Matt. v. 46. 'Our Lord 'in speaking of *οἱ τελῶναι* (*l. οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί*), vi. 32, adopts the 'popular language and ideas (?) of the times.' Is not this a lax and incautious mode of expression? . . . . S. Matt. vii. 15. 'Beware *accordingly* (*δὲ*) of false prophets.' We should be very slow, either here or elsewhere in the New Testament, to admit any such use of *δὲ* for *οὖν*: *δὲ* appears here to be simply *metabatic;* see Hartung, vol. i. p. 165. . . . . S. Matt. viii. 28. 'The 'reading *Γεργεσηνῶν* was introduced by Origen upon mere 'conjecture.' This is stated too broadly; it, *perhaps*, was so introduced; see De Wette, in loc. . . . *ὁ σατανᾶς*] 'is here used as a collective word for evil spirits.' Is this deviation necessary? . . . . S. Matt. xvi. 5. *ἐπελάθοντο*] 'perceived that they had forgotten.' Can such a paraphrase be justified? see Meyer, *in loc.* . . . . S. Matt. xviii. 10. *ἄγγελοι*], 'their *spirits* after death. A. xii. 15.' This interpretation we cannot but designate as very unfortunate; the editors would have been more wise, in this instance at least, if they had adopted the interpretation of the 'Dogmatical school.' . . . . S. Matt. xxv. 26. *πονηρέ*] 'worthless.' Why this deviation from the ordinary translation? The conduct of the servant showed he deserved the term in its fullest and strongest sense. . . . S. Matt. xxviii. 19. *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*] '*εἰς* marks the final end or aim, L. iii. 3.' Is this correct? L. iii. 3. is a clear case of destination for a purpose, *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*; but here, as Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson themselves imply by their translation and subsequent remarks, the preposition points rather to 'union and communion with.' So, again, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* (S. Matt. xviii. 20) can hardly be, 'in order to promote my cause,' cited on S. Luke iii. 3. . . . S. Mark iii. 5. *πωρώσει*, 'hardness,' 'callousness,' 'blindness.' The last meaning is very doubtful; see Fritzsche on Rom. xi. 25. . . . S. Mark iv. 8. *ἐδίδου*. 'The usual form, *ἐδίδω*, does not occur in

the New Testament.' The more usual form is the one here used; Buttmann, i. 509; Krüger, xxxvi. 9. 1. . . . S. Mark vi. 17, *αὐτός*, in the expression, *αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρώδης*, can scarcely be, 'of his own accord;' see S. Matt. iii. 4. . . . S. Mark xiv. 19, *καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη*. 'The omission of *ἂν* with *ἦν* has a touch of irony; *without doubt* it were good.' This is doubtful; as in later Greek the tendency to omit *ἂν* in sentences of this nature is very obvious. See Winer, Gramm., p. 353; comp. p. 327. . . . S. Mark xv. 6, *κατὰ ἑορτήν* is translated, 'on occurrence of the feast,' in S. Matt. xxvii. 15, 'at every festival.' Which translation do Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson prefer? simply temporal? or distributively temporal? It is better to be consistent in translation in exactly similar passages.

NOTICES.

Mr. Mozley's work, 'The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination,' is a book which, for thorough knowledge and grasp of the subject, deep, calm, comprehensive thought, and clear and well-considered statement, has not had its equal for many years in English theology. It is no less than a complete review of the history and results of the great controversy on Divine grace and man's free-will, in its chief phases and turning points, from the days of S. Augustine and Pelagius, to those of Toplady and Edwards. It is learned, in the highest sense of learning: that is, the writer has read very widely and very laboriously, but with a thorough command of his own power of judgment in the process of reading; and while going over and entering fully into the chief results, which the genius or the character of past thinkers or their times have left behind them, he has kept his own thought free. Deeply interesting, indeed, as are the reasonings and representations of the book on its great topics, worked out with a grave and serene, yet earnest, simplicity of statement, which reminds us continually of the solemn calm and plainness of Butler, what is still more striking, is the evidence it affords of a cautious and mature mind thinking out afresh a great subject for itself, thoroughly and to the very root, yet with the most complete self-command, and strict guardedness against all extreme conclusions. After a keen appreciation and patient following out, in all their various shapes and consequences, of the two opposite tendencies, both true, yet at last irreconcilable, which led to the controversy between Augustine and Pelagius, the great point is again revived, which governed the speculations of the author of the Analogy, revived with great and practical force, of the ignorance in which we really are, as to the true nature of those Divine things, about which in controversy we are apt to speak so familiarly and so positively. Dispassionate yet earnest, and disclosing in itself a strong bias of belief, it yet indicates a hopeful, because real and genuine, way, by which some of our most deeply cutting disputes may close. Recalling us to the easily forgotten and troublesome duty of weighing and ascertaining the meaning of our own words, and of not shrinking, if necessary, from reviewing what we have assumed as clear positions, it drives home, besides, that awful conviction, never lost, but often overlaid, even in the earnest defence of truth, that what we can clearly and fully perceive and speak of the unseen world, is indeed but analogous to the knowledge of children.

The quarter has been unusually prolific in printed Sermons. The circumstance will account for, if it may not excuse, an inverting of our ordinary practice, and placing in the first page of our miscellaneous notices what usually brings up their rear. A dead set seems to be making against the English pulpit. A grave Archdeacon, cautious, we believe, in committing himself to unstudied efforts of oratory, and little ambitious of popular fame, has been assuring the metropolitan Clergy that their sermons are seriously defective. The lesson was a useful one, and it fitted the position

and office of him who delivered it. But the chief daily newspaper has been lecturing in a style much more objurgatory than that of the Archdeacon, and with its accustomed amiability of tone has been contrasting the sermons of the Ranters with those of Churchmen, to the manifest advantage of the former: and writers and editors who are unable, on their own confession, to utter two sentences *vivâ voce*, are complaining that all the Clergy cannot extemporize for a round hour with ease, fluency, unction, point, vigour, liveliness, novelty, and research. The real wonder is, not that sermons are so bad, but that the thing itself being so difficult they are no worse. Of course, if we had sermons addressed to hearers according to their specialties; if only saints or only sinners, if only newspaper critics or only their subjects, if only gentlemen or ladies, or children, or academies, or tradesmen, or literary or illiterate people came to church; or if we had sermons which were not delivered in church, possibly we might have closer and more direct addresses. But when, as is the case, congregations consist of every conceivable variety of age, spiritual attainment, information and need, what is addressed to them must, from the nature of the case, often appear vague and flavourless. Strong meat in certain cases becomes poison: and what could hardly graze the moral cuticle of critics or colliers, might be very dangerous to their daughters. We do not complain so much of the level character of English homiletics as of the habit of publishing volumes of sermons; and this chiefly because we have to read them, or rather are expected to read them. We admit, nay, we insist, that the Midland counties, and the Bedford level, and the flat prairies of the Ukraine, have their use and function in the great economy of things; but they are not places which one chooses. We respect, but do not select them. So it is with sermons. They are very good, although, or because, tame: but why are they in print? This is a question which throughout our connexion with theological literature is the standing riddle of the age: its solution may well be left to printers, publishers, and authors. However, as we suppose that printed sermons are at least not below the average of those less dignified, we prefer at present to give specimens of the extant English homiletics: and then to inquire whether, without committing ourselves to any extravagant eulogy of the present supply in the market, the competing article is more satisfactory. We take rather at hazard the printed sermons which the last three months have brought before us.

'Practical Sermons on the Characters of the Old Testament.' (Masters.) Here is a series of Sermons far above the average. They exhibit considerable powers of language, and the results of a good deal of reading. They are original as well as sound. But if they were ever preached to a single congregation, we are tempted to wonder what the composition of such congregation was. Here are some detached passages:—

'Job ends in the same way that he began, but the concluding note is 'the last and deepest of the octave..... A man's character involves the 'whole octave; the highest note of it is played in youth—the deepest at 'the end of the journey of life; the whole is played together in the perfect 'harmony of Heaven. We are what we are, in one sense, at first: we only 'are that in the real sense at the last. Parts of the intervening life might

'sound like a discord, when played alone; taken altogether they are 'perfect harmony.'—P. 67.

This passage indicates a clever mind falling in with a stray metaphor, unable to resist the temptation of mounting, and very grievously run away with by the wild animal. All this is tolerable in the pulpit, but rather intolerable in the immortality of type. The following passage is certainly not deficient in plain speaking, and seems to indicate the village pastor. In a sermon on Boaz, it is said,—

'In many such cases, where boys and girls are allowed to work together 'in the same field, all modesty is broken down, the barriers of purity, 'erected through toilsome months at school and home, breached and shivered to dust. The hay-cart or the corn-sheaf becomes the scene for 'the assignation,' &c.—P. 109.

And in the very next Sermon, on Eve, we find this ambitious language:—

'The idea that the material body is in itself sinful has been the cause of 'some of the great heresies or errors of the ancient days. Manicheism 'especially proceeds from this source. Zoroaster and Zeno, again, had 'already taught vigorously and earnestly that the body is sinful. Ahriman, 'as the Persian philosophy relates, is the evil deity, and Oromastes the 'good one; the former built the prison, the body and matter, in which 'the spirit, the offspring of the latter, was to be fettered during time. 'Mithras, the moderator between the two contradictory deities, sat like 'Minos in Tartarus, deciding on the deserts of human action, and deter-'mining the term or condition of the thrall of the spirit. Eastern Chris-'tianity caught the flame. Manes sprung up,' &c.—P. 146.

Now, without expressing an opinion on the relative advantages of either style of sermon, we certainly may remind the writer that as probably in his own judgment either the subject of the hayfield or of Ormuzd was unsuitable to his own parish, so the concurrence in a series is at least unfortunate.

The master of a public school has a field for sermon influences of remarkable capabilities. His boys are possessed of more than the average intelligence of congregations; they have sufficient of a common character and corporate position to render the choice of subjects and treatment comparatively easy. The current events of school are always sufficiently varied to admit of occasional and practical treatment; while the character of the preacher, who is usually also the instructor, admits in the best sense of the hackneyed phrase allusions to common things, and permits the sermon itself to become a vehicle of information. Here too, classical illustration, and the true attitude of heathen literature towards the Christian scholar, enlarges the preacher's materials; while there are no subjects, political and the like, of passing interest, which are unsuited to the intelligence of lads at the great collegiate schools. Mr. Cotton, the Master of Marlborough College, has printed a volume, 'Seven Sermons chiefly connected with Public Events of 1854,' (Macmillan,) which we can speak of with high admiration. The following is from a sermon preached at the beginning of last half-year, 'Winter Retrospect.' We prefer an extract to vague commendation:—

'It is impossible not to be struck by one consequence of the war in 'which we are now engaged, its direct bearing on the future destiny of 'many who now hear me. Hardly a week passes in which we do not 'receive letters, showing that not one or two only, but many among you, 'are likely to be employed in some way or other, either in the fleet or army 'of our country; that some of you may be called upon actually to join 'those who at this very moment are the objects of so much sympathy, to 'assist their efforts, to share their sufferings and their dangers, perhaps to 'help them by the sacrifice of your lives. Others may hereafter be sum-'moned to tasks and perils of a similar character. Now surely this 'thought addresses us in language most plain and practical. Not only 'does it remind us that those who learn to do their duty here in small 'things, will be most likely to perform it there in great things; but it also 'warns you to remember your Saviour in this day of quiet and safety, as 'those who may soon be standing in the peril of death, and called to pass 'through it to the actual presence of God. For in speaking and thinking 'of the glories of war, we are apt to regard it in some degree from the old 'pagan rather than the Christian point of view: hurried away by our 'admiration for those who fall for their country, we forget that to them as 'well as to all others, after death cometh the judgment, and that from this 'judgment no amount of valour, or self-devotion, or heroic virtue can avail 'to deliver them. Doubtless if any of us should be called to bear the 'sorrow of losing friends or kinsmen in this fearful struggle, our only true 'comfort is to leave them in the hands of Him, who alone knows what is 'in man, who, for His Son's sake, in judgment remembers mercy, and who, 'we are quite sure, will deal with them as is right. Yet we must not 'forget that for him who dies suddenly on the distant battle-field, and for 'him who breathes out his soul peacefully at home, surrounded by the love 'of friends, and the consolations of Christ's Church, there is one duty, 'one sacrifice, one hope; the duty of repentance and sorrow for sin, 'the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who died upon the cross, the hope that 'through Him, and Him alone, the kingdom of heaven is opened to all 'believers. And certainly it has been most striking and refreshing to hear 'of proofs that in the hour of danger such thoughts have not been wanting, 'but that in the midst of din and carnage, and excited passion, the remem-'brance of Christ has been brought home to many hearts by the Spirit of 'God. Only let it be an additional motive to encourage such thoughts 'now, that you will so sorely need them then; remember that he who 'tries to love Christ in the day of peace and safety, is most sure to be 'helped and comforted by Christ in the time of necessity.

'But the signs of the times do not confine their warnings to those who 'are likely to take a direct part in events which will make this new year 'either glorious or disastrous in the history of our country. Sometimes, 'when we who are remaining here in our homes read these gloomy tales of 'suffering, we are inclined to ask whether we can do nothing to alleviate 'it, whether it is right to sit still with folded hands, while our friends and 'brethren are struggling and dying in a cause which is no less ours than 'theirs? Such doubts and questionings are not uncommon; they were 'lately put to me in a letter from one who not long since was one of your-

'selves. Yet surely they admit of an easy answer. We can, no doubt, 'help our brethren directly by self-denial, by giving of our abundance to 'supply their needs, by praying for God's blessing on their bodies and 'their souls. But no less surely can we help them and our country by the 'quiet and conscientious performance of the duty, whatever it be, which 'God has assigned us: by maintaining in this place, and in every other 'society with which we are connected, a high and Christian spirit of 'devotion to every good work, and so raising up a generation of English-'men who shall serve God worthily and reverently, and thus, wherever 'they are, and to whatever duties called, go forth in the sure and certain 'hope of His blessing on their labours.

'Thus then discerning the signs of the times, and learning lessons like 'these from all that we have lately seen and heard, let us begin this new 'half year with the firm determination that, by the help of God's Spirit 'given to our prayers, we will make this school better, holier, more 'Christian than it has ever yet been; that no one here shall suffer either 'in body or in soul by our unkindness, our neglect, our evil example. In 'school, on Wednesday, I called your attention to the number of boys who 'are now for the first time amongst us, and I spoke of the sin of persuading 'or forcing them to do anything which is forbidden. Let me now urge 'upon you more generally, to avoid injuring them in any way, by your 'influence or example; let them feel that they have come to a school 'where God is feared, and His commands obeyed, and let them discern as 'one of the happiest and most blessed signs of this our day, that they are 'not hindered but helped in their efforts to do right, and are members of a 'society which, not in name only, but in deed and truth, is consecrated 'through Christ to God.'

We do not yield to Mr. Cotton in admiration for Tennyson: but surely the lines quoted at p. 9, in the writer's mind, only teach universalism: which if the poetical, is certainly not the Christian, view of the final doom.

From the school to the college the transition is easy: and Mr. Curteis, Fellow of Exeter College, sends us 'Four Sermons preached in the Chapel of that Society,' (J. H. Parker,) which much in the same way strike us as extremely well suited to those to whom they were addressed. Here is a passage on the transition of morality into faith:—

'And what then is that "Nature" whom they thus consulted? Where 'is it, that thus, with one accord and with such successful issue, the men 'of science have agreed to originate all their discoveries, and to find at 'once the limit and the source, the end and the beginning, of their know-'ledge? Is it not on that *surface* (as it were) which is spread, like some 'pictured curtain, between us and the unknown powers and essences of 'Being, and which is open to our experiment and examination? Those 'powers and essences themselves, while in the flesh, we can never know. 'A veil of sense is spread between us and them, which our limited faculties 'are quite unable to transcend. And what matter? since finite beings 'must have their limit somewhere; and powers of perception, which fall 'very far short of omniscience, may yet be veracious within their sphere, 'and not unworthy gifts of One, who ever represents Himself as a God not 'of falsehood, but of truth.

'Now among all the various sciences that can occupy the mind of man, 'there is one science which is by far the most important, for whose sake 'they all exist, and into whose main stream their various channels run; 'and this is, the science of *Religion*. It is not that of Morals; this gives 'the human side of Religion. It is not of Theology; this gives its divine 'side. It is rather that great philosophy of human life, that lofty science 'of the relations between man and his Creator, which we may conveniently 'call by this special name. Where, then, it may be asked, (and a most 'deeply interesting question it is,) where are we to find the foundations of 'this great science? Where (as men of truth,—men who in the depart-'ment of Religion would emulate the earnestness and energy of those who 'are engaged in less important branches,) are we to find our basis in 'nature? where the point of contact (as it were) with absolute and 'objective truth "behind the veil?"'

But these sermons are addressed to students. In Mr. Fraser, Rector of Cholderton, and Fellow of Oriel, we have a very good specimen of the academic preacher. The title of his volume is, 'Six Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.' (J. H. Parker.) Like Mr. Cotton, he also endeavours to apply to a particular audience the lessons to be drawn from the Signs of the Times. After protesting against the decree about the Immaculate Conception, Mr. Fraser makes some remarks in his Preface, p. xiv., which, considering his position as one of the Select Preachers, deserve attention:—

'And scepticism, or at best an utter latitudinarianism, is the natural 'reaction against such extravagant pretensions. While the Pope and his 'conclave of Cardinals and Bishops are thus inventing doctrines and pre-'paring definitions, another class of thinkers are doing what they can to 'sweep away from the face of the earth all creeds, all Church authority, all 'faith in miracles, inspiration, historical evidence, and to resolve the whole 'of Christianity into the development, not of objective truths, but of the 'internal consciousness and rational faculties of man. And though the 'great majority of our polemical preachers and theologians seem blind to 'the danger, and are content with furbishing up old weapons out of the 'armoury of our Reformers, giving them perhaps a keener edge, but, from 'lack of the same deep erudition, hardly dealing with them as shrewd 'blows; there can be no doubt, I think, that the cause not only of Pro-'testantism, but of Evangelical truth in the widest sense of the term, has 'much more to fear from these new foes, springing from the camps of 'Hegel and Comte, than from the disciples of Bellarmine or the revivers of 'the policy of Hildebrand. It is against this philosophical infidelity of the 'Deist and the Pantheist, masking itself under the fair-sounding names of 'philanthropy and faith in the capabilities of man; claiming for the natural 'human reason a paramount and sufficient supremacy in the settlement of 'all questions of spiritual truth; ignoring Jesus and the Holy Spirit as 'personal agents in the regeneration of mankind; regarding the one as a 'mere personification of the individual's consciousness of his being a "par-'taker of the divine nature," and the other as the collective voice of 'humanity determining what is right and pronouncing what is true; 'recognising the Scripture records *in a way*, but treating them as though

'their traditional, and indeed natural, acceptation deserved no more serious 'attention at the hands of a philosopher, than the exploded legends of the 'early Roman kings;—indeed, Mr. Francis Newman does not give them so 'much;—carrying the right of private judgment to an extreme for which 'few of its English advocates are probably prepared; doubting everything 'which a consensus of eighteen hundred years has sanctified, but replacing 'every dogma it discards with some new and infinitely more unintelligible 'theory of its own; exterminating alike the "mutilated mediævalism" of 'Rome, the "national hierarchism and insular Catholicism" of England, 'and the "blind Lutheranism" of Germany; professing as its aim the '"demolition of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical superstructure of the 'seventeenth century;" and leaving us, as yet, nothing substantial—a 'dream—a picture—a "Church of the future"—in its room;—it is against 'this ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, which is perhaps undermining the faith of the 'rising generation of Englishmen and Englishwomen to a greater extent 'than many of us are aware,—the influence of which, I fear, is not unknown 'in Oxford,—that every believer in the gospel of Christ as the complete 'and final revelation of God's will to man, has need to stand upon his 'guard. They are doing the best service, not only to the Church of Eng-'land, but to the cause of Christian truth throughout the world, who are 'strengthening the outworks of the faith against the advances of this able 'and subtle foe. The doctrine of the Atonement; the inspiration of the 'Bible; the authenticity of its records; the genuineness of its text; the 'authority of the Creeds; the necessity of Sacraments; nay, the very idea 'of "grace," (which has been attacked from the pulpit of our University 'church;) these are what they that have the requisite skill and strength 'should prepare themselves to defend. Butler has cleared the way for 'them, by removing the antecedent objections to the notion of a revelation, 'and even to the grand outlines of the Christian scheme. But the attack, 'though professedly based upon general principles, is now made rather 'upon details. It is a converging assault: and it is only a wary and 'skilful general who can direct the *accumulative force* of evidence on which 'the proof of Christianity fundamentally relies, to meet with success the 'ever-varying tactics of the foe.'

A third volume of Mr. Wilson Evans' 'Parochial Sermons,' (Rivingtons,) assures us that the respected Vicar of Heversham finds, as he deserves, a sustained popularity. Occasionally a passage meets us which, as in earlier series of Christian biography, strikes us as having a tendency towards sentimentalism. But there are few of our readers who have not with ourselves profited by this amiable writer, and we welcome this third volume as a gift worthy of its author.

Crossing the Channel, we meet with Mr. Reichel, who favours us with a volume. 'The Lord's Prayer, and other Sermons.' (Macmillan.) The title may be good Irish, but it is hardly intelligible English. Nor happily, at least so we think, is it often that English congregations are inflicted with such stuff as is contained in the last sermon on the sin of Korah. Everybody knows the usual application of this passage, and the lesson is against the unauthorized intrusion of unordained persons into the ministry. This is a great mistake, says Mr. Reichel: the warning is against those

called Tractarians. The Christian ministry occupies precisely the functions of the Levites; whenever, in spite of the Ordination Service, the Clergy claim the Priesthood, they commit the sin of Korah, &c. 'They renew the 'heretical pretensions of Rome in the bosom of our beloved Church, and 'with a treachery which is only less shocking than its [whose?] venality, 'attempt to subvert its doctrine while they enjoy its emoluments.' Mr. Reichel is Professor of Latin—and of the vulgar tongue also.

Mr. Puckle, of Dover, also prints a third volume, a large 8vo., of 'Parochial Sermons.' (Rivingtons.) Their author only prints them 'because they have been more especially asked for:' and with such a reason, so modestly offered, for their publication, we can say sincerely that they exhibit an unusually good specimen of the ordinary English sermon, of the edifying, as distinguished from the revival, type. And to this type the Sunday sermons ought to be conformed. It is true that our system ought to find a sphere for converting discourses, but these will seldom bear print. All that has come down to us of the great revivalist preachers, of Whitfield in particular, is very unsatisfactory.

Mr. Rowland Williams' sermons, 'Rational Godliness,' (Deighton,) have already attracted an unhappy fame. We propose to reserve their consideration, or rather the consideration of their main principle, to an occasion when we shall discuss Dr. Donaldson's recent publication. Meanwhile, however, as common consent, as well as a common subject, that of Biblical criticism, has brought the two writers into connexion, it is only fair to Mr. Williams to remark, that in speaking of Dr. Donaldson's Jashar, he observes, 'If scholars wantonly exaggerate difficulties, or state them with 'indecency or scoffing, the case is different. I have never intended doing 'so, and have no sympathy of feeling with any one who does.'

Mr. Morgan Cowie's 'Second Series of Hulsean Lectures,' (Rivingtons,) fulfils the expectation which his former able volume of 'Lectures on Scripture Difficulties' held out. By way of presenting ordinary readers with some notion of the cast of subjects which are treated in a university pulpit, we extract Mr. Cowie's conclusion of a disquisition on Personal Identity, occurring in some careful sermons on the Resurrection of the Body:—

'Let us now add to this the presumption that we have of the perfection 'of our faculties in the risen state, and we should get a perfect memory, 'which would make us entirely certain of the identity of ourselves with 'our past man; and though we concluded in the last Lecture that a simi-'larity of outward form seemed to be presumable from the risen body of 'our Saviour, yet now we are able to dispense with this; for recognition in 'the perfected state of the faculties may be quite independent of any bodily 'quality. We may be able to have cognisance of the consciousness of others 'in some way of which now we are ignorant, and thus should not require 'any material resemblance to facilitate recognition. S. Paul says, we 'know that "we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is;" and 'again, "then shall we know even as we are known." May we not con-'clude from these sayings that the perceptive and reflective faculties shall 'be enhanced in some wonderful manner, and thus the risen man be capable 'of knowing others and knowing himself, without those aids which we now

'require to enable us to do so? so that mental identity may be sufficient 'in all respects to constitute our ideas of *sameness*.

'Thus man is composed of a living body and a rational soul, according 'to ordinary phraseology; or of body, soul, and spirit, according to that 'of S. Paul; the body and soul in the latter case corresponding to the 'living body with parts and passions in the former, the rational soul of 'ordinary language to the spirit of the apostolical epistles. That which 'M. Antonius calls σῶμα, ψυχὴ, νοῦς, is the σῶμα, ψυχὴ, πνεῦμα of S. Paul, 'or the σῶμα ψυχικὸν and πνεῦμα of the 15th chapter of the first Epistle to 'the Corinthians. If during this life by the action of the Holy Spirit of 'God, the πνεῦμα of man be restored to its dominion in the human trilogy, 'so as to have ascendancy over the σῶμα and ψυχὴ, or σῶμα ψυχικὸν, then 'the man will be raised to eternal glory. The πνεῦμα, which had returned 'to God when the natural body decayed, and the ψυχὴ or principle of 'animal life was suspended, must at the resurrection be reunited to *a* 'body, with a principle of life, in order that *man* may be raised again or 'restored: but this body shall be changed, and all the Epithumetic 'part of the ψυχὴ, which tended to corruption, shall be abolished. "This 'mortal must put on immortality, and this corruption must put on incor-'ruption." The body is not to be *altogether* lost; nor the existence to be '*altogether* spiritual. The spirit is to be reunited to a living body, to be 'clothed upon with "our house from heaven," all that tended to mortality 'in it being "swallowed up of life."

'In the new state, the man will be conscious that he is the same person 'who lived and acted his part on earth, who believed, and who died; having 'perfect memory of all past consciousnesses, perfect apprehension of his 'past relation to other beings and of their present relation to him, and thus 'he will know that he is the same individual being, when he anew walks 'the earth, and in the certainty of this identity, personality, individuality, 'he will commence, in complete manhood, the Life Everlasting.

'And as far as identity is concerned, the same must be true of the 'bodies of the wicked as well as of the righteous; we may reasonably con-'jecture (in the silence of Holy Scripture) that in all glorious qualities 'attaching to the risen body of the just, there must be a marked dis-'tinction, while we conceive them to have perfect consciousness of identity, 'both of themselves and others, and also that they will be incorruptible, 'that is, fitted for the Future Life of Condemnation.'—Pp. 77—81.

Mr. Robertson, of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, represented, we believe, a school of theology not identical with our own. We should be glad if all preachers more united with ourselves preached such sermons as those contained in a posthumous volume of 'Recollections of Sermons,' published by Smith, Elder & Co. From an Advent Sermon—the series is intended to show the power of the Gospel to the Greeks, Romans, Barbarians, and Jews—we select a fine passage on the private life of Rome:—

'We observe the sanctity of the domestic ties. Very touching are all 'the well-known anecdotes. That, for instance, of the noble Roman 'matron, who felt, all spotless as she was, life-dishonoured, and died by 'her own hand. The sacredness of Home was expressed strongly by the 'idea of twofold guardian deities (Lares and Penates) who watched

'over it. A Roman's own fireside and hearthstone were almost the most 'sacred spots on earth. There was no battle-cry that came so to his 'heart as that, "For the altar and the hearth." How firmly this was 'rooted in the nation's heart is plain from the tradition, that for 170 years 'no separation took place by law between those who had been once 'united in wedlock.

'There is deep importance in this remark; for it was to this that Rome 'owed her greatness. The whole fabric of the commonwealth rose out of 'the family. The Family was the nucleus round which all the rest 'agglomerated. First the family: then the clan, made up of the family 'and its dependants or clients: then the tribe: lastly, the nation. And so 'the noble structure of the Roman Commonwealth arose, compacted and 'mortised together, but resting on the foundation of the hearthstone.

'Very different is it in the East. A nation is a collection of units, held 'together by a government. There is a principle of cohesion in them: but 'only such cohesion as belongs to the column of sand, supported by the 'whirlwind: when the blast ceases, the atoms fall asunder. When the 'chief is slain or murdered, the nation is in anarchy—the family does not 'exist. Polygamy and infanticide, the bane of domestic life, are the de-'struction, too, of national existence.

'There is a solemn lesson in this. Moral decay in the family is the inva-'riable prelude to public corruption. It is a false distinction which we 'make between public integrity and private honour. The man whom you 'cannot admit into your family, whose morals are corrupt, cannot be a pure 'statesman. Whoever studies history will be profoundly convinced that a 'nation stands or falls with the sanctity of its domestic ties. Rome mixed 'with Greece, and learned her morals. The Goth was at her gates; but 'she fell not till she was corrupt and tainted at the heart. The domestic 'corruption preceded the political. When there was no longer purity on 'her hearthstone, nor integrity in her senate, then, and not till then, her 'death-knell was rung.

'We will bless God for our English homes. Partly the result of our reli-'gion. Partly the result of the climate which God has given us, according 'to the law of compensation by which physical evil is repaid by moral 'blessing; so that, its gloom and darkness making life more necessarily 'spent within doors than it is among continental nations, our life is 'domestic and theirs is social. When England shall learn domestic maxims 'from strangers, as Rome from Greece, her ruin is accomplished. And this 'blessing, too, comes from Christ—who presided at the marriage feast at 'Cana, who found a home in the family of Nazareth, and consecrated the 'hearthstone with everlasting inviolability.

'Let us break up this private life into particulars.

'1. We find manly courage. This too is preserved in a word. Virtue is 'a Roman word—manhood, courage; for courage, manhood, virtue, were 'one word. Words are fossil thoughts: you trace the ancient feeling in 'that word—you trace it, too, in the corruption of the word. Among the 'degenerate descendants of the Romans, *virtue* no longer means manhood: 'it is simply dilettantism. The decay of life exhibits itself in the debase-'ment even of words.

'We dwell on this courage, because it was not merely animal daring. 'Like everything Roman, it was connected with religion. It was duty: 'obedience to will: self-surrender to the public good. The Roman legions 'subdued the world: but it was not their discipline alone: nor their 'strength: nor their brute daring. It was rather, far, their moral force— 'a nation whose legendary and historical heroes could thrust their hand 'into the flame, and see it consumed without a nerve shrinking: or come 'from captivity on parole, advise their countrymen against peace, and then 'go back to torture and certain death: or devote themselves by solemn 'self-sacrifice (like the Decii), who could bid sublime defiance to pain, and 'count dishonour the only evil. The world must bow before such men; 'for, unconsciously, here was a form of the spirit of the cross: self-sur- 'render, unconquerable fidelity to duty, sacrifice for others. And so far 'as Rome had in her that spirit, and so long as she had it, her career was 'the career of all those who in any form, even the lowest, take up the 'Cross: she went forth conquering and to conquer.

'2. Deep as Roman greatness was rooted in the courage of her men, it 'was rooted deeper still in the honour of her women. I take one sig- 'nificant fact, which exhibits national feeling. There was a fire in Rome 'called Eternal, for ever replenished. It was the type and symbol of the 'duration of the Republic. This fire was tended by the Vestals: a 'beautifully significant institution. It implied that the duration of Rome 'was co-extensive with the preservation of her purity of morals. So long 'as the dignity of her matrons and her virgins remained unsullied, so long 'she would last. No longer. Female chastity guarded the Eternal City.

'Here we observe something anticipative of Christianity. In the earlier 'ages after the Advent there were divine honours paid to the Queen of 'Heaven: and the land was covered over with houses set apart for 'celibacy. Of course, rude and gross minds can find plenty to sneer at in 'that institution; and doubtless the form of the truth was mistaken 'enough, as all mere *forms* of doctrine are. But the heart of truth which 'lay beneath all that superstition was a precious one. It was this. So 'long as purity of heart, delicacy of feeling, chastity of life, are found in a 'nation, so long that nation is great—no longer. Personal purity is the 'divinest thing in man and woman. It is the most sacred truth which the 'Church of Christ is commissioned to exhibit and proclaim.

'Upon these virtues I observe:—The Roman was conspicuous for the 'virtues of this earth. Honour, fidelity, courage, chastity, all manliness; 'yet the apostle felt that he had a gospel to preach to them that were in 'Rome also. Moral virtues are not religious graces. There are two 'classes of excellence. There are men whose lives are full of moral prin- 'ciple, and there are others whose feelings are strongly devotional. And, 'strange to say, each of these is found at times disjoined from the other. 'Men of almost spotless earthly honour, who scarcely seem to know what 'reverence for things heavenly and devout aspirations towards God mean. 'Men who have the religious instinct, pray with fervour, kindle with spiri- 'tual raptures, and yet are impure in their feelings, and fail in matters of 'common truth and honesty. Each of these is but a half man: dwarfed 'and stunted in his spiritual growth. The "perfect man in Christ Jesus,"

'who has grown to the "measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," 'is he who has united these two things: who, to the high Roman virtues 'which adorn this earth, has added the sublimer feelings which are the 'investiture of heaven: in whom "justice, mercy, truth," are but the body 'of which the soul is faith and love.

'Yet observe—these are moral virtues, and morality is not religion. 'Still beware of depreciating them. Beware of talking contemptuously of '"mere morality." If we must choose between two things, which ought 'never to be divided, moral principle and religious sentiment, there is no 'question which most constitutes the character "which is not far from the 'kingdom of heaven." Devout feelings are common enough in childhood: 'religious emotions: religious warmth: instances of which are retailed by 'the happy parent: common enough, too, in grown men and women—but 'listen—those devout feelings, separate from high principle, do not save 'from immorality: nay, I do believe, are the very stepping stone towards 'it. When the sensual is confounded with and mistaken for the spiritual; 'and merely devout warmth is the rich, rank soil of heart in which moral 'evil most surely and most rankly grows—you will not easily build Roman 'virtues upon *that*. But high principle, which is, in other words, the bap-'tism of John, is the very basis on which is most naturally raised the 'superstructure of religious faith. Happy, thrice happy he who begins 'with the Law and ends with the Gospel."—Pp. 215—221.

Two Series of Sermons are before us, which will enable strangers to appreciate the character of the pastoral instruction which the most distinguished pulpit of one of the first parishes in London produces. Bishop Jackson and Mr. Kempe, successive rectors of S. James's, have a high reputation for preaching successes. We discover considerable smoothness and precision in their style: unaffected good sense and glowing language, with a careful and, perhaps, over rigorous watchfulness over passion. We select the conclusion of the Bishop's first Sermon from the lot, an academical series, 'The Witness of the Spirit.' (Skeffington.)

'And how heartfelt and fervent should be our thanksgiving to God for 'this most precious of His many precious gifts. That we, who were born 'in sin, and shapen in iniquity, having been regenerated, should daily be 'renewed by his Holy Spirit; that we who were aliens and enemies, should 'be admitted into His family, receiving "the Spirit of adoption," whereby 'we may cry with childlike confidence, "Abba, Father!" that we, who 'were condemned and hopeless, should bear about in us the pledge of 'redeeming love, the seal of His grace; that we, whose doom was the 'doom of sinners, should be comforted in this our time of trial with the 'earnest of a glorious inheritance, "until the redemption of the purchased 'possession;" that our whole moral nature, distorted as it was and shat-'tered by the fall, should be "renewed after the image of Him that created 'us;" and that our bodies even,—these frail fabrics of clay, but dignified 'now and sanctified by the assumption of our nature by Him who "is 'over all God blessed for ever,"—by being made the temples of the Holy 'Ghost, should become the dwelling-place of the high and lofty One that 'inhabiteth eternity; these are mercies under the weight of which language 'fails, and the mind staggers bewildered. We must *act* our thanks now,

'that we may *speak* them throughout eternity. "I beseech you therefore, 'brethren,"—and many, I trust, there are who feel in themselves the 'working of the Spirit of Christ mortifying the works of the flesh and their 'earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly 'things,—"I beseech you by the mercies of God, that ye present" your-'selves, your souls, and "bodies, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto 'God, which is your reasonable service."'

And Mr. Kemp's peroration to a series of Lent Lectures on Job. (Skeffington.)—

'But, brethren, there is a tendency of somewhat the same kind with that 'exhibited by Job's friends which does prevail in this Christian country, 'and would seem to be even more likely to be offensive to God. Eliphaz, 'Bildad, and Zophar did, at any rate, recognise very strongly (but they 'grievously misapplied it) the great truth of God's providential government. 'Afflictions and blessings were alike from Him—this was the very founda-'tion of their reasoning—they erred in presuming to define the law accord-'ing to which He dispenses His chastisements and His gifts. But the 'feeling to which I refer as prevailing so generally amongst us, whilst it 'lands us practically in the same erroneous conclusion, does so without 'even the mitigating circumstances of its having carried us a long way in 'the right direction. The feeling I allude to is that with which *wealth* is 'almost universally regarded in this Christian community of ours. Respect, 'influence, deference, and whatever else rightly belongs to moral superiority, 'and to that alone, are conceded by us in the fullest measure, and without 'any sufficient consideration of moral and religious character, to those upon 'whom the gifts of fortune are lavished with the greatest profusion. In 'short, brethren, we are a by-word and a scandal among the nations for the 'homage we pay to riches. Notwithstanding all that the Gospel has said 'of the blessedness of the poor, and although the Son of God has sanctified 'their estate by taking it upon Himself; the designation of poverty as '"a great reproach," is practically as true with us as ever it was in those 'days of entire ignorance of God in which the heathen poet employed it. 'The prosperous man is honoured, and the unsuccessful is slighted by us, 'without the excuse which may be claimed for the friends of Job, who 'firmly, though rashly and ignorantly, believed what we entirely deny, that 'temporal wealth is the measure and index of moral and spiritual good-'ness.'—Pp. 175—177.

Mr. Portal's single Sermon, preached at S. Barnabas, 'Personal Faith the only Source of Peace' (J. H. Parker), we regret to read. It seems to announce the writer's adhesion to the subjective revival which has attracted prominence in connexion with Mr. Aitken's name. Writing or preaching on the spiritual life, Mr. Portal states, that 'whenever he uses this phrase, 'he intends to express, not that class of baptismal privileges which is the 'result of regeneration, but rather that *conscious* communion with God, and 'the surrender of the heart to Him,' &c. It is no new thing, especially in times of strife, for the rise of a school of subjective theologians, nor do we object to this. Their tendency is to quietism: and the Church has not rejected quietists. But hitherto these theological conditions of the mind have been only transitional.

The Bishop of Oxford's Sermon, preached at S. Mary's, Oxford, on the Feast of the Annunciation, and denouncing the late Decree on the Immaculate Conception, (J. H. Parker,) is we believe so familiar to our readers, that we only allude to it as a good specimen of the higher style of ecclesiastical eloquence, which our cold habits have gone too far in discouraging.

The Bishop of S. David's Sermon, 'The Church's Call to Repentance, preached at the anniversary of the Church Penitentiary Association,' is worthy—and higher praise can scarcely be awarded—to accompany the thrilling and admirable sermon which was delivered before the same Society in 1854 by the Bishop of Oxford.

Mr. Codd's volume of 'Country Sermons,' (Masters,) reaches us as a second series. He is a simple yet warm-hearted preacher; very direct and intelligible; and as far as we can see, his sermons comprise most of the requisites of a village pulpit. We will let him speak for himself. His subject is 'Judas; Apostle and Traitor:'—

'Oh, awful, dreadful, hideous fall! First, one of Christ's elected twelve; 'then, the traitor to his Master; then, the murderer of his own life; and 'then, "he went to his own place." Need I speak of *that place?* No, my 'brethren, better will it be to leave it in the solemn and most impressive 'language of Scripture. Not all the horrors which the tongue of man 'might describe, or the imagination of man conceive, could equal the 'dismal terror of those three simple words "his own place." Judas is 'now in his own place,—the only place to which he could go, who was 'one of the twelve, and who betrayed Christ.

'And what are now his thoughts? of what is the fallen apostle thinking, 'even now while I am thus speaking to you? Men lose their memory in 'this life through the failure of the powers of the mortal body with which 'they are encompassed, but they will remember in the world to come. He, 'who "in hell lifted up his eyes, being in torments," remembered his 'five brethren, and his father's house. And we cannot doubt that Judas 'still recollects the former days before his fall, and, peradventure, at 'this moment his thoughts may be dwelling upon them. Possibly a 'vision may be passing before the eyes of his soul, of the waters of Galilee, 'or of the hills round about Jerusalem, or of the glorious stones of the 'Temple, or of the olive-trees of that garden, which he knew, whither 'Jesus and His disciples ofttimes resorted. Or he may seem as though 'he beheld once more the mighty works which Jesus was wont to do in 'his presence, or listened yet again to the gracious words which fell from 'his Master's lips. He may be recalling those parables which once he 'heard, and which in secret were expounded to him. The forms of his 'old associates rise up to him out of the past, and the various incidents 'which befel himself and them during his companionship with them are 'fresh as ever in his mind. The time was, when he conversed with the 'vehement S. Peter, and the slowly believing S. Thomas, and the beloved 'S. John; with Martha, and with Mary, and with Lazarus. He remem-'bers all these things, and a thousand others which occurred since the 'solemn day when Jesus called him unto Him on the mountain, and 'ordained him to be with Him; and while he remembers, he knows

'too that all is lost, for ever lost. Oh, bitter, bitter thought! One of 'the twelve, and now lost for ever! With Jesus once, walking in His 'sacred presence, within the sunshine of His countenance, beneath the 'sound of His living discourse; and now, to see Him again no more,—to 'see no more that holy Face, which he traitorously kissed, until he shall 'behold It looking upon him from off the judgment-seat "with eyes as a 'flame of fire," and "as the sun shineth in his strength."'—Pp. 106—108.

A small volume, of somewhat higher range, by Mr. John H. Blunt, of Cornwood, under the somewhat out-of-the way title, 'The Atonement and the At-one-maker,' (Masters,) shows that the writer has adopted an etymology which, plain as it appears to be, is not universally admitted. Mr. Blunt's sermons are founded on the Sacramental system; and he is not afraid to use as a motive 'the terrors of the Lord.' We extract from him a passage which is not below his average style:—

'Now so far as fear can draw men out of their sins, the fear of punish-'ment inflicted on the body is one which comes more home to our present 'condition and feelings than that of punishment to the soul alone. What 'the one is we know and see; its sense of pain is a matter of daily 'experience, and from such knowledge and experience we do, in some sort, 'reason upward intuitively to an appreciation of unceasing agony in an 'undying body. But the immaterial soul seems, to faculties practised 'little in the contemplation of spiritual realities, as if it were removed 'beyond the range of such things as now give us pain. And because such 'unreal reasoning persuades us that fire cannot hurt the soul, or the worm 'prey upon it, therefore "the terrors of the Lord" appear mitigated, and 'we comfort ourselves with the pretence of symbolical meaning, when we 'read of the fire never quenched, the worm that never dies, the binding of 'hand and foot, the utter darkness, the weeping and gnashing of teeth, by 'which are represented to us the pains of hell. Hence some who would 'feel but little fear, if they foresaw that the soul would rise by itself to the 'judgment and vengeance of God, may be brought to conviction by the 'truth of a bodily resurrection, a bodily judgment, and a bodily agony 'eternal.

'Moreover, to pass from fear to higher qualities, does not this truth 'teach us that we should entertain a sort of reverence both for our bodies 'and those of all Christians? Not only are they, as all other creatures, 'the handiwork of the Creator, but in them is specially manifested the 'unmeasured love of God, Who has provided for them also a place in His 'new creation. Not only the soul, but the flesh of man too did the Son of 'God take unto Him; and even to this day, and to the world's end, 'dwelling in all His members by that blessed Spirit which He sent into 'His Church, He sanctifies our bodies to Himself for ever. So amid all 'the corruptions and seductions of the world, our bodies as well as our 'souls, are endowed with grace, that they may attain such a measure of 'holiness as may fit them for the day of the Lord's coming, and for the 'purity of His kingdom. Already the quickening of the Son of Man has 'begun to be wrought in us; already are they made the temple of the 'Sanctifier; already are they joined in union with that Body undefiled and 'glorified which marks the end of our hopes, and the pinnacle of our joys.

'How then shall we defile that which God has made pure, how shall we 'take the members of Christ and make them members of sin, how shall we 'quench the holy fire of eternal quickening which the Son of God has 'already lighted up in our bodies?'—Pp. 217—219.

This conspectus of the extant and working English pulpit is, however, not complete without some specimens of Occasional Sermons, and of these, among others, we have two preached on the Fast Day, one by the Bishop of Lincoln, 'War; its Evils and Duties,' (Skeffington,) and one by Mr. Edwards, of Newtown, 'The Men of Nineveh and the Men of England.' (J. H. Parker.) These sermons do not rise to a high level. They do not aim at extravagant effects; but what they do attempt they achieve. If a sermon fulfils its purpose when it makes men more anxious and reverential, something is done: let us hear Mr. Edwards on a like subject.

'Again: we have prayed this day for our *enemies*, that God may deliver 'them from the guilt of blood and ambition; and for *ourselves*, that He 'may teach us to be meek and merciful. If we are anxious to be heard in 'the first petition, we must foster in ourselves that merciful temper of 'mind which we supplicate in the second. We may peradventure regard 'ourselves innocent at the beginning of this war, into which we entered late, 'and against our will; but if, while it has been going on, we have become, 'either from the love of enterprise, or familiarity with its horrors, less 'disposed than we were to "seek peace and ensue it," this malignant 'spirit will effectually hinder our prayer for ourselves or others. And has 'there not something of this hardening process passed over the national 'mind since the war began? Even as the first roar of the cannon curdles 'the youthful warrior's blood till he becomes accustomed to its hoarse 'music, so have we grown familiar with sanguinary reports of bloodshed, 'at which once the cheek turned pale, and the heart faint. We hear them 'now as an ordinary tale of inevitable suffering, and are even impatient of 'more exciting news from the seat of war. From this hard, "evil way" of 'feeling and thinking, may God preserve us.'—P. 16.

We have also before us three occasional Sermons on the Fast Day: 1. 'Is the Lord of Hosts with us?' by a Country Rector. (Masters.) 2. 'Individual Responsibility,' by Mr. Brooking, of Ipplepen. (Masters.) 3. 'The Temper of the Nation in the present Crisis,' by Mr. Cooper Key, of Stretton Sugwas. (Masters.) They are all decent, plain, and intelligible; and by way of specimen we make an extract from the last:—

'I must remind you that the affairs of this country have been, for the 'last two hundred years, prosperous beyond all belief, by sea and by land, 'in all quarters of the globe. All the arts and sciences,—the skill of the 'architect, for instance, and the engineer; the handicraft of the workman 'and mechanic,—have advanced to so great a degree of excellence, that 'scarcely anything appears to be above our powers, or beyond our reach. 'Success, continued, uniform success, has long attended all our enterprises. 'We have never been foiled; science, and skill, and perseverance have, as 'the saying is, triumphed over all difficulties. It is an assertion not un-'commonly heard, that we have brought the very elements themselves 'into subjection; that the raging of the sea and the powers of the air lie

'subdued and harmless, and subservient to our hand. The might of de
'vouring fire has lost its terrors; time and space—those inconceivable
'attributes of the Omnipotent—we have annihilated; we have become as
'gods in power, as well as in knowledge, and the people of this land
'believe there is nothing they cannot accomplish; and they have said in
'their heart, "My power, and the might of mine hand, hath gotten me
'all this;" and they have forgotten the Lord of Heaven. I repeat,
'there has been no thankfulness to Almighty God, as the Author and
'Giver of all this good. "What hast thou," says S. Paul, "that thou
'didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as
'if thou hadst not received it?" '—Pp. 5, 6.

'The nation is now, with one voice, assailing the government in blind
'rage, as the sole cause of all the sufferings of our army, and the mis-
'carriages in the East. They cannot see a mightier Hand which is over
'all. They cannot trace it in the elements,—in the snow, and the rain,
'and the tempest. Indeed, when any mention is made of an overruling
'Power, they have treated it with contempt, as proceeding from some
'foolish, doting person; nay, they have not scrupled to say,—and here I am
'repeating the very expression used,—they have not scrupled to say that
'those who ascribe our disasters to the hand of God, and not to man, are
'guilty of gross blasphemy. Such a saying as this may seem utterly in-
'credible in a Christian country, nevertheless it has been uttered, and
'uttered by many, in England; and the people who say such things are
'held up to our admiration as the greatest benefactors we have, and the
'only trustworthy leaders and rulers of this nation.'—P. 7.

Here, then, is the extant pulpit of the Church of England. This is the sort of thing which it is just now the fashion to decry. We do not pretend to say that all this is of the highest order of eloquence, or that it is capable of or designed for electrifying society. We have taken the ordinary volumes which in every quarter accumulate on our table; we have extracted a good many passages from them. They are samples taken not quite at random; but we are quite sure that they are not above the average. And we must say that there is a great deal to be said for their sound practical, and, if the phrase is preferred, sober teaching. And yet it is the fashion, as we have said, to disparage it. The Church of England cannot touch the popular mind. She must take a leaf out of the dissenters' books. Among them many an untaught son can stir the people's minds as with a trumpet. This is the sort of feeling which even excellent persons among ourselves indulge in. We have just now an opportunity of testing the contrast. There has lately appeared in London a young man named Spurgeon. He, or his friends for him, give out that he is a second Whitfield. They speak of him 'as a concentrated embodiment of several of the most ancient and 'lovely ornaments of our pious parents—as one possessed of a capacious 'and elastic and telegraphic mind;' and, as we hear, there can be no question of his popularity in certain so called religious circles. He is followed by thousands. Exeter Hall cannot nearly contain, it is said, the herds who throng to his preaching. From accounts which reach us, there has been little like the excitement during the present century. All this person's sermons are taken down in short-hand, and are printed in more than one

series. We have looked through several: and they certainly give rise to curious and serious reflections upon the state of society and the results of the march of intellect and education here in London, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, finds this sort of thing to its taste. Is this, we ask, what the age requires as the substitute for the kind of instruction of which we have given some specimens from the Church of England? Distrusting our own judgment in giving an adequate specimen of Mr. Spurgeon, the son of thunder, who 'for the last twelve months has been stirring the Gospel-hearing masses of our great metropolis,' we take an extract ready made. One of his admirers contributes to one of the dissenting periodicals 'Pearls in the Preaching' of this Mr. Spurgeon. Here, then, we have the cream's cream: the quintessence of popular preaching. Here is the man of the people: the Savonarola of the hour: London's Luther: the Whitfield of the nineteenth century. The extract is entitled 'Sweet Comfort for Feeble Saints':—

'Now, I want to say one or two things to little-faiths this morning. 'The little children of God who are here mentioned as being bruised reeds 'or smoking flax, are just as safe as the great saints of God. I wish for a 'moment to expand this thought, and then I will finish with the other 'head. These saints of God who are called bruised reeds or smoking flax, 'are just as safe as those who are mighty for their Master and great in 'strength, for several reasons. First of all, *the little saint is just as much 'God's elect as the great saint.* When God chose his people, he chose them 'all at once and altogether; and he elected one just as much as the other. 'If I choose a certain number of things, one may be less than the rest, but 'one is as much chosen as the other; and so, Mrs. Fearing and Miss 'Despondency are just as much elected as Great Heart or old Father Honest. 'Again: *the little ones are redeemed equally with the great ones;* the feeble 'saints cost Christ as much suffering as the strong ones; the tiniest child 'of God could not have been purchased with less than Jesus' precious blood; 'and the greatest child of God did not cost him more. Paul did not cost 'him more than Benjamin—I am sure he did not; for I read in the Bible 'that "*there is no difference.*" Besides, when of old, they came to pay 'their redemption-money, every person brought a shekel. "The poor 'shall bring no less, and the rich shall bring no more than just a shekel." 'The same price was paid for the one as the other. Now then, little child 'of God, take that thought to thy soul. You see some men very pro-'minent in Christ's cause, and it is very good that they should be; but 'they did not cost Jesus a farthing more than you did; he paid the same 'price for you that he paid for them. Recollect again, *you are just as much 'a child of God as the greatest saint.* Some of you have five or six children. 'There is one child of yours, perhaps, who is very tall and handsome, and 'has, moreover, gifts of mind; and you have another child who is the 'smallest of the family, perhaps has but little intellect and understanding. 'But which is the most your child? "The most?" you say, "both alike 'are my children, certainly, as much one as the other." And so, dear 'friends, you may have very little learning, you may be very dark about 'Divine things; you may but "see men as trees walking;" but you are 'as much children of God as those who have grown to the stature of men

'in Christ Jesus. Then remember, poor tried saint, that *you are just as* '*much justified as any other child of God.* I know that I am completely 'justified.

"His blood and righteousness
My beauty are, my glorious dress."

'I want no other garments, save Jesus' doings, and his imputed right-'eousness. The boldest child of God wants no more; and I, who am '"less than the least of all saints," can be content with no less, and I shall 'have no less. Oh, ready to halt! thou art as much justified as Paul, Peter, 'John the Baptist, or the loftiest saint in heaven. There is no difference in 'that matter. Oh! take courage and rejoice."

And having thus furnished some substantial materials for instituting a comparison between the unpopular and popular kinds of preaching, we can perhaps afford to ask newspaper editors and critics of that class whether they happen to know what the eloquence is which they eulogize? and whether on a fair estimate of the rival schools of homiletics of the old lights and of the new, they are content to try the exchange?

We all ought to know that a very serious discussion has been going on in China on the proper word to be used for translating the Christian word 'God.' The Chinese, in truth, not having the idea of a Supreme Creator and personal God, have not the equivalent word. The choice lies between the words *Shin* and Shang-Te. Mr. S. C. Malan, a writer of considerable learning and great eccentricity of style, assures us that in Chinese *Shin* is δαίμων, and Shang-Te ὁ Θεός 'as far, at least, as the Chinese can express it.' And his reasons for this conclusion will be found in a work of very remarkable literature, which will only fail in attracting the attention which it deserves by the unworthiness of its style. 'Who is God in China?' &c. (Bagster.) Its object is to persuade the Bible Society not, as they are seriously pressed to do, to abandon the correct term. As far as we understand the position of the Church of England in China towards this important dispute, the Bishop of Victoria proposes an unsatisfactory substitute.

As was to have been, and as was, expected, the recent discussions in Convocation and elsewhere on readapting the Prayer-Book, have given a fresh impetus to the Tillotsonian party in the Church. Mr. Heywood's motion in Parliament for a publication of the proposed revision of the Prayer-Book in 1689, and its appearance in a Blue Book, has been followed by a book, which Mr. John Taylor, author of 'Wealth the name and number of the Beast,' calls an interleaved book, or inter-paged book, as though the words were synonymous. One use which Mr. Taylor hopes for in this strange work is for people 'to take it 'to church with them, and accompany the minister by praying in the 'spirit according to the revised form, while the services are being read in 'the ancient way.' An ingenious mode of insulting the Church and mocking one's conscience by acting Churchman and living Dissenter, which would be in exact harmony with Lord Shaftesbury's recent scheme. We believe that this book is prepared for public use in the new-fangled

'Churches,' ingeniously contrived to associate both Churchmen and Nonconformists, which his Lordship proposes to establish.

'Annals of England,' (J. H. Parker,) is an attempt, and, we think, a promising attempt, to write an English history, of a popular size and form, chiefly in the authentic facts of treaties, Acts of Parliament, and real records. It is accompanied with the articulations of history, seals, monuments, and inscriptions. Instead of adopting crudely the criticisms and conclusions of preceding writers, the present annalist entirely confines himself to forms and statutes as his authorities: and what is remarkable is, that the result, far from being dry, is very real and living. It is monumental, which is a very different thing from waxwork.

After considerable hesitation we award, in the midst of the competing crowd of Hymnals, the palm for usefulness and variety to one of which the title is, 'A Hymnal for Use in the English Church.' (Mozley.)

'The Christian at Home, Reflections in Prose and Verse,' (Fowler,) is a collection of verses, which are not original, although of the fact that they are mere selections not the least intimation is given, interspersed with some heavy, but well-meant, religious observations.

A recent article from our own pages on the subject of 'Moral Theology of the Church,' (Mozley,) has been so extensively called for, that it has been reprinted. This is the paper on the Liguorian Theory of Truthfulness, and as it is marked No. 1, we may say that its probable successors will be the papers published in the *Christian Remembrancer* on the Liguorian Theory of Theft, and on Mr. Wilberforce's recent work. The present pamphlet adds to what we published in January of last year, special replies to the criticisms directed against us by the *Dublin Review* and the *Rambler*.

'Liber Cantabrigiensis,' (J. W. Parker,) as far as its second and most important part is concerned, looks like an improved Cambridge Calendar; that is, it contains a very useful and full account of the Collegiate Foundations, and of all the schools, benefactions, and exhibitions connected with the University. Prefixed to this business-like work is a collection of seven hundred scraps of literature, heaped together under the convenient forms of aphorisms, maxims, &c. concerned with religion, truth, mathematics, physiology, pyrotechnics, and sundry other subjects of which we do not find the peculiar connexion with Cambridge. Many of the extracts are from Mr. B. Clulow, of whom we never heard. The author of this work is Mr. Potts,—equally unknown to us.

'In what Sense may the Holy Eucharist be called the Lord's Supper?' (Masters,) is a Letter from Mr. Chamberlain to the Bishop of S. Andrews, in which the writer protests, and not without reason, against several very inadequate, but popular, views of the Holy Eucharist. It is written with great temper and caution.

'The Bishop of Brechin's Commentary on The Litany,' (Masters,) supplies a void in our practical series. The Litany, if we may in such matters institute comparisons, being the most beautiful of our offices, by

its variety gives ample scope to the devotional commentator. The present work is in every way a model.

Mr. Markland, who in a forgetful generation recals the Nelsons of a better age, survives to instruct with information gathered under more difficult circumstances than we can altogether appreciate, those, who if they equal, perhaps do not surpass him in his favourite studies. His Lecture 'On the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England,' delivered before the Worcester Archæological Association, is full of that pleasant anecdote and genial literature, for which its amiable author is so deservedly valued. His hints on the capabilities possessed by country incumbents to do something towards preserving the local antiquities of their cures, strike us as being especially valuable and important.

'The Sisters,' the last instalment of Mr. J. H. Parker's popular series of Tales, is of a high character as regards pathos; and we pronounce it to be the best of a promising collection.

'A Charge on the present state of Education,' by Mr. Williams, Archdeacon of Llandaff, redeems the discredit of being about the worst printed pamphlet we ever saw, by its sensible criticism of the several education schemes lately introduced into Parliament.

Sherburn Hospital, an institution which enriched at least one discreditable master, Dr. Bell, has lately fallen into the untender tutelage of the Charity Commissioners. Their scheme for its future management, and vesting its government in a medical master, is crude, incomplete, and will prove unjust in execution. It is very properly criticised in a pamphlet, 'Brief History of Sherburn Hospital.' (J. H. Parker.)

We have received 'Considerations upon the Presence of Non-Communicants at the Holy Communion.' (J. H. Parker.) The London Clergyman, the author, seems to write under the influence of considerable feeling; and while we admit that the Church of England certainly does nothing, because it says nothing, to encourage the practice which he so strongly reprobates, yet with equal certainty it does not forbid it. Nay, further, it is certain that it has withdrawn a prohibition against the practice. Nor can we forget that the Church, East as well as West, practises it. Without committing ourselves to the dictum, *Sinit quod non jubet*, we are not prepared to admit the writer's implied axiom, *Vetat quod non jubet.*

'Credenda, Agenda, Postulanda,' is an admirable manual for Missionaries, consisting of various extracts from the standard Divines, neatly printed at the S. Augustine's Press, and designed for the use of its *alumni.*

'The World on the Thames,' (Mozley,) is a medley of very unconnected, but generally praiseworthy, thoughts on all sorts of subjects,—religious, social, and political. It is the work of a very unpractised writer: amiable but gossiping.

Dr. Wordsworth has added to his many services to the Church, 'Some Remarks on M. Bunsen's Work on S. Hippolytus.' (Rivingtons.) This

occasional and fugitive pamphlet deserves a more permanent form. It is a real contribution to theological literature. Dr. Wordsworth discusses in it, *inter alia*, the genuineness of S. Peter's Second Epistle, and proves it on good critical grounds. If 'the learned Prussian' is treated with something like contemptuous politeness by the Canon of Westminster, he has only himself to thank for it. But perhaps he would not have affronted us with such arrogant condescension, unless he had been puffed up by the servile deference which in too many quarters was lavished upon him among ourselves. M. Bunsen has interfered too much and too often in our Ecclesiastical matters, to complain that his real pretensions are now severely canvassed; and Dr. Wordsworth's strictures are not more severe than opportune. We extract *in extenso* a specimen, or rather 'two specimens of M. Bunsen's Theology and Criticism:'—

'Two particulars only shall be specified. He has not thought fit to 'withdraw his imputation of spuriousness against the Book of Daniel, 'whom the Saviour of the world designates as "Daniel the Prophet," and 'to whose book our Lord refers as an inspired prophecy; and therefore he 'compels me to repeat that he has attempted to revive the exploded notion 'of the infidel Porphyry, which has been treated as it deserves by S. Jerome, 'and which affirmed that the Book of Daniel was composed in the times 'of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that, while it professes to be a Prophecy, it 'was fabricated *after* the events which it professes to *predict*.

'The other observation is a critical one, and may assist the reader in 'forming a judgment on M. Bunsen's qualifications as a scholar for inter-'preting ancient authors, and on the degree of confidence to be reposed in 'his authority.

'In his translation of what he is still resolved to call "S. Hippolytus' 'own Confession of Faith," but what ought rather to be termed his Apo-'logy,—as being addressed to the Gentile World, and not to a Christian 'Congregation,—M. Bunsen, in his first edition, rendered the Greek words, 'μὴ παλινδρομεῖν διστάσητε, in the following manner—"*doubt not that you 'will exist again.*"

'Such an extraordinary blunder from one who deals forth his censures 'so freely, did indeed surprise me. Accordingly, in my note on the pas-'sage, I ventured, very gently, I hope, to point out M. Bunsen's error, 'and to suggest the right translation, which is—"*Do not hesitate to retrace 'your steps.*"

'What was my astonishment, in turning to the passage in M. Bunsen's '*Second* Edition, to find his original mistranslation still retained! "Doubt 'not that you will *exist again.*"

'An instructive lesson may be learnt from this incident. It shows that 'persons, who do not scruple to speak with dogmatic confidence on the 'most mysterious subjects, and who would require others to bow with 'abject prostration to their own edicts, uttered with almost oracular solem-'nity and papal presumption, sometimes fall into puerile mistakes; and, 'what is worse, that, when those mistakes are corrected, they refuse "to 'retrace their steps," and to retract their errors;—are resolved that they '"shall exist again."

'Let me now bid farewell to M. Bunsen. What was written by me

'before, and what I write now, has been dictated by no personal feeling. 'If M. Bunsen had not assailed in a reckless and contemptuous manner the 'reputation of holy men, who are no longer living to defend themselves; 'if he had not attacked many truths, which with wise and pious persons 'I hold sacred and most dear, and which (in my judgment, at least) the 'Clergy of England especially are solemnly pledged to defend, no consi- 'deration in the world would have ever induced me to pen a single line of 'censure on anything that M. Bunsen has written. I long for the blessings 'of unity in these disjointed times. I entertained a great respect for the 'high diplomatic position he occupied in England, and I had received from 'him friendly attentions, for which on a former occasion I made public 'acknowledgments, which I now beg leave to repeat.

'But I also felt convinced that M. Bunsen's high station would give a 'greater weight and freer currency to his opinions; and that the confidence 'with which they are uttered would impose on the credulous, and would 'gain for them a readier acceptance with the uninstructed and the unwary. 'This, unhappily, has proved to be the case; and I therefore do not regret, 'that having been led to examine the important and interesting question 'concerning the authorship of the newly-discovered Treatise of S. Hippo- 'lytus, and its bearings on the early history of the Christian Church, I was 'constrained to notice some of M. Bunsen's speculations in connexion with 'that subject. At the same time I endeavoured to state my objections 'in the language of forbearance and deference, as far as was consistent 'with truth.'—Pp. 63—66.

Lord Lyttelton's 'Thoughts on National Education,' (Murray,) are strictly what they assume to be, Meditations. They display the process which is passing through many calm and grave minds on the great social question of the times. Lord Lyttelton loyally accepts the existing tendencies: he considers it to be certain that sooner or later the State must, after the analogy of the Poor Law, make pauper education compulsory. He is a sincere Churchman: he scouts as contrary to common sense both the miserable compromises in vogue, viz. of a moral education minus religion, and of an undenominational religion. He says that to pretend to teach the Bible without comment is an hypocrisy: that it is a snare to the teacher and a dishonesty to the taught. He faces because he admits the objection, that compulsory education will extinguish the existing schools. And yet he thinks that the Church has no reason to regret the coming remedy. This is hopeful, and coming from such a quarter deserves our careful consideration.

Mr. W. E. Scudamore represents the best school of controversial writers. That the controversy between England and Rome can be conducted on other grounds than the shallow sentimentalism which of late on either side has been permitted to take the place of argument we have abundant proof in this ample volume, which, like so many of our great works, has been expanded out of an occasional and epistolary dispute. Mr. Scudamore treats in a popular form, yet with a constant reference to authority, the subjects of the Rule of Faith—the Scriptures—the Supremacy—the doctrine of Persecution—and of Development. The volume is alike con-

structive and destructive, and we recommend it as far in advance of the ordinary run of books on this subject. On one point we are disposed to take an exception to Mr. Scudamore's statements. He says that in Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics were not persecuted for religious causes, and that it was the Bull of 1570 which, placing the Queen's person in danger, sent all the Romanists to the scaffold and the rack, and this for treason alone. Hallam reminds us that Mayne was hanged, 'without any charge against him except his religion;' and that as regards Campian, 'nothing affords the slightest proof of his concern in treasonable practices.'

Mr. Baines is a writer of promise. He has recently contributed to Masters' Series of Christian Biography its more important instalment, a 'Life of Archbishop Laud.' Not that we think Laud's life the most suitable for this purpose: for his place is among politicians and statesmen. He was a good man, and a learned man. But it is not as a saint or a divine that he is so interesting. His character as a statesman has yet to be written, and it must be drawn on a far larger canvas, and with far more varied accessories, than it was within Mr. Baines' limited object or province to deal with.

The great success of 'The Christian Year' was certain, sooner or later, to raise up a school of versifiers on the Prayer-Book. Nothing is more natural, and we know no employment less open to exception than writing and reading amiable poetry on the successive days, of the ecclesiastical character. Such as wish to add to their stores will have recourse, and often to edification, to Mr. Robert Montgomery's volume, 'The Sanctuary,' (Chapman & Hall,) which amidst a great deal that is tame, has some really religious poems. Of his worst style here is one specimen (p. 8):—

'Creation is a speech divine,
A vast Apocalypse of power,
A sermon preach'd, O God, on Thee and Thine,
In earth's cathedral every hour.

'Magnificent, though mute to sense,
Such homilies from land and sea;
Yet all are lectures from Omnipotence,
Whose texts are truths on Deity.

'And Providence thy preacher is,
Whose pulpit fills all space and time;
And, eloquent of varied woe, or bliss,
Harangues us with a tone sublime.'

Somehow all this suggests nothing but Percy Chapel, an eloquent discourse, and the Omnipresence of the Deity, nineteenth edition.

'Songs of the Church,' by Mr. W. Bullock, a work of the same purpose as the last. A Nova Scotia Clergyman is a pleasing indication that the Colonial Church is cultivating religious refinement.

Mr. Ambrose Phillips has just published a work entitled 'Prophecy in Relation to Mahometanism.' (Dolman.) We have heard it cleverly and correctly described, as an attempt by a Roman Catholic to charge a gun with ultra-

Protestant materials, and then, by a slight swerve, to discharge its contents upon the seven-hilled city on the Bosphorus, instead of that upon the Tiber. Adopting *many* of the positions asserted by Mede, Newton, Dr. Cumming, (whose eloquence and ingenuity he extols,) Faber, and other interpreters of the same school, Mr. P. arrives at the conclusion, that Mahomet is *the* Antichrist of Scripture, and that the empire of his followers is destined to last for the period of 1,260 years. We have so recently devoted a large amount of space to the subject of Mahometanism, that we can only very briefly enumerate a few considerations which prevent us from accepting Mr. Phillips' conclusions. 1. His work *assumes* the year-day theory: a theory unproved, and remarkably unpatristic. The fathers (we believe without exception) who have treated the matter, understand *literal* days; the 1,260 being about three years and a half. 2. Reference is made to Dr. Newman's 'Lectures on the Turks' in such a manner as to lead one to suppose that they make in favour of Mr. Phillips' views. This is far from being the case. Dr. N., in company with distinguished writers of the English Church, describes Mahometanism as a *half-way* religion; midway between the religion of God,—Christianity; and the religion of devils,—idolatry. Now we submit to the reader,—'Is it likely that *the* Antichrist will establish a *half*-way religion?' 3. All that is adduced by Mr. Phillips appears to us to be satisfied by the following proposition (already admitted in this Review,)—*so far* as Mahomet opposed the Church, he may, with fair probability, be regarded as a type or shadow of the Antichrist. 4. It is surely forced and unnatural, to the last degree, to interpret the words in Rev. xiii. 13, '*he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men*,' of the immense guns employed by the Turks at the siege of Constantinople! The Greeks likewise had large guns; and at Lepanto the Christian victory was, humanly speaking, mainly owing to the superiority of the artillery directed *against* the Turks. But though we dissent from Mr. Phillips' conclusions, it is only just to say that many an expositor of prophecy might take a lesson from him in respect of the serene good temper, which never forsakes him for an instant.

At the present time, when in various quarters so much rash speculation has been indulged in as to the authority of Scripture, and when the whole question of Inspiration seems not so much looming in the distance as directly threatening fresh trials to the Church, the seasonable reappearance, in a collected form, of the late Dr. Mill's 'Christian Advocate Publications' (Deighton, Bell, & Co.,) is a matter for much congratulation. Such of our readers as are acquainted with these remarkable essays, will scarcely need to be reminded that they contain a masterly examination and refutation of the attempt in the *Leben Jesu* of David Strauss, (whose retirement from the field of polemical controversy to that of history is announced by a contemporary journal while we write,) to apply to the theory and historic criticism of the Gospel what is called the mythical principle of interpretation. For this particular task, Dr. Mill was especially qualified, not only by unusual learning and grasp of mental power, but also by his practical experience, gained in India, of the subtleties of Oriental Pantheism; and it is no small

credit to Cambridge that this distinguished scholar and theologian was elected, so soon after his return to England, to the office of Christian Advocate. To this judicious appointment we owed five successive annual publications in reply to the theory of Strauss; which form together a very mine of wealth for future students. Independently of the value of the general argument, the matters treated of incidentally are in the highest degree interesting and important, and the discussions — we select for specimens that on the Scriptural doctrine of angels, and that on our Lord's brethren—are of permanent value as contributions to standard theology. The whole work, however, as Dr. Mill originally planned it, is unfortunately incomplete; and some of the separate publications have long been inaccessible. The son-in-law of the lamented author has done good service in issuing the volume before us, in which are collected the separately published essays, with a useful abstract of the contents, and a short prefatory notice explaining why, and to what extent, the work was never finished. From this we learn that only one more chapter was contemplated by the author, in which he had proposed to defend S. Luke's narrative of our Lord's infancy against mythical interpreters. It is indeed a great loss that this was never accomplished; but as S. Matthew's account has been amply vindicated in the completed part against a like attack, we agree with the new preface that the wanting section, however desirable, is scarcely necessary for the general argument. It appears that Dr. Mill intended to finish the work after the expiry of his term of office as Christian Advocate; but at that time he removed from Cambridge to take possession of a country living. These were days before the cry had arisen for 'the right man in the right place;' and Archbishop Howley could find no more appropriate reward for the author of one of the most learned books of the age—though he fully recognised its merits, and used to laugh pleasantly (we have been told) at the 'exceeding stiffness of its reading'—than the anxieties and labours of a neglected parochial charge. These, by comparison, petty duties interrupted, as it proved, for ever, the completion of the refutation of Strauss; and Dr. Mill, when recalled, after four or five years, to the University as Professor of Hebrew, found ample employment for his whole time till his lamented death in the preparation of those excellent Lectures on the Psalms, which we hope may yet be given to the public. In spite of its incompleteness, of which we have explained both the cause and the extent, Dr. Mill's 'Vindication of the Evangelical Histories against Mythical Interpreters' will maintain its reputation, we are persuaded, as one of the noblest theological monuments of the age. And we turn from it with some feelings of gratitude for the liberal foundation of Mr. Hulse, to which we owe this defence of Christianity. Dr. Mill's distinction as Christian Advocate might well have pleaded with the Cambridge Commissioners in behalf of the retention of the office, instead of merging it together with the endowment of the same founder into a Hulsean Professorship of Divinity. But what are his successors about? Are there no fresh errors or heresies which a Christian Advocate should assault? What shall be said of Mormonism? What of that false Spiritualism—which is said, by its believers, to reckon already two millions and a half of professed adherents in the United States, and

which is making progress even in this country? Here indeed are subjects worthy of the best attention of one bearing the name of 'Christian Advocate.'

'Vindication of Luther, by the late Archdeacon Hare,' (J. W. Parker,) is a posthumous publication. It reflects little credit on the literary executor of a respected and in many respects amiable person, that he is thus handed down to posterity. The book is, Mr. Hare against Hallam, Newman, Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Mill. It would do no dishonour to the most accomplished controversialist that he falls, and falls ignobly, before such a terrible phalanx of authorities. It is all very well, of course, for Mr. Hare to hint that Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek may conspire against Israel: but then the immediate question occurs, Who or what is Mr. Archdeacon Hare? On the whole, is he or such as he likely to be right on any disputed point, never mind what, when so many distinguished persons, of temper and studies so opposite, unite in a *consensus* against him? This is the sole question. All these writers charge Luther with scandalous language, and with principles which lead directly to antinomianism and polygamy. What says Mr. Hare? That he did not mean what he said: it was 'only pretty Fanny's way.'

We shall probably have, if we can find, occasion to review shortly the whole of the recent controversy on the Eucharistic Presence. Meanwhile we may be thankful for any cause which has brought before the world a work so curious and interesting as Saravia's 'Treatise on the Holy Eucharist,' (Masters,) which has just been published, for the first time, in the original Latin, with a translation by Archdeacon Denison. The original MS. presented to James I. by the writer, was kept in the Royal Library, and passed into the British Museum a century ago. It is strange that though its existence was well known, this work, the fruit of the matured years of the friend and spiritual adviser of Hooker, should have remained so long concealed. Saravia's work on Episcopal Ordination seems to us decisive of the fact that he was not, as is said, 'our Presbyterian Canon of Canterbury.' The treatise contains very high and catholic language on the Eucharist, with an occasional tinge of the Erastianism of the times. Such tinge we notice in the Dedication in the phrase which ascribes the headship of the ecclesiastical order to the being *Secundum Christum*. We do not agree with the Archdeacon's clever and ambiguous version of this phrase after Christ: we think, disagreeable as is the fact, that Saravia intended the sense of κατά. We find another instance or two in which we are disposed to object to the Archdeacon's rendering. In the Dedication occurs the following language:—'Ab hac arce in qua te Deus nunc regem constituit 'olim qui primus primam Christi ecclesiæ solidam partem dedit processit.' This the Archdeacon translates, 'He who first established upon a settled 'basis the Church of Christ in this land, came forth from that very citadel 'in which God hath now established the throne of your Majesty,' and notes, 'This paragraph appears to refer to Offa's gift of the titles,' &c. Now, first, Offa's gift has been seriously questioned: and next, in our judgment, the passage refers to Constantine; and without the Archdeacon's interpolation of 'in this land,' we venture to translate it, 'From

'this very fortress [viz. England], in which God has established you as 'king, in old time came forth he who first gave to the Church of Christ its 'first solid foundation.' The translation is managed with ability and scholarship: occasionally it is somewhat too paraphrastic. The Archdeacon is quite justified in calling attention to the language at p. 89, that in Saravia's time S. Augustin's authority was cited in favour of the position, that the wicked *do* receive the Body and Blood of Christ. We notice an appendix of Wesley's Hymns on the Eucharist: and we find John Wesley quoting Thomas à Kempis, adapting Thomas Aquinas, and adopting Brevint's high views on the Sacrifice. But this was before 1760. His Hymn-Book of 1779 tells a very different story; and the whole matter is a curious and painful illustration of the rapid deterioration of a schismatic. We are informed that there is a mistake about the alleged quotation from Peek's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' which spoke of Saravia as a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

We have often had occasion to speak with sincere commendation of Mr. Gosse's genial works on Natural History. Mr. Kingsley, it seems, admires them equally with ourselves; and he has published in a review a notice of them. This article he has expanded into a pleasant cheerful sea-side book, under the title of 'Glaucus; or, the Wonders of the Shore.' (Macmillan.) For this work Mr. Kingsley is eminently suited: for he has great skill in hunting for and in appreciating the habits of the shore creatures. There are many delightful and many noble passages in this little volume. But Mr. Kingsley must beware: there is a fatal facility in fine language. Mr. Kingsley's polychromatic style is beginning to look like the receiver of a kaleidoscope. It is a mere tangle of sparkling bits of painted glass, broken tinsel, and frayed lace. For example, in describing the well-known sea anemone, Mr. Kingsley runs riot in this fashion: 'The ground swell drifts it in,' the aforesaid anemone, 'sick 'and sad, but not so far gone but that each in a jar of salt water will 'expand again into a delicate compound flower, whose snake-locked arms 'are all marbled with pellucid greys and browns, till they look like a 'living mist, hovering above the pink-striped cylinder of the body.' A snaky-haired flower with mottled arms, hovering like a mist over a cylinder of itself. In any other than a clever writer this would be abominable nonsense.

A very mad person, who calls himself a 'Watchman,' has published a wild and fanatical tract, 'War: the perpetual War Manual,' &c., (Nisbet,) in which he assails everybody and everything in public authority; and of course, in his indiscriminate onslaught, he attacks and exposes many abuses. But his reason for putting himself forward is curious: 'By a Watchman,' he says, 'foreseeing peradventure another, and far distant, and yet more disastrous *War*, or *Peace*.'

'O Laertiade, quicquid dico aut erit, aut non.'

We are glad to welcome a second volume of Mr. Wickes's beautifully illustrated folio on the 'Spires and Towers of Mediæval England.' (W. M. Thompson.) The contents of the present volume is devoted to the

Towers of the Mediæval Churches, as the former one was to the Spires, with the addition of a general Introductory Essay, discussing generally that very interesting branch of ecclesiology which Mr. Wickes has undertaken as his peculiar study. We are glad to observe that a prospectus is given of a *third* and supplementary volume, to be devoted to the 'less beautiful' towers and spires alluded to in the author's essays, which possess an architectural value independent of mere size or richness of decoration. The lithographs are vigorous in execution, and wear an aspect of as much correctness as is compatible with perspective illustrations. The absence of elevations, of course, removes the volume in its pictorial aspect from the category of merely technical architectural science, while from its letter-press it may claim to be so reckoned. In a word, it is a contribution to ecclesiology, and as such we hail it with gratification. Our larger volumes of engraved buildings are, generally speaking, mere holocausts to the picturesque, to attract the applause of the multitude. Mr. Wickes has kept himself clear from this temptation, for which he deserves great credit. At the same time, the greatest purist in architecture must own that if he neglects grouping, his works, however successful as studies for the schools, will undoubtedly be tame and infelicitous in their artistic character. Towards this study of grouping, the volumes before us are a most valuable contribution.

Mr. Beckett Denison is quite a Paladin in the way he tilts right and left, in his 'Lectures on Gothic Architecture,' in connexion with Doncaster Church, new and old.' (Bell & Daldy.) We do not pretend to agree with all he says. But in his main argument upon the immeasurable superiority of mediæval architecture for churches over modern improvements, we are most cordially at one with him. In the course of his lectures he gives a character of Mr. Ruskin, amusing in the fashion in which he goes to his point, both of praise and reprehension, with which, we should imagine, few would disagree, whether they would have stated it so explicitly or not. Mr. Beckett Denison is a warm and, we believe and hope, an influential coadjutor of Mr. G. G. Scott, in his noble rebuilding of the devastated church of Doncaster.

Among the most valuable extant contributions to artistic literature, we do not hesitate to place 'L'Architecture de Vme. au XVIIme. Siècle, et les Arts qui en dependent,' in the course of publication, by M. Jules Gailhabaud, (Paris, Gide et Baudry,) already so favourably known by his beautiful 'Monuments, Ancients et Modernes,' to which this work serves as a supplement. The engravings are equally beautiful as specimens of their own art, and as faithful and spirited illustrations of the buildings, and decorations of the buildings, which they respectively depict. The majority of them are the work of the burin, but several are instances of chromolithography, pursued to a degree of elaboration, superior to which we should imagine there were few examples. These illustrations are not merely picturesque views, but details, plans, sections, &c., most carefully selected, and accompanied by illustrative letter-press. As an example, the 138th number, which we take up, contains as its two plates, (the regular allowance,) the 13th plate of Reims Cathedral, being a plan of the transept, exhibiting

among other details the roofing, and the 3d plate of the Middle Temple Hall, displaying an elevation of its gorgeous screen. Some of the plates, we notice, are double the full 4to size. This is doubtless very desirable, in order to do justice to the subject; but it cannot fail to produce difficulty when the work is completed and ready for binding, and the purchaser has the choice of an extra folio volume, or of doubling up his plates. The series comprises the Mahommedan as well as the Christian Architecture of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Sydney Turner, the Chaplain of the first, and at present the best, English Reformatory, has addressed a 'Letter on Reformatory Schools to Mr. Adderley.' (Hatchard.) He argues that, after the pattern of Mettray, these institutions should be on the principle of division into families, rather than of pauper schools. He says, and with obvious truth, that the boys taken out of crime differ in several essential particulars from mere paupers. They must be dealt with on principles of association, influence, and example. Paupers are homogeneous: the inmates of a reformatory require the more social and domestic guidance. In this interesting letter he gives details of the management of the famous institution at Red Hill, as to the employment and treatment, moral, religious, and manual, which ought to be in the hands of all social reformers; that is to say, of all parish priests.

We cannot do more in this place than announce the completion, after two years' labour, of Dr. Pusey's 'Treatise on the Doctrine of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist.' (J. H. Parker.) In fulness and scientific precision, although in the unpromising form of notes to an Occasional Sermon,—which in our judgment ought to have been reprinted in the present publication,—in depth of learning, and in that redundant eloquence and appreciation of others which distinguish the respected author, this volume, a very large and full one, sustains and increases Dr. Pusey's fame. We must revert to it on a future occasion.

'The Charge of the Bishop of Bath and Wells,' (Rivingtons,) shows that the diocese has gained a sensible, practical, and wise Bishop in Lord Auckland. In the very trying circumstances which met him on entering into his Bishopric, most men would have failed.

The publication entitled 'The Churchman's Library,' (Masters,) which by some accident or neglect on our part, has hitherto escaped us, ought long since to have been noticed in this place. The series is not free from extravagancies, and here and there it challenges offence; but on the whole we may say that it is very far in advance of most of our ordinary cheap table books. It aims at and hits the popular errors and mistakes of the day. 'Sunday, and how to Spend it,' to take one of the first, is scarcely as cautious, yet sound as can well be. That on the Catechism gives in a compendious shape, and draws to a useful scale, all such dogma and the sense of the ancient creeds, as a Christian is bound to know. In that on Church Worship, popular objections are not only met, but allowance is made for them, in a spirit as amiable as the information is correct.

And perhaps for a single manual—and one of our faults is the multiplication of devotional books—we know no collection of General Prayers

and Meditations cheaper and better for distribution than Mr. W. H Heygate's, 'The Manual,' (Masters,) of which the title, somewhat ambitious, is the most questionable feature.

In connexion with our late announcement of 'a Greek Concordance to the Holy Bible, Old and New Testaments in one,' and the delay which has arisen to its publication, we have been requested to explain that, in a work of so laborious and permanent a character, it was found indispensable to wait the issue of the stir made lately as to the true value of the Septuagint, and the consequently paramount importance of a critical revision of the text. As a basis for such efforts, and meanwhile no less so for this Concordance, the author is actively preparing for immediate publication an exact reprint of the Complutensian text, for the first time separately. Not because it is the best, though it may possibly yet prove so, but for the plain reason, that it was the first text, and must, even on that ground, lie at the foundation of all sound revision, built, as all such restoration or construction of the real text must be, on the historical comparison and record of all previous editions. Every one of these has some parts worse, and some better, than the others; and not one is quite free from the main charge against the Complutensian, as not faithfully presenting MS. authority; so that, for any sure result, whichever text is taken, it must equally be re-examined through, before we can rely on its integrity. And for all such progressive accuracy this edition will supply the only certain ground-work, a synopsis of all hitherto in use. We are assured, in a Prospectus which is forthwith to be issued, that this first essay will present the student with more in quantity as well as quality, not only of the probable, but of the indisputable text of Holy Scripture, than has ever been in any tongue united in one volume. All who take sufficient interest in the support of this important object, are invited to communicate their names and wishes to the Author, at his Publishers', J. W. Parker & Son, 445, West Strand.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

OCTOBER, 1855.

ART. I.—1. *A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith. By his Daughter*, LADY HOLLAND. London: Longmans. 1855.

2. *The Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith.* London: Longmans.

WE are not of those who can depreciate all written examples of Sydney Smith's wit and humour by comparison with their spoken effect. We have no experience of the glories of Holland House, the great scene of his social triumphs, of the intellectual fascinations of that charmed circle, whose boast it was to make men forget there were such things as care and sorrow in the delight of the present hour. We have not even seen or heard him in his other more accessible scene of display, the pulpit of S. Paul's. Though his name has been a household word—familiar to us, since we could read a newspaper, as a sayer and writer of clever things—our knowledge of his history has been confined to his changes of residence from Yorkshire to Bristol and London; and until the publication of the present Memoir, this very limited knowledge must have been shared by many of our readers. He has been a mere wandering voice to most of us; his sphere of public action, and the society amongst whom his more actuating principles led him, being, in fact, very far removed from the knowledge and sympathy of quiet, plain Church people of all parties.

We believe that all who have had only this superficial impression of his character, not unjustly formed from such materials as they did possess, will read his daughter's memoir of him with pleasant surprise—pleasant because it is a great satisfaction to find that the most eminent example of English wit in our own time maintained his perennial flow of genial humour, not under the constant excitement of society and dissipation, as wits are popularly supposed to do, but in the discharge of such duties as he recognised; and this often under most uncongenial circumstances. A daughter's enthusiastic and partial affection

is itself a testimony which all wits and diners-out have not won for themselves; and when it is added, that her task has been one of double duty, fulfilled in obedience to her mother's earnest injunctions, whose last wish was that her husband's history should be known, and the character she had admired and loved through life be exhibited to the world, the family witness to his domestic and private good qualities is complete. That we do not form the same high estimate need hardly be stated; but it cannot be denied that a character stands in a wholly different moral position which in the main acts up to its own standard of duty, however far removed from the highest, from another which disregards such considerations altogether, and habitually sacrifices its own notions of right to profit or to pleasure. To those who have hitherto judged Sydney Smith by the chosen companions of his social hours, and the tenor of such of his writings as are most opposed to his clerical profession, we believe the present Memoir will perform the good office of promoting him in their estimation from the latter up to the former class.

It is common to find great talents counterbalanced by as large deficiencies; and one large deficiency, no doubt fostered by the exercise of the intellect in one direction, we think very apparent in the character before us.

In many minds there is conspicuous a certain spiritual element, which in spite of appearances must be called a merely natural quality, and no more a Christian grace than a poetical temperament or a lively imagination; indeed, characters possessing it are often marked by a more than ordinary moral weakness and infirmity of purpose. This quality, when allied to true Christian principle—nature, as it were, assisting grace—forms the highest, most beautiful, and attractive picture of religion man can witness: but religion of some sort is absolutely necessary to minds so constituted. They are perpetually seeking affinity with the unseen, with something above and beyond themselves. Everything great and beautiful in nature is sought and prized as furnishing food to those desires. The invisible is to them the highest reality; all speculations, questions, and doctrines upon it, the most important as well as the most natural occupation for the understanding. Even while a prey to low desires, and victims to the most unworthy temptations, this world is not enough for them: they hope and long for something higher and better. In direct opposition to this class of minds is another form of character, in which this spiritual quality seems to be omitted altogether. Even under the influence of undoubted religious principle, we can recognise in them no flights beyond actual present things. Many regions of thought are closed to them; many motives of action are

unintelligible (unless by the light of grace); the glorious things of nature have to them no hidden meaning; they cannot sympathise with, because they do not understand, spiritual aspirations and yearnings. They are satisfied with things as they exist; or at most they desire to mend this world: they do not realize its emptiness; they do not set their hearts on another. But in compensation, may we say, they are gifted with a conscience active, clear, and just, within their own circumscribed range of vision. They feel in themselves a sense of duty restraining and controlling them. They obey this inner voice, and suffer contrition when they transgress its dictates. They understand their own social position, and own the claims of others upon them. Justice and kindness in the whole range of relative duties are their doctrines. They recognise God not through their feelings, their affections, or in the wants of an unsatisfied nature, but by the moral law He has written in their hearts; and it is only through the visible scene in which He has placed them that they aim at performing any service. 'Set your affections on things above, and not on things of the earth,' is a precept not only beyond their practice, but beyond their sympathy and comprehension. Of course, moral causes for which a man is responsible conduce, in almost every instance, to this obtuseness of feeling towards spiritual things; but our aim is to show that men also differ intellectually in their natural powers of apprehending them.

Sydney Smith was one of this class, and we believe his whole course of thought and action may be traced to the influence of the characteristics we have described. His keen love of justice made his pen an invaluable weapon against many social and legal abuses. The same sense of justice, aided of course by political bias, led him to take up the cause of the Roman Catholics. He could realize the hardship of exclusion from office and power, while all abstract questions of doctrine and belief were to his inmost mind immaterial—not that he would quite have owned this, but the injustice of civil disabilities filled his mind and excited his passions, while questions of doctrine never found their way to his intellect, or warmed his heart. He could affect a knowledge of them, indeed, to give point to a sentence; he could take the trouble to question them, where they stirred men's passions and disturbed the still waters of social life; but he never believed them of real importance between man and his Maker. And the same in the case of the Church. Religion, as we have said, when viewed as a disturber of political order, he could take no part with. He actually objected to Missions in India on this ground; but the Church, if it meant only a respectable establishment, he could throw his

heart into; he even upheld its abuses, and honestly thoug himself a good Churchman for so doing. As a social system, a body of educated men in easy circumstances, civilizing an refining the country, the Church met his sympathies—as a dog matic teacher, asserting itself to be right, and others wh opposed it wrong, he knew not whether most to ridicule or t recoil from its claims. The direction of a mind so constituted t such subjects was in some sort a necessity rather than choice With an ambition for distinction, and a consciousness of hi own powers, he was forced into the Church by his father agains his will; that is, the means were withheld for pursuing the law which was the profession he preferred, and for which his talent no doubt adapted him, and he believed no other course to b left open to him. He was not one to recognise the necessity o a call or vocation; he violated no sense of duty apparently i acting upon his father's wishes. He uniformly treats the clerica profession as a means of living; he had never any reserve about getting what good things he could, and treated canonries prebendaries, and bishoprics as the legitimate rewards fo political services; nor ever assumes a higher tone towards hi sacred calling than is consistent with this prevailing line. Bu he did not therefore act as many a man of higher theoretica views would have done under the circumstances; he did no neglect the duties he had unwillingly entered upon, becaus they were uncongenial. Such as he owned to he performe really creditably, and gave his heart and mind to them, infusing into all he did the spirit and vigour of his most spirited an vigorous character. The events of his life were few, and o themselves sufficiently common-place, and probably by thi time known to many of our readers; yet it is necessary briefly to recapitulate them.

Sydney Smith was born in 1771, the second of four brother and one sister; all, it is said, remarkable for their talents, bu especially the two eldest. His father was a man of som fortune and considerable cleverness, neither of which gifts h used with much discretion; for he wasted his money in restles changes of residence, and affected eccentricities of which a wis man would be ashamed. His mother, Miss Olier, was of Frenc extraction, daughter of a refugee from the Edict of Nantes She is described as a woman of noble countenance and noble mind from whom her sons inherited their best qualities. Neglected by her husband, the anxieties of her situation brought her early into ill health; but she lived to see Sydney married. Her son early showed talents, and used to dispute with one another on subjects beyond their years, with a warmth and vehemence which delighted their mother, but which, Sydney afterwards declared,

must have made them the most intolerable and overbearing set of boys that can be imagined, till they found their level in the world. The habit of dispute did not, however, impair their affection for one another; and the elder brother Robert—Bobus, as he is called—and Sydney are examples of warm fraternal regard through life, keeping up unremitting affectionate intercourse, and dying within a fortnight of one another.

Their father judged them too nearly of an age to go to the same school. The first and third, therefore, were sent to Eton, Robert (at least) as a king's scholar, while Sydney and Courtenay went to the foundation at Winchester. The hardships, tyranny, and actual hunger Sydney endured there, no doubt influenced him through life in his not always fair or reasonable strictures on public schools, and their system of education. Both brothers, however, made rapid progress; and Sydney frequently makes ungrateful allusion to the ten thousand Latin verses he wrote at Winchester, always adding that no man in his senses would ever write another. Before becoming a fellow of New College, he spent some months in France to perfect his knowledge of French, which he always after spoke with great fluency—an accomplishment of great service to him.

Little is said of his Oxford career. He obtained his fellowship as soon as possible, and from that time his father cast him on his own resources, and never after gave him a farthing till his death. With this income of 100*l.* a-year, he not only kept out of debt, but paid 30*l.* for debts contracted at Winchester by his brother Courtenay, who dared not tell his father of his imprudence—an early union of generosity with economy, which is only characteristic of his whole course in pecuniary matters. On leaving College, it became necessary to choose a profession. His own inclination led him to the bar; but his father having incurred considerable expense in bringing up his eldest son to that profession, and in fitting out the two others for India, strongly urged his taking orders, the only alternative *he* had thought of being to send Sydney as supercargo to China. The son 'thought it his duty' to yield to his father's wishes, and became curate of the remote village of Nether-Avon on Salisbury Plain. His daughter speaks of the 'famine of the mind that came over him here,' far from books and men. His talents were, however, appreciated by his squire, Mr. Beach, who engaged him as tutor to his eldest son, with whom it was arranged that he should proceed to the University of Weimar, in Saxony. But war arose in that country, and their destination was changed to Edinburgh, where his public career began. He arrived there in 1797, and soon formed an acquaintance with the remarkable body of Scotchmen who formed

the society there, and were soon to play important parts in the world—Jeffrey, Horner, Playfair, Walter Scott, Dugald Stewart, Brougham, Allen, Brown, Murray, Leyden, Lord Webb Seymour, Lord Woodhouselee, Alison, and others. The powers of the new-comer seem to have been early appreciated by this brilliant circle, and he ever after retained a strong attachment to his Scotch friends; indeed, a fidelity to early friendship is a feature in his character. His only quarrel with Edinburgh society in after years used to be, that it wanted an infusion of fools and common persons, and was altogether too intellectual.

His sense of humour, however, seems to have been awakened by this new contact with national peculiarities; and as he was never above adopting staple allusions and points of attack as the foundations of his wit, we have many references to thistles, oatmeal, bare feet, and bad weather. It might be that, being then unknown to fame, his wit had to make its way into unprepared, unexpecting ears, and, therefore, was not apprehended as readily as he ever afterwards found it to be; but it was one of his sayings, that it required a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. He had already chosen his side in politics, as we gather from his being attracted to Horner by a warning against his violent opinions, though he never himself went to the lengths into which the exciting circumstances of the times led many of his party. After two years' residence in Edinburgh, he returned to England to marry Miss Pybus, a schoolfellow of his sister, to whom he had long been engaged. Her brother, one of the lords of the Admiralty and a Tory, strongly objected to the match, which, however, had her mother's full consent. She had some fortune, which he secured strictly to herself, his own worldly goods consisting, according to his own statement, of half-a-dozen attenuated silver teaspoons. He was a man, however, who had already earned a right to trust in himself; in talents able to secure a competence for his wife, and in habits of independence and self-denial to struggle through all intervening difficulties. His choice must have been a most happy one. Mrs. Smith's admiration and confidence in her husband were unbounded; and though we hear little of her in this Memoir, a gentleness and trustful easiness of temper are discernible, which must have been important elements in the happiness of the wife of a man of his restless activity, and his life of opposition to the opinions and prejudices of his own class. They returned to Edinburgh; in due course of time, a daughter, the author of this Memoir, was born, and the name Saba invented for her by her father, as he could not please himself by any to

be found in an existing nomenclature. This whim is an exception to the ordinary good sense with which he conducted his affairs; henceforward he gave Christian names to his children, and contented himself with inventing titles for his servants, his oxen, his physics, and the heroes of his political illustrations. At this time he assisted in originating the 'Edinburgh Review' in conjunction with Brougham and Jeffrey, and was appointed editor—an office which he held only for the first number, as his affairs then called him to London. For many years, however, he continued a most important and popular contributor. His own estimate of the achievement of this periodical may be learnt from the following summary:—

'To appreciate the value of the "Edinburgh Review," the state of England at the period when that journal began should be had in remembrance. The Catholics were not emancipated. The Corporation and Test Acts were unrepealed. The Game-laws were horribly oppressive; steel-traps and spring-guns were set all over the country; prisoners tried for their lives could have no counsel. Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily on mankind. Libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonments. The principles of political economy were little understood. The laws of debt and conspiracy were upon the worst footing. The enormous wickedness of the slave-trade was tolerated. A thousand evils were in existence, which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed; and these efforts have been not a little assisted by the honest boldness of the "Edinburgh Review."'—*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

His chief means of income in Edinburgh arose from his pupils, for whom he received a very large remuneration. These being educated, some change of plan was necessary, and his wife, more ambitious for him, it is said, than he was for himself, prevailed on him to choose London for his field of action. His 'profession' had found him little employment in Edinburgh, but his hopes from London must mainly depend on his success as a preacher.

His talents were various, his style good, his voice and manner effective, and in London he soon filled his chapel; and while his fame was spreading as a preacher, he was making still greater way as a converser and a wit. An acquaintance, begun some time before with Lord Holland, ripened now into friendship with him and with Lady Holland, who seems to have considered his social merits and his liberal politics as a compensation for a profession which can have possessed but little interest in her eyes. Though his own means were straitened, and he is represented as suffering some of the anxieties of poverty at this time, he gathered his friends about him at his own house; and his weekly suppers, though everything was conducted with an almost studied plainness, were long remembered for their social enjoyment.

While the Tories were in power, his chances of preferment were, of course, none at all; but the unexpected changes which in 1806 brought in the Whigs for a time, brought him a living. Whether the Hollands would have busied themselves as they did in the cause, may be considered doubtful, could they have foreseen that the condition of residence would, before long, be attached to this political reward, and that their favourite and favoured guest, who made the dinners of Holland House pass off so brilliantly, must be transported for a long term of years to the society of rustics and squires in Foston-in-the-Clay, some dozen miles from York. Such a catastrophe, however, was not contemplated at the time. It was considered a piece of unmixed prosperity. On the strength of it, he took his young family to breathe country air for the first time, to Sonning, near Reading, where he produced the celebrated 'Peter Plymley Letters,' on the subject of the Irish Roman Catholics. The effect was 'like a spark on a heap of gunpowder.' All London rang with them; editions were bought up faster than they could be printed; and though they were published anonymously, the style was too remarkable for the real author to remain a moment concealed. Mr. Perceval, Sydney Smith's main object of attack in these Letters, was unconsciously preparing his revenge, when in 1808 he introduced and passed the Residence Act. Archbishop Markham, considering that Foston had no parsonage-house, had permitted him to continue in London; but now, his only alternative was to build or resign.

'On receiving the startling summons from the Archbishop, my father went down immediately into Yorkshire, to see what his fate was to be. He found his living well deserved its name of Foston-le-Clay; consisting as it did of three hundred acres of glebe-land of the stiffest clay, in a remote village of Yorkshire, where there had not been a resident clergyman for a hundred and fifty years, owing to the wretched state of the hovel which had once been a parsonage-house. This consisted of one brick-floored kitchen, with a room above it, which was in so dangerous a condition that the farmer, who had occupied it hitherto, declined living any longer in it, and which opened on one side into a foal-yard, and on the other into the churchyard; and placed in a village where there was no society above the rank of a farmer.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

After various ineffectual efforts to effect an exchange, or in other ways to avert the evil, it became evident to the hapless Rector that he *must* build; and when once he saw no other course was honourably open to him, he reconciled himself with characteristic cheerfulness to his fate, and, finding the superior happiness of London life was denied him, he set about making himself happy in the country. A man of active mind, who likes looking after his own concerns, need not fear being unhappy anywhere. He threw himself with wonderful energy

into his new position. He was his own architect, his own clerk of the works, his own farmer, and within nine months of laying the first brick, inducted his family, who in the meanwhile had resided in a village near York, with hearty, noisy welcome, into the ugliest of parsonages. The scene of their arrival furnishes a fine instance of the power of mind over external circumstances, and of the good service that high animal spirits should do, not only their owner, but all who come within their influence in the flat and dispiriting occasions of life. We reckon this first evening at Foston as a greater, as well as a worthier triumph, than his cherished London ever witnessed:—

'It was a cold, bright March day, with a biting east wind. The beds we left in the morning had to be packed up and slept on at night; wagon after wagon of furniture poured in every minute; the roads were so cut up that the carriage could not reach the door; and my mother lost her shoe in the mud, which was ankle-deep, whilst bringing her infant up to the house in her arms.

'But oh, the shout of joy as we entered and took possession!—the first time in our lives that we had inhabited a house of our own. How we admired it, ugly as it was! With what pride my dear father welcomed us, and took us from room to room! old Molly Mills, the milk-woman, who had had charge of the house, grinning with delight in the background. We thought it a palace; yet the drawing-room had no door, the bare plaster walls ran down with wet, the windows were like ground-glass from the moisture, which had to be wiped up several times a day by the housemaid. No carpets, no chairs, nothing unpacked; rough men bringing in rougher packages at every moment. But then was the time to behold my father!—amid the confusion, he thought for everybody, cared for everybody, encouraged everybody, kept everybody in good humour. How he exerted himself! how his loud, rich voice might be heard in all directions, ordering, arranging, explaining, till the household storm gradually subsided! Each half-hour improved our condition; fires blazed in every room; at last we all sat down to our tea, spread by ourselves on a huge package before the drawing-room fire, sitting on boxes round it; and retired to sleep on our beds placed on the floor;—the happiest, merriest, and busiest family in Christendom. In a few days, under my father's active exertions, everything was arranged with tolerable comfort in the little household, and it began to assume its wonted appearance.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

It was no doubt a great change; but Sydney Smith had qualities of mind to fall back upon, more substantial and serviceable than wit—qualities which gave his wit its body and characteristic flavour. We cannot doubt that this transportation was both for his happiness and dignity. He must now take a standing of his own, not only in opinions, but in action. He was thrown upon himself, and powers were developed, for which his previous life had offered no field. His letters at the time show a manly spirit and a practical philosophy, in both realizing his position, and making the best of it. 'I feel sometimes melancholy,' he says to Lady Holland, 'at the idea of quitting 'London—the warm precincts of the cheerful day; but it is the

'will of God, and I am sure I shall gain by it wealth, know-'ledge, and happiness.' And again to the same :—

'My dear Lady Holland,—I hear you laugh at me for being happy in the country, and upon this I have a few words to say. In the first place, whether one lives or dies, I hold and have always held to be of infinitely less moment than is generally supposed; but if life is to be, then it is common sense to amuse yourself with the best you can find where you happen to be placed. I am not leading precisely the life I should choose, but that which (all things considered, as well as I could consider them) appeared to me to be the most eligible. I am resolved, therefore, to like it, and to reconcile myself to it; which is more manly than to feign myself above it, and to send up complaints by the post, of being thrown away, and being desolate, and such like trash. I am prepared, therefore, either way. If the chances of life ever enable me to emerge, I will show you that I have not been wholly occupied by small and sordid pursuits. If (as the greater probability is) I am come to the end of my career, I give myself quietly up to horticulture, &c. In short, if it be my lot to crawl, I will crawl contentedly; if to fly, I will fly with alacrity; but, as long as I can possibly avoid it, I will never be unhappy. If, with a pleasant wife, three children, a good house and farm, many books, and many friends, who wish me well, I cannot be happy, I am a very silly, foolish fellow, and what becomes of me is of very little consequence.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57.

In the country his position was more independent. Instead of being an appendage of Holland House, always to be relied on, great people must find their way to him. Coaches-and-four with outriders had soon to be extricated out of the clay fields of Foston, in their first voyages of discovery; and those who came once put up with some inconveniences to be so entertained again. There his bodily activity found full play. He undertook all sorts of occupations—was tutor to his son, doctor to the whole parish, farmer of his glebe, and purveyor to the domestic wants of his family, and everything he did was well done, and in a fashion entirely his own. Absolutely free from affectation, he could yet do nothing in a common-place manner; and this infusion of himself into all he did seems to have had a wonderful power of fascination on all who came near him. Children were always attracted to him; a confidence which his tender, patient sympathy with all their thoughts and wishes, and the trouble he gave himself for them, well deserved. His labourers would work night and day for him; his servants, whom he trained after his own peculiar fashion, delighted in waiting upon him. If he went shopping, an occupation he seems to have affected, the whole business of the shop was suspended, that customers and shopmen alike might listen to what Sydney Smith was saying. He was the oracle of his family, the source of all their interests, occupations, and amusements. His guests kept note of their visits to his parsonage as one of the bright spots in their lives. No hearers were too homely or too familiar for his jokes, which

were always forthcoming, and needed no stimulus of excitement; while there is no point on which his daughter is more jealous than that he should be supposed a mere joker. She assures us, and brings forward many testimonies in support of her opinion, that his serious hours were more delightful than his jesting ones, and that his wit never seemed more brilliant than when placed in sudden contrast with his thoughtful moods—moods which, no doubt, were promoted by the comparative quiet of his parsonage; for we find him at once moralizing and philosophising in set terms, when he finds it necessary to adapt himself to the new order of things.

In 1828, when he had held Foston twenty-two years, Lord Lyndhurst, out of private friendship, and to the natural surprise of his party, gave him a canonry of Bristol, which entitled him to the living of Combe Florey, in Somersetshire—a most acceptable exchange from Foston, both for its fine situation and as bringing an increase of means. Sydney Smith was no admirer of poverty, and 'could safely say,' in reviewing his life, 'that he had been happier every guinea he had gained.' In 1831 Lord Grey appointed him to a prebendal stall at St. Paul's, in exchange for that of Bristol—a piece of preferment which exactly suited all his tastes, and which he enjoyed for fourteen years. For the last years of his life he was a rich man, as he came in for more than 30,000*l.* at his brother Courtenay's death—the brother who, in his youth, he had rescued from family disgrace by the cost of 30*l.* Sydney Smith left two daughters and a tribe of grandchildren, in whom he took great delight. His promising son Douglas had died at Foston at the age of twenty-four, to his father's great grief.

His career may, on the whole, be called a consistent one. It is true, that his whole course of life and action struck religious people as inconsistent with his sacred calling. They could not reconcile his assumption of it either with the acknowledged principles of many of his chosen friends and most intimate associates, or with the careless jollity of his own habits. They could not understand a clergyman's virulent attacks on every form of religious profession which aimed at a higher, stricter life than the life of the world, whether seen in the efforts of our missionaries, the development of the evangelical party, the first stirring of the High Church movement, the revivals of the Dissenters, or the asceticism of Rome—all indiscriminately ridiculed and set down as enthusiasm, fanaticism, Methodism, 'Puseyism,' and madness: his absolutely careless toleration of every form of religious difference or error—his intolerance of all religion, zealously at work, putting itself forward, interfering with society, and seeking to rouse men to a sense of

its claims upon them. Nevertheless, his own line was clear throughout. His mind was political. He regarded religion mainly as a political engine.

Let us, in passing, illustrate our position by quoting a passage or two from his remarkable article in the 'Edinburgh,' against all attempts to convert the natives of India. We call it remarkable, not only as proceeding from a minister of the Gospel, but as having been inserted by a leading review. It was tolerated, we presume, because the attack seemed to be directed against the Baptist Mission, whose agents indulged largely in a sectarian and unctuous phraseology sufficiently open to ridicule. But the attack is really against all attempts at converting our fellow-subjects in India. Public opinion, we may hope, has made some strides in the last fifty years, for no periodical calling itself Christian could insert such an article now. It is justice to say, that in the beginning an admission is made of the general Christian duty of disseminating our religion amongst the Pagan nations, even going so far as to say, 'We believe that we are 'in possession of a revealed religion; that the possession of that 'religion can alone confer immortality, and best confer happi-'ness.' But a conviction so candidly stated is not allowed to affect our practice, if our national prosperity is to be ever so slightly threatened by it. He charged the Government with being indifferent to this risk.

'It is in vain to say, that these attempts to diffuse Christianity do not originate from the Government in India. The omnipotence of government in the East is well known to the natives. If government does not prohibit, it tolerates; if it tolerates the conversion of the natives, the suspicion may be easily formed that it encourages that conversion. If the Brahmins do not believe this themselves, they may easily persuade the common people that such is the fact; nor are there wanting, besides the activity of these new missionaries, many other circumstances to corroborate such a rumour. Under the auspices of the College at Fort William, the Scriptures are in a course of translation into the languages of almost the whole continent of Oriental India, and we perceive that in aid of this object the Bible Society has voted a very magnificent subscription. The three principal chaplains of our Indian settlement are (as might be expected) of principles exactly corresponding with the enthusiasm of their employers at home, and their zeal upon the subject of religion has shone and burnt with the most exemplary fury.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 160.

Again,—

'Methodism at home is no unprofitable game to play. In the East, it will soon be the infallible road to promotion. This is the great evil. If the management was in the hands of men who were as discreet and wise in their devotion as they are in matters of temporal welfare, the desire of putting an end to missions might be premature and indecorous. But the misfortune is, the men who wield the instrument ought not, in common sense and propriety, to be trusted with it for a single moment. . . .

'Again, we repeat, that upon such subjects the best and ablest men, if once tinged by fanaticism, *are not to be trusted for a single moment.*'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 162.

We believe that such strange perversities as these arise from a certain habitual inability (however caused) to realize distant eternal things. We find him, for instance, using the word *immortal*, and then immediately flying against it. But the *present* had a wonderful grasp on his mind. It was his maxim of happiness to take *short* views, which may be right as against anticipating earthly misfortune; but he carried it to a monstrous extreme, and evidently sets time against eternity, as in the following passage:—

'The duty of conversion is less plain and less imperious, when conversion exposes the convert to great present misery. An African or an Otaheite proselyte might not perhaps be less honoured by his countrymen if he became a Christian; an Hindoo is instantly subjected to the most perfect degradation. A change of faith might increase the immediate happiness of any other individual; it annihilates for ever all the *human* comforts which an Hindoo enjoys; the eternal happiness which you proffer him is therefore less attractive to him than to any other heathen, from the life of misery by which he purchases it. Nothing is more precarious than our empire in India. Suppose we were to be driven out of it to-morrow, and to leave behind us 20,000 converted Hindoos, it is most probable they would relapse into heathenism; but their original station in society could not be regained. The duty of making converts, therefore, among such people, as it arises from the general duty of benevolence, is less strong than it would be in many other cases, because, situated as we are, it is quite certain we shall expose them to a great deal of misery, and not quite certain we shall do them any future good.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 168.

Again,—

'If it is a duty of general benevolence to convert the heathen, it is less duty to convert the Hindoos than any other people, because they are already highly civilized, and because you must infallibly subject them to infamy and present degradation.'—*Works*, vol. i. p. 173.

We see, from passages like this, a mind entirely warped by worldly considerations, and blind to the supreme importance of eternal things. Yet in his own heart he reverenced religion. His friends describe his character as truly humble, a humility not of nature only, but the result of Christian principle; so that whenever he gave way to hastiness, a natural infirmity, he could find no rest till he had humbled himself to the aggrieved party: 'it mattered not whom, groom or child.' He had no sympathies with or tendencies towards scepticism; he told his children he would rather see them in their graves than unbelievers. We are even now and then gratified by indications of genuine seriousness, of his mind recurring to sacred things with awe and pleasure, and there is incidental mention of family prayer and of pastoral visits—of one paid, lantern in hand, on a winter's night to a sick parishioner—as showing that he did not

confine his professional labours to the Church's public services. Again, he threw his mind into his sermons. There are many fine, earnest passages in them; and his mode of conducting the services was so impressive, that one of his lady admirers compliments his manner as resembling 'the proud dignity of a High 'Churchman.' Moreover, he was conscientious, and preached as energetic sermons, and showed as much stately dignity to the rustics, at Foston, as in York Minster or S. Paul's. He sincerely preferred the Church to Dissent, which he viewed always as something narrow-minded and fanatical. He thought a wealthy establishment, diffusing over the country its staff of respectable, well-educated men, preaching 'rational piety,' an incalculable gain. So long as the Clergy confined themselves to their round of duties, alternated with social pleasure, let Dissenters and Romanists alone, and neither talked nor thought too much about doctrine, he could think of them with complacency, contenting himself only with an occasional hit at their dulness and the inevitable rustiness of their understandings. And also he fought their battles, and raised himself into a champion of their independence and temporal interests. All these things considered, Sydney Smith thought himself a credit to his profession. He esteemed himself ill used that his Whig friends did not make him a bishop, and was satisfied that he could have fulfilled the duties of that office extremely well.

Perhaps he considered this elevation was only his due for having, as he would consider, sacrificed his great talents to a profession that could neither give him pecuniary reward nor distinction amongst his chosen friends. It is certain that he felt his profession a dead weight. 'The law,' he said, 'is decidedly 'the best profession for a young man, if he has anything in him. 'In the Church a man is thrown into life with his hands tied, 'and bid to swim; he does well if he keeps his head above 'water.' He never forgot that he was a parson, nor how discordant and uncongenial this must be with the feelings and associations of the society he most cared for. His letters are full of apologetic allusions to his calling, amusing of course, but not the less proceeding from an awkward sense of its being looked down upon in the busy, fashionable, political circles which were his world. To one lady he writes: 'You live in the midst of political 'economists; pray tell me what they say about him (Jones). 'It must not be forgotten that he is a parson; but as you over-'look it in me, forgive it in him. I would not have men-'tioned this, but I am sure you would have heard it from his 'enemies.' Supposing that others always kept it in their minds that he was a clergyman, and not quite their ideal of one, he anticipates the jest. To Lady Ashburton: 'What is real piety?

'what is true attachment to the Church? how are these fine feel-
'ings best evinced? The answer is plain, by sending strawberries
'to a clergyman.' To the same lady with a print: 'Miss Mild-
'man told me yesterday, that you had been looking about for a
'print of the Rev. Sydney Smith. Here he is; pray accept
'him. I said to the artist, whatever you do, preserve the
'orthodox look.' To another: 'Will you come to a philosophical
'breakfast on Saturday,—ten o'clock precisely? Nothing
'taken for granted. Everything (except the Thirty-nine
'Articles) called in question—real philosophers.' Mrs. Marcet complained she could not sleep. 'I can furnish you,' he said,
'with a perfect soporific. I have published two volumes of ser-
'mons; take them to bed with you. I recommended them once
'to Blanco White, and, before the third page, he was fast,' &c. &c. &c. In connexion with the same feeling are his allusions to Dissenters, with whom he thinks it in keeping to assume a constant antagonism and lofty contempt. 'Fine weather,' he writes, one summer, 'or, to speak more truly, dreadful heat. I
'have suffered no damage in corn nor hay; while many Dis-
'senters in the neighbourhood have lost their crops.' His relaxation in illness is reading 'The Dissenter tripped up.' He boasts of having brought his servant to the same mind. 'You would not believe it, to look at him now, but D. is a
'reformed Quaker. Yes, he quaked, or did quake; his brother
'quakes still. But D. is now thoroughly orthodox. I should
'not like to be a Dissenter in his way.' And one of his latest recorded jokes upon his own bodily weakness was, 'I verily
'believe that if the knife was put into my hand, I should not
'have strength or energy enough to stick it into a Dissenter.'

There was no order in the Church that did not incur contumely, at one time or another, from the workings of this spirit. Curates, unless they were in a transition state, expecting livings, and in circumstances to be indifferent to their small stipends, were a miserable class. He assumed most of them to belong to a very humble rank in society, and their privations such as they were born to. Of the country clergy he writes: 'If there is a helpless, friendless, wretched being in the
'community, it is a poor clergman with a large family.' And against the Bishops he is at constant war for some cause or another. He confesses to this himself, and in a higher state of existence foresees that 'he shall be more respectful to the upper clergy.' He considered them oppressors of the lower clergy, and quarrels with their ungraciousness of manner. He wrote an article against the Bishop of Peterborough's eighty-seven questions, in which he has certainly the right on his side; for, as he justly asks a lady correspondent, 'What right has any

man to ask another eighty-seven questions?' He attacks the Bishop of Lincoln (Prettyman), in another, in unmeasured terms, for his Charge against Roman Catholic Emancipation; and the bitterest words that ever fell from him were addressed to Monk, Bishop of Gloucester, who had replied to his arguments against the Commission on Deans and Chapters, by asserting that he had been appointed to the canonry of S. Paul's because he was a scoffer and a jester. Indeed, before this happy event, he was apt to regard the whole class simply as withholders of preferment out of the hands of their betters. 'I think Lord Grey will give me some preferment if he stays 'in long enough; but the upper parsons live vindictively, and 'evince their aversion to a Whig ministry by an improved 'health. The Bishop of ——— has the rancour to recover 'after three paralytic strokes, and the Dean of ——— to be 'vigorous at eighty-two. And yet these men call themselves 'Christians!'

It is only justice, after these strictures, to present his principles in another aspect, and to show the reverse, if there be one. Some of his sermons are given in his works. He liked preaching, and threw his heart into it. His manner was emphatic, because he felt the difficulty of securing attention. 'Even the cry of a child,' he wrote, 'the fall of a book, the most 'trifling occurrence, is sufficient to dissipate religious thought, 'and to introduce a more willing train of ideas; a sparrow flutter-'ing about a church, is an antagonist which the most profound 'theologian in Europe is unable to overcome.' He argued, therefore, for energy of manner, and warns a lady who wishes to hear him preach, not to flatter herself with the delusive hope of slumber. 'I preach violently, and there is a strong smell of 'sulphur in my sermons.' And again, 'When I began to thump 'the cushion of my pulpit, on first coming to Foston, as is my 'wont when I preach, the accumulated dust of a hundred and fifty 'years made such a cloud that for some minutes I lost sight of 'my congregation.' Very late in life, he thinks he could write a good sermon on war, but dreads the fatigue. 'It makes me ill, I get violently excited, and tire myself to death.' Mrs. Austen describes his manner and appearance in preaching as impressive and raising deep attention. She had feared the effect that a face and voice always associated with wit and mirth might have upon her; 'but the moment he appeared in the pulpit, all the weight 'of his duty, all the authority of his office, were written on his 'countenance, and, without a particle of affectation, his whole 'demeanour bespoke the gravity of his purpose.' From all accounts, he must indeed have erred on the side of solemnity. From many striking passages bearing tokens of individual

thought and principle, we take the following, from an assize sermon preached at York, entitled 'The Lawyer that tempted Christ:'—

'It falls to the lot of those who are engaged in the active and arduous profession of the law to pass their time in great cities, amidst severe and incessant occupation, requiring all the faculties, and calling forth from time to time many of the strongest passions of our nature. In the midst of all this, rivals are to be watched, superiors are to be cultivated, connexions cherished; some portion of life must be given to society, and some little relaxation and amusement. When, then, is the question to be asked, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" what leisure for the altar, what time for God? I appeal to the experience of men engaged in this profession, whether religious feelings, religious practices, are not, without any speculative unbelief, perpetually sacrificed to the business of the world. Are not the habits of devotion gradually displaced by other habits of solicitude, hurry, and care, totally incompatible with habits of devotion? Is not the taste for devotion lessened? Is not the time for devotion abridged? Are you not more and more conquered, against your warnings, against your will—not, perhaps, without pain and compunction—by the Mammon of life? And what is the cure for this great evil to which your profession exposes you? The cure is, to keep a sacred place in your heart where Almighty God is enshrined, and where nothing human can enter; to say to the world, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further;" to remember you are a lawyer, without forgetting you are a Christian; to wish for no more wealth than ought to be possessed by an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; to covet no more, however, than is suitable to a child of God; boldly and bravely to set yourself limits, and to show to others you have limits, and that no professional eagerness, and no professional activity, shall ever induce you to infringe upon the rules and practices of religion. Remember the text; put the great question really, which the tempter of Christ only pretended to put. In the midst of your highest success, or the most perfect gratification of your vanity, in the most ample increase of your wealth, fall down at the feet of Jesus, and say, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?"'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 185.

We have before us a little volume of six sermons, preached in Edinburgh, and published in 1800, of which his daughter makes no mention in her Memoir. Being composed before the commencement of the 'Edinburgh Review,' they are, no doubt, his first work, and are characteristic of their author, as is also his autograph in the title-page, where he wrote, in a neat, clear, eighteenth century hand, 'A little present to Miss ——, from 'the Author, to induce her to go to church, and to behave 'pretty there.' The subjects of two are political, and show a moderation and commendable love of what is established, which prove him wiser than his friends at that period of democratic excitement. Two others are entitled 'Scepticism,' and 'The Conversion of S. Paul,' and are both addressed against infidelity, in a tone which can be easily imagined; for doctrine, as such, never finds a place in his writings; but they are energetic and sincere. And two are on our duties to the poor and unfortunate. Of these, the most striking is one preached for the

Magdalene Society, which contains passages of deep feeling showing that 'human heart' which imparted such genial warmth to all he said and wrote. One incident we must quote, for its pathos:—

'The great attention which has always been paid to reconcile reclaimed children to their parents, is a very pleasing feature in the conduct of this charity. The protection and countenance of the parent gives stability to the new virtue of the child, and the renewal of this endearing relation is strictly congenial to our most lively feelings.

'A young female was received some time since into the Society, who, in consequence of the infamous character she had incurred, had been wholly abandoned by her poor but respectable parents, for above four years. You all know the extreme care with which the poor people attend to the religious and moral education of their children in this part of the world; and will, I am sure, in the goodness of your hearts, anticipate the feelings of two poor villagers as they speculated on the future prospects of their late beloved inmate, their fears for her safety, their humble ambition, their hope that they had not in vain suffered want for her improvement, their ardent prayers to Almighty God for their child. Not to dwell upon intermediate scenes, by the interference of the Society the father agreed to receive his daughter, and they were brought together. The appearance of each before they met was wonderfully impressive. In the child there were marks of the deepest contrition and humility; a sense of joy at the idea of seeing her father, mingled with a perturbation which bordered on delirious wildness. In the poor man there was an honest shame at the disgrace which his daughter had incurred, not wholly devoid of anger; but it was easy to see how much his compassion ruled over every other feeling of his mind. Such was the interesting appearance of these poor people before they met; but when they saw each other, there was no shame, there was no dread, there was no anger, there was no contrition; but there were tears, and cries, and loud sobbings, and convulsive embraces, and the father wept over his daughter and loved her; and they that saw this bear witness how blessed a thing it is to snatch a human soul from perdition, and to show the paths of God to poor sinners, and to shower down the glories of virtue and religion on the last and lowest of mankind.'—*Six Sermons preached in Charlotte Street, Edinburgh*, p. 92.

Sydney Smith's style is so much part of himself, so pervades all he says, as well as what he wrote, that it can hardly be discussed by itself. Yet it is as individual and remarkable as any style that ever was written; an instrument that perfectly served him, and enabled him always to produce the effect he aimed at. He had no thoughts which he found it difficult to express, or which were above expression; he always made people understand what he meant, and that in the briefest, most original, attractive method. But for the fundamental deficiency we have noted—akin to, though not the same as, want of imagination—he might have made a poet. His gift of expression, his happy art of illustration, his faculty of bringing every subject he touched on home to men's business and bosoms, are all powers essential to the poet. It is the difference of object alone that draws the broad line of distinction. The poet's aim is to lift

his hearers' minds above and beyond their common mood, *up* to his subject. With Sydney Smith, whatever his theme, he brings it down to the ordinary level of his reader. By the use of the homeliest imagery, and by appeals to men's most familiar interests, he subjects it to the decision of every-day impressions, and plain, unassisted common-sense. Whatever his subject, be it the wrongs of the Irish Roman Catholics, the rights of the English Church, the exposure of social abuses and injustice, political reform, or religious enthusiasm, as a writer, as a speaker, as a preacher, he never for a moment seeks to lift his hearer into unfamiliar, elevated trains of thought. He addresses every man as a being endowed with a keen and lively appreciation of this world's good things, and an equally strong objection to pain and discomfort; and, working upon these universal instincts, he appeals to their feelings of justice, their common-sense, and their good-nature. In other hands, such a line of argument would hardly fail to degenerate into vulgarity; but from this our author is saved by his genial play of wit. We receive it all as a satire on poor human nature; and while we own to the charge, and feel the force of the appeal to our lower nature, our intellect is charmed by the felicity of his illustrations, the strange affinities he finds in seeming opposites, his sudden and unexpected turns of attack, and the brightness and affluence of his humour. Let us take a few examples of his style of argument, from the Plymley Letters. The question of Roman Catholic emancipation had hitherto been argued as a theological one. This was a light in which he could not view it; his coldness in all matters of speculative doctrine assisting him here to approach the subject on its legitimate grounds. He at once removes the subject into another court, just allays his Protestant reader's fears by a few pithy expressions of contempt at the most unpopular Romish practices, but in the main makes light of religious differences altogether—throws them in the back-ground, and appeals to his common fairness towards fellow-subjects, who in all civil and social matters, in those concerns in which they act with him, think and feel with himself.

'I have often thought, if the *wisdom of our ancestors* had excluded all persons with red hair from the House of Commons, of the throes and convulsions it would occasion to restore them to their natural rights. What mobs and riots would it produce! To what infinite abuse and obloquy would the capillary patriot be exposed; what wormwood would distil from Mr. Perceval—what froth would drop from Mr. Canning—how (I will not say *my*, but *our* Lord Hawkesbury, for he belongs to us all)—how our Lord Hawkesbury would work away about the hair of King William and Lord Somers, and the authors of the great and glorious Revolution—how Lord Eldon would appeal to the Deity and his own virtues, and to the hair of his children. Some would say that red-haired men were superstitious; some would prove they were Atheists; they would be petitioned against as the friends of

slavery, and the advocates for revolt; in short, such a corrupter of the heart and understanding is the spirit of persecution, that these unfortunate people (conspired against by their fellow-subjects of every complexion), if they did not emigrate to countries where hair of another colour was persecuted, would be driven to the falsehood of perukes, or the hypocrisy of the Tricosian fluid.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 328.

He was apprehensive of invasion, and of the discontents of the Roman Catholics being turned by Bonaparte to his own account.

'What is it the Catholics ask of you? Do not exclude us from the honours and emoluments of the state, because we worship God in one way, and you worship Him in another,—in a period of the deepest peace, and the fattest prosperity, this would be a fair request: it should be granted, if Lord Hawkesbury had reached Paris, if Mr. Canning's interpreter had threatened the senate in an opening speech, or Mr. Perceval explained to them the improvements he meant to introduce into the Catholic religion; but to deny the Irish this justice now, in the present state of Europe, and in the summer months, just as the season for destroying kingdoms is coming on, is (beloved Abraham), whatever you may think of it, little short of positive insanity.

'Here is a frigate attacked by a corsair of immense strength and size, rigging cut, masts in danger of coming by the board, four foot water in the hold, men dropping off very fast; in this dreadful situation, how do you think the captain acts (whose name shall be Perceval)? He calls all hands upon deck; talks to them of king, country, glory, sweethearts, gin, French prison, wooden shoes, Old England, and hearts of oak: they give three cheers, rush to their guns, and, after a tremendous conflict, succeed in beating off the enemy. Not a syllable of all this; this is not the manner in which the honourable commander goes to work: the first thing he does is to secure twenty or thirty of his prime sailors who happen to be Catholics, to clap them in irons, and set over them a guard of as many Protestants; having taken this admirable method of defending himself against his infidel opponents, he goes upon deck, reminds the sailors, in a very bitter harangue, that they are of different religions; exhorts the episcopal gunner not to trust to the Presbyterian quarter-master; issues positive orders that the Catholics should be fired at upon the first appearance of discontent; rushes through blood and brains, examining his men in the Catechism and Thirty-nine Articles, and positively forbids every one to spunge or ram who has not taken the Sacrament according to the Church of England. Was it right to take out a captain made of excellent British stuff, and to put in such a man as this? Is he not more like a parson, or a talking lawyer, than a thorough-bred seaman? And built as she is of heart of oak, and admirably manned, is it possible with such a captain to save this ship from going to the bottom?'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 301.

He pities the Irish Roman Catholics for their compulsory honesty.

'The grand juries in Ireland are the great scene of jobbing. They have a power of making a county rate to a considerable extent for roads, bridges, and other objects of general accommodation. "You suffer the road to be brought through my park, and I will have the bridge constructed in a situation where it will make a beautiful object to your house. You do my job, and I will do yours." These are the sweet and interesting subjects which occasionally occupy Milesian gentlemen while they are attendant upon this grand inquest of justice. But there is a religion, it seems, even in jobs; and it will be highly gratifying to Mr. Perceval to learn that no man in

Ireland who believes in seven sacraments can carry a public road, or bridge, one yard out of the direction most beneficial to the public, and that nobody can cheat that public who does not expound the Scriptures in the purest and most orthodox manner. This will give pleasure to Mr. Perceval: but, from his unfairness upon these topics, I appeal to the justice and the proper feelings of Mr. Huskisson. I ask him if the human mind can experience a more dreadful sensation than to see its own jobs refused, and the jobs of another religion perpetually succeeding? I ask him his opinion of a jobless faith, of a creed which dooms a man through life to a lean and plunderless integrity. He knows that human nature cannot and will not bear it; and if he were to paint a political Tartarus, it would be an endless series of snug expectations and cruel disappointments. These are a few of many dreadful inconveniences which the Catholics of all ranks suffer from the laws by which they are at present oppressed. Besides, look at human nature:—what is the history of all professions? Joel is to be brought up to the bar: has Mrs. Plymley the slightest doubt of his being chancellor? Do not his two shrivelled aunts live in the certainty of seeing him in that situation, and of cutting out with their own hands his equity habiliments? And I could name a certain minister of the Gospel who does not, in the bottom of his heart, much differ from these opinions. Do you think that the fathers and mothers of the holy Catholic Church are not as absurd as Protestant papas and mammas? The probability I admit to be, in each particular case, that the sweet little blockhead will in fact never get a brief;—but I will venture to say, there is not a parent from the Giant's Causeway to Bantry Bay who does not conceive that his child is the unfortunate victim of the exclusion, and that nothing short of positive law could prevent his own dear pre-eminent Paddy from rising to the highest honours of the state.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 360.

He illustrates the effect of penal laws on the popular mind:—

'The effects of penal laws, in matters of religion, are never confined to those limits in which the legislature intended they should be placed: it is not only that I am excluded from certain offices and dignities because I am a Catholic, but the exclusion carries with it a certain stigma, which degrades me in the eyes of the monopolising sect, and the very name of my religion becomes odious. These effects are so very striking in England, that I solemnly believe blue and red baboons to be more popular here than Catholics and Presbyterians; they are more understood, and there is a greater disposition to do something for them. When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples; when he hears of a Dissenter, his immediate impulse is to commit it to the county jail, to shave its head, to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 324.

He pours on his antagonist a torrent of eloquence and ridicule:—

'I cannot describe the horror and disgust which I felt at hearing Mr. Perceval call upon the then ministry for measures of vigour in Ireland. If I lived at Hampstead upon stewed meats and claret; if I walked to church every Sunday before eleven young gentlemen of my own begetting, with their faces washed, and their hair pleasingly combed; if the Almighty had blessed me with every earthly comfort,—how awfully would I pause before I sent forth the flame and the sword over the cabins of the poor, brave, generous, open-hearted peasants of Ireland! How easy it is to shed human blood—how much in all ages have wounds and shrieks and tears been the cheap and vulgar resources of the rulers of mankind—how difficult and how noble it is to govern in kindness, and to found an empire upon the ever-

lasting basis of justice and affection! But what do men call vigour? To let loose hussars and to bring up artillery, to govern with lighted matches, and to cut, and push, and prime—I call this, not vigour, but the *sloth of cruelty and ignorance.* The vigour I love, consists in finding out wherein subjects are aggrieved, in relieving them, in studying the temper and genius of a people, in consulting their prejudices, in selecting proper persons to lead and manage them, in the laborious, watchful, and difficult task of increasing public happiness by allaying each particular discontent. In this way Hoche pacified La Vendée—and in this way only will Ireland ever be subdued. But this, in the eyes of Mr. Perceval, is imbecility and meanness: houses are not broke open—women are not insulted—the people seem all to be happy; they are not rode over by horses, and cut by whips. Do you call this vigour?—Is this government?'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 369.

And, again, summing up the Tory administration:—

'If we conciliate Ireland, we can do nothing amiss; if we do not, we can do nothing well. If Ireland was friendly, we might equally set at defiance the talents of Bonaparte and the blunders of his rival, Mr. Canning; we could then support the ruinous and silly bustle of our useless expeditions, and the almost incredible ignorance of our commercial orders in council. Let the present administration give up but this one point, and there is nothing which I would not consent to grant them. Mr. Perceval shall have full liberty to insult the tomb of Mr. Fox, and to torment every eminent Dissenter in Great Britain; Lord Camden shall have large boxes of plums; Mr. Rose receive permission to prefix to his name the appellative of virtuous; and to the Viscount Castlereagh a round sum of ready money shall be well and truly paid into his hand. Lastly, what remains to Mr. George Canning, but that he ride up and down Pall Mall glorious upon a white horse, and that they cry out before him, Thus shall it be done to the statesman who hath written "The Needy Knife-grinder," and the German play?'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 349.

To this mention of Lord Castlereagh, his candour subsequently led him to append in a note these words: 'This is a very unjust imputation on Lord Castlereagh.'

The contempt with which he regarded the possibility of any general return to Rome is put in language highly characteristic of his own mind, and curious on other accounts to us who have watched the progress of events in the last twenty or thirty years:—

'As for the enormous wax candles, and superstitious mummeries, and painted jackets of the Catholic priests, I fear them not. Tell me that the world will return again under the influence of small-pox; that Lord Castlereagh will hereafter oppose the power of the Court; that Lord Howick and Mr. Grattan will do each of them a mean and dishonourable action; that anybody who has heard Lord Redesdale speak once will knowingly and willingly hear him again; that Lord Eldon has assented to the fact of two and two making four, without shedding tears or expressing the smallest doubt or scruple; tell me any other thing absurd or incredible, but for the love of common sense let me hear no more of the danger to be apprehended from the general diffusion of Popery. It is too absurd to be reasoned upon; every man feels it is nonsense when he hears it stated, and so does every man while he is stating it.'—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 327.

The following, from an article on the same subject, is an example of his appeal to men's lower interests, and his disbelief in classes of men being moved by any other consideration. Such searching investigations of motives may not be without their use:—

'What is the real reason why a good honest Tory, living at ease on his possessions, is an enemy to Catholic emancipation. He admits the Catholic of his own rank to be a gentleman, and not a bad subject, and about theological disputes an excellent Tory never troubles his head. Of what importance is it to him whether an Irish Catholic or an Irish Protestant is a judge in the King's Bench at Dublin? None; *but I am afraid of the Church of Ireland*, says our alarmist. Why do you care so much for the Church of Ireland, a country you never live in?—Answer—*I do not care so much for the Church of Ireland if I was sure the Church of England would not be destroyed.* And is it for the Church of England alone that you fear?—Answer—*Not quite to that; but I am afraid we should all be lost, that everything would be overturned, and that I should lose my rank and my estate.* Here, then, we say, is a long series of dangers which (if there were any chance of their ever taking place) would require half a century for their development; and the danger of losing Ireland by insurrection and invasion, which may happen any six months, is utterly overlooked and forgotten. And if a foreign influence should ever be fairly established in Ireland, how many hours would the Irish Church, how many months would the English Church, live after such an event? How much is any English title worth after such an event—any English family—any English estate? We are astonished that the brains of rich Englishmen do not fall down into their bellies in talking of the Catholic question—that they do not reason through the cardia and the pylorus, that all the organs of digestion do not become intellectual. The descendants of the proudest noblemen in England may become beggars in a foreign land from this disgraceful nonsense of the Catholic question, fit only for the ancient females of a market-town.'—*Edinburgh Review*, *Sydney Smith's Works*, vol. ii. p. 390.

And as he had no faith in bodies of men acting on principle, and in fact wins his own influence by witty appeals to their most sordid interests, so for his own true principles he professed himself and pleaded for others no higher motives. All his wit, all his humour, rests on the exclusion of lofty and chivalrous motives: in the opposition of what he believes to be man's real actuating motives, with attendant grotesquely-familiar details, to those lofty views and romantic circumstances which prescription assigns to great questions and events. Compare, for instance, his idea of an invasion with the supposed one described by Sir Walter Scott in the 'Antiquary,' which puts every reader on his mettle. In exchange for the universal impulse of disinterested patriotism—which stirs us there,—all private interests lost in the one great public one,—we have a very natural and ludicrous picture of a panic, and the probable circumstances of devastation and individual loss, likely to scare a rude peasantry: 'old wheat and beans blazing for twenty 'miles round; cart-mares shot; sows of Lord Somerville's breed

'running wild about the country, &c. &c.; the rustics herding 'behind hedge-rows, plate-racks, hen-coops,' and so on. He had a sincere, conscientious horror of war: it might have been strengthened by the war of his time being opposed by his party, but it was a genuine sentiment in him; he realized its evils, and the wreck it made of human happiness. But his appeal is always to men's ease and pockets, not to their principles. It was a saying of his to his children, of which he made good practical use, 'Nothing is so expensive as glory.' In writing on America, and the danger of its being inflamed by this spirit, he assumes that our great European struggle was entered upon in no higher motive, and thus warns the Americans by our example:—

'We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory: TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth; on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home; taxes on the raw material; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent., into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed, which has paid 22 per cent., and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a licence of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 13.

This was written in 1820, during Tory ascendancy. A few years after, the Whigs, in their sympathy with liberal disturbances throughout Europe, assumed a warlike tone, on which Sydney Smith thus expresses himself to Lady Grey:—

'I cannot help saying a word about war. For God's sake do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I *must* think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Bagdad is oppressed—I do not like the present state of the Delta—Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each

other's throats. No war, dear Lady Grey!—no eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure Lord Grey's sword and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote's armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having. I will go to war with the King of Denmark if he is impertinent to you, or does any injury to Howick; but for no other cause.

'"May the vengeance of Heaven" overtake all the Legitimates of Verona! but, in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be *left* to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man, is to guard against luxury.'—*Works*, vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.

His wit was of the pleasantest as well as of the most genuine kind. His gift of finding affinities in things apparently opposite, in bringing together and harmonising the most contrary ideas, was extraordinary; the strangeness as well as aptness of his similitudes, the rapidity of his changes, the readiness of his rejoinders, his felicity of expression, are all perfect in their way. With all there is a constant geniality and good humour, which keep our liking on a par with our amusement and admiration. The 'Letters,' though in a less finished style than his Works, contain abundant indications of what his conversation must have been; and though no record of good things can convey an adequate idea of humour, which must in every case depend so much on manner, the impression left on the reader at the end of the two volumes is, that he was certainly one of the greatest wits of our time. We are struck with his freshness. We see the justice of the compliment, that 'his wit had always the dew on it.' It was ever flowing; he had no need to be sparing or to keep it for state occasions. It amused himself as well as his hearers. It was never the result of labour, and needed no preparation. It was not too choice or elaborate, but disdained not to divert itself with the same subjects for mirth that have amused all ages. Like Falstaff's, it partook of the large, open, jovial character of his figure and temperament. Had he been a small man, his wit might have been more recondite or quaint, but could never have expanded into such full, rosy dimensions. Without being egotistical, there was a perpetual comparison between himself and his friends; an amiable insolence of superiority which his very bulk and loud voice seemed to authorize. His wonderful spirits made all this natural. He was conscious of them, and thanks God who made him poor, that he made him merry. And again: 'I who have never had a house or 'land, or a farthing to spare, am sometimes mad with spirits, 'and must talk or burst.' They were like the 'joyousness and playfulness of a schoolboy;' his gaiety so irresistible and infectious as to carry everything before it. He owned to a love of noise, and must have raised the standard of sound consider-

ably wherever he was. 'Most London dinners,' he says, 'evaporate in whispers to one's next door neighbour. I make 'it a rule never to speak a word to mine, but fire across the 'table.' And speaking of some fine friends paying a visit, his comment is, 'And superfine work there will be, and much 'whispering, so that a blind man should sit there, and believe 'they are all gone to bed, though the room is full of the most 'brilliant company! As for me, I like a little noise and nature, 'and a large party very merry and happy.' Triumphing in his own exuberant organ, feebleness of voice was a source of amusement to him:—

'Some one, speaking of the character and writings of Mr. ——: "Yes, I have the greatest possible respect for him; but from his feeble voice, he always reminds me of a liberal blue-bottle fly. He gets his head down and his hand on your button, and pours into you an uninterrupted stream of Whiggism in a low buzz. I have known him intimately, and conversed constantly with him for the last thirty years, and give him credit for the most enlightened mind, and a genuine love of public virtue; but I can safely say, that during that period I have never heard one single syllable he has uttered."'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 336.

A friend writes of him:—

'It signified not what the materials were: I never remember a dull dinner in his company. He extracted amusement from every subject, however hopeless. He descended and adapted himself to the meanest capacity, without seeming to do so; he led without seeking to lead; he never sought to shine—the light appeared because he could not help it. Nobody felt excluded. He had the happy art of always saying the best thing in the best manner to the right person at the right moment; it was a touch-and-go impossible to describe, guided by such tact and attention to the feelings of others, that those he most attacked seemed most to enjoy the attack: never in the same mood for two minutes together, and each mood seemed to be more agreeable than the last. "I talk a little sometimes," said he, "and it used to be an amusement amongst the servants at the Archbishop of York's, to snatch away my plate when I began talking; so I got a habit of holding it with one hand when so engaged, and dining at single anchor."'—*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 374, 375.

He was always amusing and easy in talking of himself, and advocated egotism in letters, though he is no example of it:—

'You never say a word of yourself, dear Lady Grey. You have that dreadful sin of anti-egotism. When I am ill, I mention it to all my friends and relations, to the lord-lieutenant of the county, the justices, the bishop, the churchwardens, the booksellers and editors of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 438.

His description of himself is that he 'lives with open doors and windows,' and may be seen as well in five minutes as in five years. His consciousness of his own powers sometimes transpired pleasantly, as where he forgot his name, and was so glad to find out who he was:—

'The oddest instance of absence of mind happened to me once in forgetting my own name. I knocked at a door in London; asked, "Is Mrs. B—— at home?" "Yes, Sir; pray what name shall I say?" I looked in the man's face astonished:—what name? what name? ay, that is the question; what is my name? I believe the man thought me mad; but it is literally true, that during the space of two or three minutes I had no more idea who I was than if I had never existed. I did not know whether I was a Dissenter or a layman. I felt as dull as Sternhold and Hopkins. At last, to my great relief, it flashed across me that I was Sydney Smith.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

Or where he feels the perplexing pains of stupidity:—

'Now, I mean not to drink one drop of wine to-day, and I shall be mad with spirits. I always am when I drink no wine. It is curious the effect a thimbleful of wine has upon me; I feel as flat as ——'s jokes; it destroys my understanding: I forget the number of the Muses, and think them thirty-nine of course; and only get myself right again by repeating the lines, and finding "Descend, ye thirty-nine!" two feet too long.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 375.

The assumption of good looks must needs belong to so joyous a spirit. A satire was published on the Edinburgh Reviewers:

'One of the charges against me is, I understand, that I am ugly; but this is a mere falsehood, and a plain proof that the gentleman never can have seen me. I certainly am the best-looking man concerned with the Review, and this John Murray has been heard to say behind my back.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 12.

And he had a story of an encounter in a coach to the same effect:—

'When I was going to Brougham Hall, two raw Scotch girls got into the coach in the dark, near Carlisle. "It is very disagreeable getting into a coach in the dark," exclaimed one, after arranging her bandboxes; "one cannot see one's company." "Very true, Ma'am, and you have a great loss in not seeing me, for I am a remarkably handsome man." "No, Sir! are you really?" said both. "Yes, and in the flower of my youth." "What a pity!" said they. We soon passed near a lamp-post: they both darted forward to get a look at me. "La, Sir, you seem very stout." "Oh no, not at all, Ma'am, it's only my great coat." "Where are you going, Sir?" "To Brougham Hall." "Why, you must be a very remarkable man, to be going to Brougham Hall." "I am a very remarkable man, Ma'am." At Penrith they got out, after having talked incessantly, and tried every possible means to discover who I was, exclaiming as they went off laughing, "Well, it is very provoking we can't see you, but we'll find out who you are at the ball; Lord Brougham always comes to the ball at Penrith, and we shall certainly be there, and shall soon discover your name."'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 184.

His size is, of course, another theme; and one of his latest jokes is to Lady Carlisle, on his reduced proportions. 'I look as if a curate had been taken out of me.' He took to riding in Yorkshire, but seems to have shown more courage than skill in the art:—

'My father at this period was in the habit of riding a good deal; but, either from the badness of his horses or the badness of his riding, or

'I attribute my success in these matters to having read half a 'volume of Adam Smith early in the summer, and to hints that 'have dropped from Horner, in his playful moods, upon the 'subject of sale and barter.' And in a letter to Jeffrey he says: 'I shall never apologize to you for egotism; I think very few 'men, writing to their friends, have enough of it. If Horner 'were to break fifteen of his ribs, or marry, or resolve to settle 'in America, he would never mention it to his friends; but 'would write with the most sincere kindness from Kentucky, 'to inquire for your welfare, leaving you to marvel as you 'chose at the post-mark, and to speculate whether it was Ken-'tucky or Kensington.' The idea suggested by Macaulay, for whom he had a great admiration, was always, his powers of talking and his evident pleasure in exercising this gift. In speaking of him—'Oh, yes! we both talk a great deal, but 'I don't believe Macaulay ever did hear my voice. Sometimes, 'when I have told a good story, I have thought to myself—'Poor Macaulay! he will be very sorry some day to have 'missed hearing that!' He was always greatly impressed by Macaulay's attainments: 'There are no limits to his knowledge 'on small subjects as well as great; he is like a book in 'breeches. Yes, I agree he is certainly more agreeable since 'his return from India. His enemies might have said before '(though I never did so) that he talked rather too much; but 'now he has *occasional flashes of silence* that make his conver-'sation perfectly delightful.'

Mr. Luttrell is perpetually referred to for his knowledge and appreciation of the gastronomic art. At one time, this old friend, on his arrival at Bowood, has a forced smile on his countenance, seeming to intimate plain roast and boiled—a sort of apple-pudding depression, as if he had been staying with a clergyman; at another, 'having thought about salads much,' he looks forward to a talk on the subject with Luttrell and Lady Holland; and on another occasion he writes: 'Luttrell came 'over for the day. He was very agreeable, but spoke too lightly, 'I thought, of veal soup. I took him aside, and reasoned the 'matter with him, but in vain. To speak the truth, Luttrell is 'not steady in his judgment upon dishes. Individual failures with 'him degenerate into generic objections, till by some fortunate 'accident he eats himself into better opinions. A person of 'more calm reflection thinks not only of what he is consuming 'at the moment, but of the soups of the same kind he has 'met with in a long course of dining, and which have gradually 'and justly elevated the species. I am perhaps making too much 'of this; but the failures of a man of sense are always painful.'

If we are to believe his own evidence, this was a subject only

too interesting to himself. It was a theory of his that all ladi and gentlemen ate a great deal too much; and he gives h friends the result of a calculation on his own account, in whic he found that between the ages of ten and seventy he had eate and drunk forty-four horse-wagon-loads of meat and drin more than would have preserved him in life and health, whic he estimated at 7,000*l.* sterling, assuring his correspondei that *he* would probably have to add another horse to h wagons. Acting on this warning, we find in one letter: ' ' have had no gout, or any symptom of it: by eating little, an ' drinking only water, I keep body and mind in a serene stat ' and spare the great toe. Looking back at my past life, I fin ' all my miseries proceed from indigestion. Young people i ' early life should be thoroughly taught the moral, intellectua ' and physical evils of indigestion.' ' I fully intended,' he sai ' going to America; but my parishioners held a meeting, an ' came to a resolution that they could not trust me with canva ' backed ducks; and I felt they were right, so gave up th ' project.'

His cautions to all his friends while in this contrite and abst mious mood, are of the most faithful character. ' And no ' Sir George, let me caution you against indulgence in tha ' enormous appetite of yours. You eat every day as much a ' four men in holy orders,—yourself a layman!'

His love of cheerfulness showed itself in all his tastes. H was passionately fond of brightness, encouraged his children t deck themselves in flowers, covered his walls with pictures fo the sake of the frames, bound his books in the gayest binding had large fires and as much light always as he could afford. A Foston he tried to indulge this taste cheaply, and was full experiments at one time to burn the fat of his own sheep i little tins instead of candles. 'Great the illumination, an greater the smells,' that were the result. The discovery of ga enchanted him. After a course of visits, he writes to Lad Mary Bennett:—

'From thence to Lambton. And here I ask, what use of wealth so lu urious and delightful as to light your house with gas? What folly to ha a diamond necklace or a Correggio, and not to light your house with ga The splendour and glory of Lambton Hall make all other houses mea How pitiful to submit to a farthing-candle existence, when science pu such intense gratification within your reach! Dear lady, spend all yo fortune in a gas-apparatus. Better to eat dry bread by the splendour of ga than to dine on wild beef with wax-candles."—*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 222, 22

And for the same reason he admired French furnishing.

'The French certainly understand the art of furnishing better than w do; the profusion of glass in their rooms gives such gaiety. I rememb entering a room with glass all round it, at the French Embassy, and sa

myself reflected on every side. I took it for a meeting of the clergy, and was delighted of course.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 382.

All aids to conversation he valued; but this was the only amusement he cared for. He hated theatricals, public or private, and he writes, in answer to some accounts of gaieties:—

'You seem to have had a very amusing life, with singing and dancing; but you cannot excite my envy by all your descriptions of dramas and melodramas; you may as well paint the luxuries of barley-meal to a tiger, or turn a leopard into a field of clover. All this class of pleasures inspires me with the same nausea as I feel at the sight of rich plum-cake or sweatmeats; I prefer the driest bread of common life.'

Music he had a certain modified taste for, but all performances of any length were odious to him.

'Nothing can be more disgusting than an oratorio. How absurd, to see five hundred people fiddling like madmen about the Israelites in the Red Sea! Lord Morpeth pretends to say he was pleased, but I see a great change in him since the music-meeting. Pray tell Luttrell he did wrong not to come to the music. It tired me to death; it would have pleased him.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 238.

'All the branches of the Howards are at Castle Howard. The music went off very well; 20,500*l.* was collected. I did not go once. Music for such a length of time (unless under sentence of a jury) I will not submit to. What pleasure is there in pleasure, if quantity is not attended to, as well as quality? I know nothing more agreeable than a dinner at Holland House; but it must not begin at ten in the morning, and last till six. I should be incapable for the last four hours of laughing at Lord Holland's jokes, eating Raffaelle's cakes, or repelling Mr. Allen's attacks upon the Church.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 148, 149.

Nor had he any more taste for a lighter style if it involved an equal length of attention.

'My dear Lady Holland, I have not the heart, when an amiable lady says, "Come to 'Semiramis' in my box," to decline; but I get bolder at a distance. "Semiramis" would be to me pure misery. I love music very little,—I hate acting; I have the worst opinion of Semiramis herself, and the whole thing (I cannot help it) seems so childish and so foolish that I cannot abide it. Moreover, it would be rather out of etiquette for a Canon of St. Paul's to go to an opera; and where etiquette prevents me from doing things disagreeable to myself, I am a perfect martinet.

'All these things considered, I am sure you will not be a Semiramis to me, but let me off.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 478.

He was impatient of all kinds of lengthiness and tediousness. In the country, at home with his children, he never sat a moment after dinner, but hurried off with them to the garden or farm; retaining weary recollections of his father's tyranny in this respect, who dined at three, and always sat at table till dark, expecting his family to sit with him. The impression left by these long twilight sittings might have something to do with his taste for breakfast parties, though the alleged reason for it was 'that nobody is conceited before one o'clock.' He had a nervous dread of the prolixity of age stealing upon himself. 'I

'hope somebody will tell me when I grow old and prosy; though, 'I am not likely to get very prosy, I'm in general so short.' His sensations towards bores have been so vigorously expressed that we must extract them; though it was an infliction to which he was not often subject, his own presence and influence having a counteracting tendency. It occurs in his review of 'Granby,' and is *apropos* to one of the characters:—

'Lord Chesterton we have often met with, and suffered a good deal from his lordship:—a heavy, pompous, middling peer, occupying a great share in the conversation, saying things in ten words which required only two, and evidently convinced that he is making a great impression:—a large man, with a large head, and a very landed manner; knowing enough to torment his fellow-creatures, not to instruct them—the ridicule of young ladies, and the natural butt and target of wit. It is easy to talk of carnivorous animals and beasts of prey; but does such a man, who lays waste a whole party of civilized beings by prosing, reflect upon the joy he spoils, and the misery he creates in the course of his life; and that any one who listens to him through politeness would prefer toothache or earache to his conversation? Does he consider the extreme uneasiness which ensues when the company have discovered a man to be an extremely absurd person, at the same time that it is absolutely impossible to convey by words or manner the most distant suspicion of the discovery? And then, who punishes this bore? What sessions, what assizes for him? What bill is found against him? Who indicts him? When the judges have gone their vernal and autumnal rounds, the sheepstealer disappears, the swindler gets ready for the Bay, the solid parts of the murderer are preserved in anatomical collections; but after twenty years of crime the bore is discovered in the same house, in the same attitude, eating the same soup—unpunished, untried, undissected—no scaffold, no skeleton, no mob of gentlemen and ladies to gape over his last dying speech and confession.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 276.

His wit was, on the whole, free from what the stricter sort of critics would call the vice of punning—that is, his talent lay in finding resemblances in *ideas*, not in *words*. The process was a purely intellectual one; he was not often guided to his *bon mot* by *sound*. We are not depreciating puns—we have a great respect for good ones; which, indeed, sanctioned as they are by the practice of so many wits, from Shakspeare to Charles Lamb, need no defence of ours. But whatever his conversation might furnish, we observe this absence in his letters and reputed good sayings. Some few exceptions of course there are: as where he thanks a friend for some herrings, and asks how they are to be *dressed*. 'But perhaps I mistake, and they are to be eaten *naked*;' but the rule is an absence of puns.

His habits of composition were what might be expected from the fact of his excelling equally as a writer and a talker—he was rapid and certain.

'When he had any subject in hand, he was indefatigable in reading, searching, inquiring, seeking every source of information, and discussing with any man of sense or cultivation who crossed his path. But having

once mastered it, he would sit down, and you might see him committing his ideas to paper with the same rapidity that they flowed out in his conversation,—no hesitation, no erasions, no stopping to consider and round his periods, no writing for effect, but a pouring out of the fulness of his mind and feelings, for he was heart and soul in whatever he undertook. One could see by his countenance how much he was interested or amused as fresh images came clustering round his pen; he hardly ever altered or corrected what he had written (as I find by many manuscripts I have of his); indeed, he was so impatient of this, that he could hardly bear the trouble of even looking over what he had written, but would not unfrequently throw the manuscript down on the table as soon as finished, and say, starting up, "*There*, it is done; now, Kate, do look it over, and put in dots to the *i*'s and strokes to the *t*'s"—and he would sally forth to his morning's walk.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 113.

He had extraordinary powers of abstraction: never needed a study, but wrote in the midst of his family.

'His power of abstraction was so great that he would begin to compose, with as much rapidity and ease as another man would write a letter, those essays which are before the world, or some of those sermons of which my mother has given a few to the public since his death; often reading what he had written, listening to our criticisms (as Molière did to his old woman), and this in the midst of all the conversation and interruptions of a family party, with talking or music going on.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 116.

One characteristic rule of composition we find recorded: 'In composing, as a general rule, run your pen through every 'other word you have written; you have no idea what vigour 'it will give your style.' And in another place he gives a modest motive for his own invariable decision of language: 'I 'write positively to avoid the long and circuitous language of 'diffidence, not because I attach any value to my opinions.' Some amusing little hints show that his excellent style, straightforward and vigorous as it is, had not been attained without some study of elegance, as well as of clearness and precision—a fact which might be expected from his advice to young people to read a paper in the 'Spectator' every day, as he had done. 'What a pretty name is Georgiana!' he writes to Miss Harcourt, owner of that name; 'many people would say, what a 'pretty name Georgiana is! but this would be inelegant; and it 'is more tolerable to be slovenly in dress than in style. Dress 'covers the mortal body, and adorns it, but style is the vehicle 'of the spirit.' He has to defend his articles to Jeffrey, which he does with spirit, though always modestly, yielding the palm of depth and learning to him.

'You must consider that Edinburgh is a very grave place, and that you live with philosophers who are very intolerant of nonsense. I write for the London, not for the Scotch market, and perhaps more people read my nonsense than your sense. The complaint was loud and universal of the extreme dulness and lengthiness of the "Edinburgh Review." Too much, I admit, would not do of my style; but the proportion in which it exists

enlivens the Review, if you appeal to the whole public, and not to the eight or ten grave Scotchmen with whom you live. I am a very ignorant, frivolous, half-inch person; but, such as I am, I am sure I have done your Review good, and contributed to bring it into notice. Such as I am, I shall be, and cannot promise to alter. Such is my opinion of the effect of my articles. . . . Almost any one of the sensible men who write for the Review would have written a much wiser and more profound article than I have done upon the Game Laws. I am quite certain nobody would obtain more readers for his essay upon such a subject; and I am equally certain that the principles are *right*, and that there is no lack of sense in it.'—*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

He always feels the contrast of style and thought between himself and his Scotch allies. 'Jeffrey,' he writes, 'has been here with his adjectives, who always travel with him.' 'Don't get into scrapes by phrases,' he says to another; and their metaphysics were a constant source of diversion to him. 'I take the liberty 'to send you two brace of grouse,' he writes to Lady Holland, 'curious because killed by a Scotch metaphysician; in other 'and better language, they are mere ideas, shot by other ideas, 'out of a pure intellectual notion called a gun.'

As a critic—and being an Edinburgh reviewer he was such by profession—his pretensions do not stand high: 'lightness and flimsiness,' he says, 'were his style of reviewing;' but even thus far his judgment could not be depended on. He thought dull books interesting when his prejudices were concerned; over-estimated clever ones of his own party or views, and disparaged talent on the opposite side. We learn from these volumes what a kind of literary tyranny is exercised by intellectual cliques. He was aware of this, and his natural candour strove against it. 'I have not read the review of Wordsworth,' he says to Jeffrey, 'because the subject is to me so very uninteresting; but, may 'I ask, do not such repeated attacks upon a man wear in some 'little degree the shape of persecution?' And of one of Walter Scott's early novels he writes to Lady Mary Bennett: 'There 'is great difference of opinion about Scott's new novel. At 'Holland House it is much run down: I dare not oppose my 'opinion to such an assay or proof-house; but it made me cry 'and laugh very often, and I was very sorry when it was over; 'and so I cannot, in conscience, call it dull.'

It is curious, and a testimony to his high estimate of female talent, though certainly not to his discernment, that he thought 'Waverley,' which he much admired, was written by a woman—Miss Scott, of Ancram. When he defines what a book ought to be, instead of pronouncing what it is, he is on safe ground. Witness the following definition of a good novel:—

'The main question as to a novel is—Did it amuse? Were you surprised at dinner coming so soon? Did you mistake eleven for ten, and twelve for eleven? Were you too late to dress? and did you sit up beyond your usual

hour? If a novel produces these effects, it is good; if it does not, strong language, love, scandal itself, cannot save it. It is only meant to please; and it must do that, or it does nothing. Now, "Granby" seems to us to answer this test extremely well; it produces unpunctuality, makes the reader too late for dinner, impatient of contradiction, and inattentive, even if a bishop is making an observation, or a gentleman lately from the Pyramids or the Upper Cataracts is let loose upon the drawing-room. The objection, indeed, to these compositions, when they are well done, is, that it is impossible to do anything, or perform any human duty, while we are engaged in them. Who can read Mr. Hallam's "Middle Ages," or extract the root of an impossible quantity, or draw up a bond, when he is in the middle of Mr. Trebeck and Lady Charlotte Duncan? How can the boy's lesson be heard, about the Jove-nourished Achilles, or his six miserable verses upon Dido be corrected, when Henry Granby and Mr. Courtenay are both making love to Miss Ormym? Common life palls in the middle of these artificial scenes. All is emotion when the book is open—all dull, flat, and feeble, when it is shut.'—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 263.

One amiable feature was his appreciation of the female character, and love of the society of women. More than half of his published letters are addressed to ladies, who, perhaps, in gratitude for his preference, preserved them with greater care than his male correspondents, or himself indeed; for he set so little store by his own letters, that on receiving a large packet of them from the heirs of Sir James Mackintosh, he burnt them all. He had the highest estimate of the understanding of woman; even in one of his articles asserting their inherent equality with the other sex. And he showed his sincerity by making them the recipients alike of his most serious and brightly playful thoughts. His delicate flattery, and tone of affectionate paternal gallantry, give quite a tender interest to his correspondence. Nor were his sympathies only with the young and beautiful. It was an axiom with him that a woman must *either* talk wisely or look well; but good sense, and a ready appreciation of his humour, were the surest roads to his favour. The peculiarly feminine accomplishment of directing society and harmonizing all its elements, would be valued to its utmost worth by him. He was able to understand and appreciate their moral virtues and characteristic domestic excellences, but the drawing-room was the arena in which he most naturally viewed them; it was their inestimable importance in the great scene of society which secured them their high place in his regard.

Society was his world, London his universe. Compelled for a great part of his life to live in the country, he never for a moment got naturalized there. Persons who did not refresh their intellects by a visit to town regularly as the season came round, were objects of his contempt—that is, as far as contempt was natural to him. He thought he himself had been a loser, in which he was no doubt greatly mistaken, by his life of com-

parative seclusion, 'being confined through the greater part of it to the society of the parish clerk,' instead of associating, as others of his friends did, with all best worth seeing and hearing. He was at home, indeed, with everybody and everywhere. He got on with country gentlemen and clergymen and farmers, and he could say truly he would not give a penny to avoid any man in England; but his heart turned to London. The eagerness with which he was sought there, the rush of invitations, the struggle for his society whenever it was known he was coming—every day being laid out weeks before his actual arrival, all make this natural in a man of his spirits and temperament, and country society might well seem flat after it. His tone towards country squires was uniformly supercilious. He despised their claims to descent. Their genealogy is 'a fortuitous concourse of noodles.' He had a standing quarrel with them on the subject of the game-laws, and his sarcasms on this question would not be more tolerable because they were deserved. He called them 'Live armigeral spring-guns,' and speaks of those *feræ naturâ*, the lords of the manor; calling upon the Legislature to make just laws, and let squires live and die where they please. 'Depend upon it,' he writes, 'all lives 'out of London are mistakes, more or less grievous—but mis-'takes.' As he gets older, the feeling increases. He finds that the fifth act of life should be in great cities. He writes:—

'The summer and country have no charms for me. I look forward anxiously to the return of bad weather, coal-fires, and good society in a crowded city. I have no relish for the country; it is a kind of healthy grave. I am afraid you are not exempt from the delusion of flowers, green-turf, and birds; they all afford slight gratification, but not worth an hour of rational conversation, and rational conversation in sufficient quantities is only to be had from the congregation of a million people in one spot.'

And again:—

'You may laugh, but, after all, the country is most dreadful (he writes in December). The real use of it is to find food for cities; but as for a residence for any man who is neither butcher, nor baker, nor food-grower, in any of its branches, it is a dreadful waste of existence and abuse of life.'

It is curious to see how this favoured spot is the point of reference in all his thoughts, in its material buildings and as the centre of politics and society; how far soever his mind is transported by books, or science, or imagination, it cannot rest in the uncongenial region, but reverts to London life, and tests all by its standard. If he hears of savage life and its customs, he instantly subjects them to the test, and considers how they would do in Pall Mall, as where he announces that, 'A New Zealand attorney has come to London with 6*s.* 8*d.* tattooed all over his face.' And his jests of this sort on canni-

balism are familiar to all readers. Again he reviews a book on natural history, and is plunged into the woods of South America. The birds and beasts there become the actors in so many fables to illustrate social life. He cannot think of them for a moment without some human application.

'The toucan,' Mr. Waterton, observes, 'has an enormous bill, makes a noise like a puppy-dog, and lays his eggs in hollow trees. How astonishing are the freaks and fancies of nature! To what purpose, we say, is a bird placed in the woods of Cayenne, with a bill a yard long, making a noise like a puppy-dog, and laying eggs in hollow trees? The toucans, to be sure, might retort:—To what purpose were certain gentlemen in Bond-street created? To what purpose were certain foolish prating Members of Parliament created? pestering the House of Commons with their ignorance and folly, and impeding the business of the country. There is no end of such questions, so we will not enter into the metaphysics of the toucan.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 286.

The tortoise, he says, has two enemies, man and the boa-constrictor. The one roasts him; the boa-constrictor swallows him whole, shell and all, and consumes him slowly in the interior, as the Court of Chancery does a great estate. The sloth spends its life in trees, not *upon* the branches, but *under* them. 'He 'moves suspended, rests suspended, sleeps suspended, and 'passes his life in suspense, like a young clergyman distantly 'related to a bishop.' 'He comments on the campanero's note 'which may be heard three miles, this single little bird being 'more powerful than the belfry of a cathedral ringing for a new 'dean, just appointed on account of shabby politics, small 'understanding, and good family.' The wourali poison brings on a death resembling 'quiet apoplexy brought on by hearing a long story.' The vultures prey upon a dead snake. 'Mr. 'Waterton,' he tells us, 'did not observe that there was any 'division into Catholic and Protestant vultures, or that the 'majority of the flock thought it essentially vulturish to exclude 'one-third of their members from the blood and entrails.' The swarms of insect life in the same regions suggest no ideas but those of social inconvenience. There 'an insect with eleven 'legs is swimming in your tea-cup, a nondescript with nine 'wings is struggling in the small-beer, a caterpillar with several 'dozen eyes in his belly is hastening over the bread and butter.' At home he takes a child to see a turtle. The boy strokes the turtle's shell. 'Why are you doing that?' he asks. 'Oh! to please the turtle.' 'Why, child, you might as well stroke the dome of St. Paul's, to please the Dean and Chapter.' In the same spirit he rises to the sublime of hyperbole in summoning all the powers of the universe, and subduing them to be mere spectators and instruments of our state and passions: 'All the 'planets and comets mean to stop and look on at the first 'meeting of Parliament.' And, writing from London, Novem-

ber 1834, where his friends had just been worsted:—'Nothing 'can exceed the fury of the Whigs. They mean not only to 'change everything upon the earth, but to alter the tides, to 'suspend the principles of gravitation and vegetation, and to 'tear down the solar system.'

He was decidedly aristocratic in his tastes—perhaps all people are who have such unlimited choice of society as he had; but he evidently expanded and breathed freer air in the society of people who were at the head of things, who knew everybody worth knowing, who governed the country or led the opposition, who had splendid town houses and a choice of noble country seats, and who ruled society. The easy, gracious manners of persons thus pleasantly situated suited his temperament. He was independent, and spoke his mind freely to them; but, after all, such a mode of life had his hearty approbation, and the man whom he would have liked as a commoner he liked better as a lord. It was more in his way. As he says to a correspondent, of the Duchess of Bedford, 'All duchesses seem agreeable to 'clergymen; but she would really be a very clever, agreeable 'woman, if she were married to a neighbouring vicar.' Though a Whig, he had no notion of throwing open the government of the country to public competition. He could conceive nothing better than the rule of these realms being secured to the descendants of Russells and Greys to all time. 'Lady ——,' he says, in one of his letters, 'is unwell, and expects to be con-'fined in February. The public is indebted to every lady of 'fashion who brings a fresh Whig into the world.' And to Lady Grey he writes, 'Talking of honest men, I beg to be 'remembered to Lord Howick, on whom I lay great stress, for 'his understanding, rank, and courage. He will be an impor-'tant personage in the days to come. Pat him on the back, and 'tell him that the safety and welfare of a country depend in a 'great measure on men like himself.' Often speaking and writing for reform, he thought the Reform Bill, when it came, much too sweeping. He was not a Free-trader, and he had a horror of the ballot, for one reason, as interfering with legitimate aristocratic influence. He was as great a partisan as is consistent with a perfect knowledge and candid avowal that he was such; for he knew himself to be imbued with all the prejudices of his party. He liked the Whig leaders, their principles, many of their measures, and their kindness to and appreciation of himself. But his conduct to them is various. As his patrons and friends, he exhibits a peculiar felicity of flattery and compliment, quite sincere on his part; but it is the client addressing his patron. On one subject, however, he had principles and jealousies of his own. When he became a Church dignitary,

he felt with his order; and when his friends the Whigs, amidst their many schemes for reform, proposed to reform Deans and Chapters, it is astonishing the new light in which he viewed things. No bigoted Tory ever showed himself more averse to change, more blindly conservative. He could see the necessity for change in every other department of the Establishment. Bishops and Universities must be sifted like wheat; but touch Deans and Chapters, interfere with their wealth and *prestige*, and immediately the Church was in danger. They were the prizes in the great lottery of Church preferment. No men superior either in rank or talent, without them, would enter so ill-paid an establishment. It would sink into contempt. Creeds and articles, we verily believe, were to him points of altogether minor importance. On this question, then, to which he applied himself with characteristic vigour, he addresses his old friends with tender petulance, and turns against them, and against himself in his new position, all the resources of his humorous pen. This situation of affairs drew from him some of his happiest portraits. That of Lord John Russell—though one passage of it is familiar to all the world—should yet be seen as a whole: this same Lord John to whom, in the Letters, we find him complacently assigning the task of 'destroying the absurd Irish Church.'

'Lord John Russell gives himself great credit for not having confiscated Church property, but merely remodelled and redivided it. I accuse him not of plunder, but I accuse him of taking the Church of England, rolling it about as a cook does a piece of dough with a rolling-pin, and cutting a hundred different shapes, with all the plastic fertility of the confectioner, and withal the most distant suspicion that he can ever be wrong, or can be mistaken; with a certainty that he can anticipate the consequences of every possible change in human affairs. There is not a better man in the world than Lord John Russell; but his worst failure is, that he is utterly ignorant of all moral fear; there is nothing he would not undertake. I believe he would perform the operation for the stone—build St. Peter's—or assume (with or without ten minutes' notice) the command of the Channel fleet; and no one would discover by his manner that the patient had died—the church tumbled down—and the Channel fleet been knocked to atoms. I believe his motives are always pure, and his measures often able; but they are endless, and never done with that pedetentous pace and pedetentous mind, in which it behoves the wise and virtuous improver to walk. He alarms the wise Liberals; and it is impossible to sleep soundly while he has the command of the watch.

'Do not say, my dear Lord John, that I am too hard upon you. A thousand years have scarce sufficed to make our blessed England what it is; an hour may lay it in the dust: and can you, with all your talents, renovate its shattered splendour—can you recal back its virtues—can you vanquish time and fate? But, alas! you want to shake the world, and be the thunderer of the scene.'—*Works: Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton*, vol. iii. p. 113.

And to this ought to be appended the few lines, though suggested by another subject (the ballot), which complete his

estimate of the character, and have been shown to be appropriate to recent events:—

'In fact this sort of language (threatening to vote for ballot, though he hated it,) is utterly unworthy of the sense and courage of Lord John; he gives hopes where he ought to create absolute despair. This is that hovering between two principles which ruins political strength by lowering political character, and creates a notion that his enemies need not fear such a man, and that his friends cannot trust him. No opinion could be more unjust towards Lord John; but such an opinion will grow if he begins to value himself more upon his dexterity and finesse, than upon those fine manly historico-Russell qualities he must undoubtedly possess. There are two beautiful words in the English language—yes and no; he must pronounce them boldly and emphatically; stick to yes and no to the death; for yes and no lay his head down upon the scaffold, where his ancestors have laid their heads before, and cling to his yes and no in spite of Robert Peel and John Wilson, and Joseph and Daniel, and Fergus and Stevens himself.'—Vol. iii. p. 24.

Then comes Lord Melbourne:—

'Viscount Melbourne declared himself quite satisfied with the Church as it is; but if the public had any desire to alter it, they might do as they pleased. He might have said the same thing of the monarchy, or of any other of our institutions; and there is in the declaration a permissiveness and good humour, which in public men has seldom been exceeded. Carelessness however is but a poor imitation of genius, and the formation of a wise and well-reflected plan of Reform conduces more to the lasting fame of a minister, than all that affected contempt of duty which every man sees to be mere vanity, and a vanity of no very high description.

'But if the truth must be told, our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor—everything about him seems to betoken careless desolation: any one would suppose from his manner that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness; that he was always on the heel of pastime; that he would giggle away the Great Charter, and decide by the method of tectotum, whether my Lords the Bishops should or should not retain their seats in the House of Lords. All this is the mere vanity of surprising, and making us believe that he can play with kingdoms as other men can with nine-pins. Instead of this lofty nebulo, this miracle of moral and intellectual felicities, he is nothing more than a sensible, honest man, who means to do his duty to the Sovereign and to the country, instead of being the ignorant man he pretends to be. Before he meets the deputation of tallow-chandlers in the morning, he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young about melting and skimming, and then, though he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicester tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between dip and mould. In the same way, when he has been employed in reading Acts of Parliament, he would persuade you that he has been reading *Cleghorn on the Beatitudes*, or *Pickler on the nine Difficult Points*. Neither can I allow to this minister (however he may be irritated by the denial) the extreme merit of indifference to the consequences of his measures. I believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing, and that his caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of the Lycurgus of the Lower House. I am sorry to hurt any man's feelings, and to brush away the magnificent fabric of levity and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our minister of honesty and diligence. I deny that he is careless and rash: he

is nothing more than a man of good understanding and good principle, disguised in the eternal and somewhat wearisome affectations of a political *roué*.'—P. 93.

Nor can we omit the tone of testy soreness he assumes in this controversy, well aware that it would be attributed to him, and therefore ingeniously turning it to profit. It contains too a condensed account of his receipts from the Church:—

'You tell me I shall be laughed at as a rich and overgrown churchman. I have been laughed at a hundred times in my life, and care little or nothing about it. If I am well provided for now, I have had my full share of the blanks in the lottery as well as the prizes. Till thirty years of age I never received a farthing from the church—then 50*l.* per annum for two years—then nothing for ten years—then 500*l.* per annum, increased for two or three years to 800*l.*, till in my grand climacteric I was made Canon of St. Paul's; and before that period I had built a parsonage-house, with farm-offices for a large farm, which cost me 4,000*l.*, and had reclaimed another from ruin at the expense of 2,000*l.* A lawyer or a physician in good practice would smile at this picture of great ecclesiastical wealth, and yet I am considered a perfect monster of ecclesiastical prosperity.

'I should be very sorry to give offence to the dignified ecclesiastics who are in the commission; I hope they will allow for the provocation, if I have been a little too warm in the defence of St. Paul's, which I have taken a solemn oath to defend. I was at school and college with the Archbishop of Canterbury; fifty-three years ago he knocked me down with a chess-board for check-mating him, and now he is attempting to take away my patronage. I believe these are the only two acts of violence he ever committed in his life: the interval has been one of gentleness, kindness, and the most amiable and high-principled courtesy to his clergy. * * * As for my friends the Whigs, I neither wish to offend them nor anybody else. I consider myself to be as good a Whig as any amongst them. I was a Whig before many of them were born, and while some of them were Tories and waverers. I have always turned out to fight their battles, and when I saw no other clergyman out but myself—and this in times before liberality was well recompensed, and therefore in fashion, and when the smallest appearance of it seemed to condemn a churchman to the grossest obloquy, and the most hopeless poverty. It may suit the purpose of the ministers to flatter the bench; it does not suit mine. I do not choose in my old age to be tossed as a prey to the bishops; I have not deserved this from my Whig friends. I know very well there can be no justice for Deans and Chapters, and that the momentary lords of the earth will receive our statement with derision and *persiflage*, the great principle which is now called in for the government of mankind.'—*First Letter to Archdeacon Singleton: Works*, p. 79.

On the question of Roman Catholic emancipation he had treated very lightly the question of the king's oath, on which the opponents of that measure laid great stress. It was never intended that the king should go by his individual judgment, but by the opinions of those best qualified to judge, &c. But on this question his view of an oath is altogether different. The archbishop had taken an oath to preserve the rights and property of the Church of Canterbury, and now it is an imperiously binding engagement. 'In spite of his uplifted chess-board, he must harp a little upon the oath.'

'A friend of mine has suggested to me that his grace has perhaps forgotten the oath; but this cannot be, for the first Protestant in Europe of course makes a memorandum in his pocket-book of all the oaths he takes to do, or to abstain. The oath, however, may be less present to the Archbishop's memory from the fact of his not having taken the oath in person, but by the medium of a gentleman sent down in the coach to take it for him; a practice which, though I believe it to have been long established in the church, surprised me not a little. A proxy to vote, if you please—a proxy to consent to arrangements of estates, if wanted—but a proxy sent down in the Canterbury fly, to take the Creator to witness that the archbishop, detained in town by business or pleasure, will never violate that foundation of piety over which he presides—all this seems to me an act of the most extraordinary indolence ever recorded in history. * * *

'I have been informed, though I will not answer for the accuracy of the information, that this vicarious oath is likely to produce a scene which would have puzzled the *Doctor Dubitantium*. The attorney who took the oath for the Archbishop is, they say, seized with religious horrors at the approaching confiscation of Canterbury property, and has in vain tendered back his 6*s*. 8*d*. for taking the oath. The Archbishop refuses to accept it; and feeling himself light and disencumbered, wisely keeps the saddle upon the back of the writhing and agonized scrivener. I have talked it over with several clergymen, and the general opinion is that the scrivener will suffer.'—*Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton: Works*, vol. iii. p. 99.

It was a sore point with Sydney Smith that he was not made a bishop. How far this fact affected his language towards the bench, as knowing that they would object to such an anomalous associate, he himself probably could not judge. In middle life he would have liked the office, and probably expected it. He admits to his friends that he now and then sees crosiers in the clouds, and assures Lady Holland (strange confidant!) when her husband is in power in 1808, that if he is chosen bishop he will never do them discredit; it being out of the power of lawn and velvet, and the crisp hair of dead men fashioned into a wig, to make him a dishonest man. Jesting allusions to this subject abound in his correspondence. But time passes—and thirty years later he probably really felt what he said, that the 'pomp, trifles, garments, and ruinous expense of the episcopal life' would make him dread it. Still he conceived himself ill-used—he felt a slight was passed upon him by his old friends whom he had amused so long. Perhaps his own precept rose up against him, 'Do not attempt to be more amusing and agreeable than is consistent with the preservation of respect.' He thought the Whigs cowardly, that they dare not confer this 'reward,' on their staunchest and ablest clerical ally. He certainly had no cause to suppose any conscientious objection; nor was there any. His daughter has reason to know that Lord Grey wished it. Lord Melbourne was heard to say that 'there was nothing he more deeply regretted in looking back on 'his past career than the not having made Sydney Smith a 'bishop.' And Lord John writes to him, 'I think you are quite

'right not to be ambitious of the prelacy, as it would lead to 'much disquiet for you; but if I had entirely my own way in 'these matters, you should have the opportunity of refusing.' This sentence is from a correspondence on this subject which we are led to infer passed between Sydney Smith and Lord John in 1837. Some one (perhaps, the archbishop) had evidently objected, and brought a charge or suspicion of heterodoxy against our friend, and Lord John had dropped a hint to this effect. We wish his ground of denial and contradiction had not been so purely negative a one.

'I know not, by alluding to the chess-board, whether you mean the charges which —— might make against me, or against liberal men in general. I defy —— to quote a single passage of my writing contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England; for I have always avoided speculative, and preached practical, religion. I defy him to mention a single action in my life which he can call immoral. The only thing he could charge me with, would be high spirits, and much innocent nonsense. I am distinguished as a preacher, and sedulous as a parochial clergyman. His real charge is, that I am a high-spirited, honest, uncompromising man, whom all the bench of Bishops could not turn, and who would set them all at defiance upon great and vital questions. This is the reason why (as far as depends upon others) I am not a bishop; but I am thoroughly sincere in saying I would not take any bishopric whatever, and to this I pledge my honour and character as a gentleman. But, had I been a bishop, you would have seen me, on a late occasion, charging —— and —— with a gallantry which would have warmed your heart's blood, and made Melbourne rub the skin off his hands.

'Pretended heterodoxy is the plea with which the Bishops endeavoured to keep off the bench every man of spirit and independence, and to terrify *you* into the appointment of feeble men, who will be sure to desert you (as all your bishops have lately and shamefully done) in a moment of peril. When was there greater clamour excited than by the appointment of ——, or when were there stronger charges of heterodoxy? Lord Grey disregarded all this, and they are forgotten.'—Vol. ii. pp. 399, 400.

Such insights as these into Church politics are little edifying to the people at large. No comments of ours are needed; they may be inferred from the general tenor of our remarks.

However, though he missed the bishopric which he regarded as a sort of crowning temporal good, his career was a singularly prosperous one. Most acknowledged wits have found this faculty to bring them, through their abuse of it, days of poverty and dejection in return for hours of feverish fitful triumph. They amused others at the expense of their own happiness and self-respect—they have been losers in health, independence, temper, and prospects. Sydney Smith's wit, on the contrary, advanced and sustained his interests more surely than the most plodding good qualities and faculties could have done. It brought him first competence, and afterwards affluence. It was a never-failing source of enjoyment to himself, and procured him the society and highest consideration of the great and distinguished.

While others have felt their powers decline, and their influence fail, as age came on, he retained all the resources of his mind unimpaired, and his wit as bright and keen as in his youth. His old age was as much courted as his prime of manhood. His pen never effected his purpose better, and never made a greater impression, than in his last employment of it, within the latest year of his life, when he roused the whole American nation to honest shame or impotent rage by his attack on the Pennsylvanians and other repudiating states. His domestic life, except for the death of his son, was unclouded. He had a devoted wife who survived him, and affectionate daughters; a flock of flourishing grandchildren, whom he delighted to assemble about him, and troops of friends.

But it is more than time to draw our remarks to a close. There is something ungracious in subjecting a wit to the tests and ordeals of serious sober humanity, at least while we do so, because we must not forget the solemn obligations of that calling with which such brilliant and volatile talents were associated, we may bear in mind his singular temptations, and the overpowering supremacy wit like his is likely to obtain over the other faculties. What additional difficulty must there be, in seeing things in their solemn aspect, to the intellect whose first instinct is to treat every fresh idea after its own familiarising process; where a rush of startling comparisons throw thought off its balance, and the mind is entertained before it can be impressed. Not that we would find excuses or palliation for what is wrong, or for that low tone towards spiritual things which pervades Sydney Smith's words and writings; but in estimating every character, justice demands that its peculiar circumstances must be taken into account. Whether he was better or worse for his ill-chosen profession, it is impossible to determine; he made, it is certain, a very indifferent divine, but probably he was a more respectable man, and such duties of his calling as he did perform could not fail to impart dignity, strength, and purpose to his being. It gave him an insight too into national and legal abuses which a busier or more idle life would neither of them have furnished. It brought him acquainted with the poor, and with the trials and oppressions to which bad laws exposed them, thus turning his hatred of injustice to good purpose, and sharpening his pen to seek and gain redress; that pen, to which at least one praise is due, that its keenest satire was never malignant, and that no stain of impurity ever sullied its wit.

ART. II.—1. *Ankündigung und Probe einer neuen Kritischen Ausgabe, und neuen Uebersetzung der Syrischen Chronik der Gregor Bar Hebræus.* VON GEORG. HEINRICH BERNSTEIN. Asher, Berlin. 1847.

2. *Prospectus and Specimen of a new Critical Edition and new Translation of the Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar Hebræus. By* GEORGE HENRY BERNSTEIN. Asher, Berlin. 1847.

EVERY reader of Gibbon is familiar with the name of Abulfaragius. It figures in almost every page of that vast repository of learning in which the author is obliged to touch on Oriental History, and forms, in fact, almost his chief, though not his exclusive, authority in that department. The form in which he consulted this writer was, doubtless, the well-known edition of Pocock, in Arabic and Latin, published under the title of *Historia Dynastiarum.* The book is not inviting, either externally or internally. It is an ugly square volume, and the information it contains appears to be presented in a repulsive typography and unengaging manner. But the Historian of the Decline and Fall contrived to elicit from it a vast store of Oriental information, which he has marshalled with that consummate skill by which he was in the habit of digesting into a lucid summary the long-winded Byzantine histories and the loose narrative of Oriental fabulists. It does not, as far as we know, appear that he ever consulted the Syriac edition of this work, although it was published some years before the last volumes of his History were finished. It contains, however, so large an accession of materials for history, that there are few subjects connected with the East, previously to the thirteenth century, on which he would not have gleaned a considerable harvest by consulting it. The first and, as yet, the only edition of the Syriac Chronicle of Abulfarage was published in the year 1788, under very peculiar circumstances. A German student of Civil Law, named Bruns, passed a considerable time at Oxford; and having in Germany acquired a competent knowledge of Syriac, he spent his leisure hours in copying the beautiful MS. of this author, belonging to the Bodleian Library. The work of transcription, creditable as the undertaking was to the zeal of the young student, was unhappily performed either with insufficient leisure, or without adequate skill for so important a task. But on the return of Bruns to Germany, his copy of this MS. created a considerable sensation, and he was earnestly entreated

to publish it. To these entreaties he yielded; but, alas! the necessity for a rapid completion of the work, added to a certain degree of inaccuracy in the Syriac knowledge of the editor, damaged very materially the value of the publication. In one respect, perhaps, the *extreme* haste with which the book was printed and published, ensured a greater degree of accuracy than would have been attained had a few more weeks been available. It was physically impossible for Bruns, single-handed, to bring out his volume in time for the Leipsic Book-fair of 1788; accordingly, he placed a considerable portion of his manuscript in the hands of Kirsch, by far the ablest Syriac scholar of that day. The consequence was, that one portion of the work, executed by Kirsch, is really well edited; and although a longer time would have enabled *him* to add materially to the value of his emendations of the text and his brief notes, we must rejoice that his aid was invoked. The Autobiography of Abulfarage, and some small portions of his numerous works, had appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century in the 'Bibliotheca Orientalis' of Assemanni; but even those fragments of his Syriac writings were known only to a very limited circle of Orientalists. The publication of the 'Bibliotheca Orientalis' promoted very effectually the study of the Syriac language, but the number of students was small. This work, which is a Catalogue Raisonnée of all the Syriac books in the Vatican, with copious extracts from many of them, was the means by which a far more extended knowledge of the vocabulary and the grammar of the language could be acquired than previously; but it did not excite a general interest. The nature of this work, and its expensive form, rendered it accessible to those only who were in affluent circumstances, or who were placed near a public library. And even the public libraries of Germany were not all furnished with this luxury. J. D. Michaelis, one of the most eminent Syriac scholars of the last century, complains, in more than one of his publications, of the hard fate of his father, because the library of the University of Halle was unprovided with this treasure. In his admirable 'Syriac Grammar' (A.D. 1784), which he calls a successor of the *Syriasmus* of his father, he excuses the deficiencies of the latter grammar, by observing that the University Library of Halle and his own private library were destitute of the 'B. O.' of Assemanni, and the works of Ephrem Syrus. Again, in his edition of 'Castell's Syriac Lexicon,' he renews the same complaint about the '*perquam modica Bibliotheca Academica Hallensis.*' We are accustomed to look upon Halle as blazing with all the splendour of the names of Vater and Gesenius, who are as eminent in Philology, as they are contemptible in Theology; and we can hardly realize these facts, and

conceive the miserable discouragements under which these studies took their rise. It would hardly be credited, if it were not delivered on undoubted authority, that in the middle of the last century the Library of the University of Halle was unprovided with books, without which no progress can be made in Syriac beyond the mere study of the versions of the Bible. And yet from Halle have come Vater, Gesenius, and Rödiger, to whose labours Oriental Philology is so much indebted. We are informed on good authority, that when Gesenius began to lecture he had only fourteen auditors! but after twenty years his class reached to five hundred auditors. He consoled himself about the small number of students at first, by the consideration that when Vater commenced his lectures, *he* had only four auditors! So that, although we now address a small number of persons in England, that number may ere long be much increased. And while we make these few brief statements concerning Syriac literature in general, we desire more especially to call attention to the author we have named, viz., Abulfarage, or, as he is frequently called, Gregory Bar Hebræus. With this introduction, we enter upon the consideration of this author's Life and Works.

In the year 1847 a new edition of the Syriac Chronicle of this eminent man was projected in Germany. The Staatsrath D. von Frähn made a request that the German Oriental Society would undertake this labour. The work is dear and scarce; it is full of important matter, not easily met with elsewhere; and the only edition in existence is not only lamentably incorrect, but the mistakes in which it abounds are calculated to mislead all but first-rate scholars. These circumstances offer strong inducements for a new edition; but that labour ought to be undertaken by an university or by some public body, like the Oriental Society, which can bear the outlay required without looking for an immediate return. The work will sell, if well executed, but its sale must necessarily be slow. The fact is, that the history of Abulfarage was only known to the learned by the Arabic edition, of which we have already spoken as a text-book to Gibbon. The Arabic text, however, was only an abridgement made by the author himself during the last year of his life; and although it may contain some corrections and even additions, the main feature of the Arabic as compared with the Syriac form of the work is omission. The language of Michaelis as to the relative value of the two works is particularly strong. He says:[1]—

[1] 'Abhandlung von der Syrischen Sprache, und ihrem Gebrauch; nebst dem ersten Theil einer Syrischen Chrestomathie. Zweite Auflage, mit Zusätzen.' Göttingen. 1786.

'But how important would it be if we had a greater number of entire Syriac works on history. I will only mention one, of which we possess a portion in Arabic extracts, and a Latin translation of them. Gregorius Abulpharagius, whose "Historia Dynastiarum" Ed. Pocock, published with a Latin translation, has hitherto been one of the chief sources of Oriental history..... But the book was originally written in Syriac, and was called a Chronicle. The Arabic is a mere translation, or to speak more correctly, a mere hasty abridgement of it, prepared by Bar Hebræus himself, at the request of some Arabians, and to which he did not, it appears, devote more than a month. But this translation by no means supersedes the utility of the Syriac original. For this consists of three parts, entitled by Assemanni:—

'"1. A Chronicle of the Scripture Patriarchs and Kings.

'"2. A Chronicle of the Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch.

'"3. A Chronicle of the Primates, Patriarchs, and Maphrians of the East."

'Of these the last portion is entirely omitted in the Arabic, . . . nor is the first preserved entire. How great would be the gain to Asiatic history, which in the Middle Ages is much interwoven with European, especially Byzantine, as well as with the Crusades and Russian history, if we could read this author in the original. He is, of all the Syriac writers known to us, by far the most learned. His History was enriched with materials gathered from places now under the dominion of ignorance, and derived from the treasures of ancient libraries, apparently long since destroyed, particularly from the Syriac, Arabic, and Persian writings in the archives at Maruga, in the province of Adorbigan..... Gregory B. H. lived in a period of the greatest interest, viz. from A. D. 1226—1286, under the great Tatar monarch Hulaku (Holagou); and as his forefathers survived the conquest of Jenghiz Khan, so he survived the destruction of the Khalifat by Hulaku, a brother of Mangou..... Being Primate, he had the honour of being received by this great king, whose name, to the disgrace of historians, is unknown to many of them.'

Such is the opinion of a very competent judge, J. D. Michaelis, the author of the 'Commentaries on the Laws of Moses,' and the 'Introduction to the New Testament,'—two books which, though they are very questionable in their principles, are full of erudition.

The value of the Syriac text is even yet hardly appreciated, because it is known to us only (except in MS.) in a very corrupt condition. The learned Von Hammer (Fundgruben des Orients, v. p. 346) denies indeed that the Arabic is a mere hasty abridgement, and Bernstein considers it a revised and corrected edition of the first part of the Syriac Chronicle; but, after all, it is an historical fact that he was not employed more than a month on the translation, and there is no question that it is, in many places, considerably abridged. It is true, also, on the other hand, that some portions of the history are enlarged, but it happens to be in those parts where the subject-matter interests Europeans the least. As he composed his Arabic edition for the use of Mohammedans, he inserted fuller accounts of Scripture matter and Roman History, as these were things of which they were

likely to be rather ignorant; and he retrenched the history of the Khalif Hakem and of Saladin, because the Arabic reader was probably too well acquainted with this part of history to need his aid.

It has been intimated that the work in Syriac consists of two, or rather of three parts. These are:—

1. The General History.
2. The Ecclesiastical History, divided into two portions.

The former of these divisions has been edited in Arabic by Pocock, and in Syriac by Bruns and Kirsch; the latter is still unpublished.

As the author himself is not very extensively known to English readers, it may be convenient if we give a brief summary of his life, drawn from his own most interesting autobiography, which is found in the second volume of Assemanni's 'Bibliotheca Orientalis.' Indeed the sketch of his life prefixed to Pocock's edition of the Chronicle is almost ludicrous, for its jejuneness and its inaccuracy. Pocock draws his information chiefly from Arabic writers, which accounts for the manner in which he speaks of the works of this author. He tells us that he wrote many books, but none of them were known to Pocock except the 'Historia Dynastiarum' and a Syriac Grammar. He also states that Abulfarage[1] is reported to have died an apostate and a Mohammedan,—a tradition which Pocock refutes with some hesitation, although we must regard it in much the same light as we should look upon a respectable Hindoo scandal, that Bishop Heber had died a convert to the faith of Brahma.[2] Indeed, nothing can show more completely how ignorant our great Oriental scholars of the seventeenth century were of Syriac, than the explanation given by Pocock of the title borne by Abulfarage, viz. the 'Maphrian of the East.' This title—though it is as recognised a phrase for the second dignity in the Jacobite Church, as 'Metropolitan of England'[3] is for the Archbishop of York—Pocock informs us means the 'Oriental Teacher.'

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[1] The word is so differently spelt in different authors that one hardly knows how to recognise it under its various disguises. Abu'lfaradsch, Abu'lfaraj, Abu'lfarage, Abulpharage, &c. are all found; and as we must adopt one, we have selected that which is most in accordance with common usage, though not the most correct.

[2] Assemanni supposes Pocock to have been misled by confusing our author with another Abufarage commemorated by Ibn Chalikan, B. O. vol. ii. p. 266. It is of little importance whether the assertion arose from such a mistake or not. The simple statement of the fact, without an indignant refutation of it, testifies the general ignorance of Syriac literature prevalent even among the literary giants of those days. The means of studying it were not accessible until Assemanni had published his 'Bibliotheca Orientalis.'

[3] As contrasted with 'Metropolitan of all England' for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Abulfarage was born in the year 1537 of the Greek era (by which the Syriac writers commonly reckon), and this corresponds with A.D. 1226. His father was a Jewish physician, named Aaron, from which circumstance he derives the patronymics by which he is often designated, of Bar-Hebræus and Bar-Aaron. The notices of his youth are scanty, but he has given us full particulars of his episcopal life; and as the private memoirs of an Oriental Primate of the thirteenth century are not of every-day occurrence, the details of daily life and ecclesiastical history which they present contain some novelty and considerable interest. It must be premised that Abulfarage was of the sect of Monophysites or Jacobites. The highest dignity among these sectarians was that of Patriarch, but next to the Patriarch was the Primate or Metropolitan, whose proper title in Syriac is Maphrian or Mafrian,—a dignity to which our author finally attained. The period at which he was elected to this high office was a stormy season for the Christians in the East. Bagdad and Aleppo, as well as the greater portion of Syria, had been torn by convulsions, and the Mohammedans of Assyria had come with a fell swoop on the Christians of those regions only to make way for a still more devastating expedition under the Tatars.

'The Church,' observes Abulfarage, 'remained desolate and 'widowed for six years; for before the death of Salibo the 'Mafrian, it had been deprived of the Patriarch also for three 'years.' Ecclesiastical affairs were then in rather a perplexing condition in those regions. The dignitaries of the Church (or Churches, for there were the Orthodox Church, the Monophysite Sect, &c.) were obliged to ask for a confirmation of their office at the hands of the Tatar monarch, then called by them 'the King of Kings!' The monarch, however, to whom Abulfarage was referred in these affairs, appears to have conducted himself in a gentlemanly and kind manner. The condition of the Church is thus described:—

'At the time of the death of Ignatius, called also Salibo the Mafrian, these districts were much disturbed. Bagdad was desolated, then Aleppo, then Bethnahrin (Mesopotamia). And after this the Mohammedans of Assyria rose against the Christians, and destroyed them. And after a short time the Tatars came and killed the Mohammedans, and a general slaughter ensued.'

Notwithstanding this depressed and depressing condition, a synod of Jacobite Bishops met to elect a Patriarch and a Mafrian; and our author was the person selected for the latter dignity. This occurred in the year of the Greeks 1575 (*i.e.* A.D. 1264). His consecration was delayed a short time in consequence of the troubled state of the country, but in due time he was installed in his new dignity. The Mafrian now prepared, with his eccle-

siastical superior, the Patriarch, to visit 'the King of Kings,' *i.e.* Holagou or Hulaku (as he is called in these volumes), the chief of the Tatars; or, as one might say, the Great Mogul, from whom each of them received a diploma of confirmation. Some curious details are given in this portion of the autobiography of Abulfarage, as to the terms on which the rival sects conducted their affairs in the East at this season; but as they are scarcely of sufficient interest to justify quotation, we shall simply remark that they appear to be highly creditable to the Christian moderation and temper of all parties.

We must, however, contrive to make room for the following amusing account of

'THE MANAGEMENT OF A REFRACTORY BISHOP.

'And in that year one Simeon, called also Bar-Kalig, who was Bishop of the city Tus in Khorassan, received an appointment from Mar Dencha, the Catholicus and Metropolitan of China; but as he showed symptoms of rebellion against the Catholicus before he set out for his see, the Catholicus sent for him, and having brought him to Asna, a city of Badurbigan, he despoiled him of all his property, and incarcerated him at once in the convent of Mar Abraham, in the suburbs of the city. From this he contrived to escape, and fled to the mountains, when he was brought back by some mountaineers. The Catholicus then confined him to his cell, and in a few days he died, as well as all the monks and bishops who were with him. And many various opinions were circulated as to the cause of his death.'

Such was the mode of dealing with a refractory Bishop in Syria during the thirteenth century. We are not exactly informed as to the amount of his insubordination, but the whole circumstances indicate rather a stringent code of ecclesiastical discipline. We apprehend that under a prelate of Mar Dencha's disposition, no Synod of Exeter would have been held.

This is, however, a mere episode in our history. We remark, that the labours of Abulfarage in executing the duties of his new dignity, were incessant. He was perpetually travelling—and there were then no railroads—from Mosul to Bagdad, or from Bagdad to Edessa; occasionally making his salaam to the Great Mogul, as he happened to cross his path, ordaining deacons and priests, and consecrating bishops, restoring decayed churches and building new ones, and, lastly, by way of variety, delivering a course of lectures on the Elements of Euclid, and the Almagest of Ptolemy! This amount of work is, as our American friends say, 'a pretty good stroke of business.' These labours and the poverty of his see would, we think, almost satisfy the clamours of those atrabilious Church reformers, Mr. Horsman and Sir Benjamin Hall. He appears also to have been a man of most disinterested spirit — we beg the pardon of Church reformers for supposing that a Christian Bishop can be disinterested!—and

he died, as one might expect, as poor as a Church mouse. He has placed on record a reply which he made when suspected of desiring the dignity of Patriarch. His language is so characteristic and so eloquent, that we will quote this apologetic passage. It appears that on the death of Mar Ignatius, A.D. 1282 some intrigues took place which Abulfarage wholly discouraged and as some ecclesiastical ordinances had been broken, he would not receive the deputation sent to him by the guilty parties, on which a report appears to have been spread that he was displeased at not being appointed Patriarch himself. These suspicions gave rise to the following passage, in a letter addressed by Abulfarage to Philoxenus:—

'Think not that I have the slightest desire to be made Patriarch, and that for this reason I have refused [to receive these deputations]. For He who searches the heart, knows that in me not a single member exists which desires this dignity, and I can assign many reasons for this repugnance. First, that almost forty years have elapsed since I received the grade of the episcopate, twenty years of which have been passed in the East, and twenty in the West. And I am satiated with this dignity. Wherefore I desire peace and quiet, and a tranquil life, and the end and the consummation promised to men of peace! And secondly, that in this my Eastern episcopate there has been by the mercy of God great tranquillity, and nothing has been wanting in it to me, that I should fly from it, as my predecessors have done! Even though our times have been disturbed, the extreme quiet which has marked my episcopate has been conceded to no other. And thirdly, even suppose that I had any desire, like other men, for the Patriarchate, now that the Presidency of the West has so long been desolated, how could any such desire remain under its present circumstances? Would it be a desire for Antioch? that would be sorrow and weeping for me! Would it be the priestly care of Guma, where not an inhabitant remains? or of Berœa? or of Mabug? or of Calonicus? or Edessa and Haran? which are all deserted, or the seven dioceses round Melitene, where not an inhabitant remains? Lacabene forsooth! and Archa, Kalisma, Semcha, Claudia, and Gargara! From these circumstances it is clear that my remonstrance proceeds from your reprehensible conduct, and not from my ambition. I have only remonstrated because you have acted in this matter without the consent of the East and the West.'

There is a touching dignity and earnestness about this language which go to the heart, and the graphic description which it includes of the condition of the East at that season is not without its value and interest. The miserable picture of desolation which this extract discloses must strike the mind of every reader; and it is a very remarkable fact, that in those regions where speculative errors about the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity have most prevailed, there the course of events has led to the extinction of the Christian faith, and the substitution of Islam!

The remaining portions of this autobiography are full of

interest; but as our chief object is to call attention to some passages from the Chronicle of Abulfarage, we cannot enlarge much upon the details of the author's life. It appears that the Tatar monarchs occasionally numbered a Christian lady, or at least a convert to Christianity, among their wives. Thus Dachuskotan is called the faithful or the believing wife of Hulaku. We read also of the faithful Queen Binacatona, in A.D. 1284, who assisted the Mafrian in the adornment of a church which he built in the fortress of Bartela! She sent for two painters from Constantinople to adorn it—'stupendous artists,' as Abulfarage informs us. A little incident which occurred is worth narrating in the present day, which does not differ, in some important matters, from the times of Abulfarage. It appears that the church in question, being built in honour of a celebrated saint, viz. St. John Barnagore, it was deemed advisable to enshrine his reliques there. But the priests and monks who were sent to disinter them, were unable to find them; and they learned from a dream, that unless the Mafrian should come himself, the reliques would not be found. To this the Mafrian gave a decided negative, as he gave no credence to the story of the dream; but his convictions were destined to be shaken. 'He 'fasted and prayed in entire solitude from Friday night to Sunday 'night, the 23 Tisri, and after the prayer of that night he saw 'a bright boy, who said to him, "The reliques are under the 'ancient Thronos,"' &c. It is unnecessary to pursue this narrative, which ends, as all such narratives, whether Græco-schismatical or Roman Catholic, invariably end, by the finding of the reliques in the very spot thus preternaturally indicated. This is quite natural, and it may be as natural, but it certainly is not a little amusing, to find that Assemanni, 'the slave of the Vatican,' as Gibbon somewhere designates him, quietly tells us that the reliques were no doubt previously deposited there, for the purpose of palming off a spurious miracle on the faithful!

About the age of sixty, in the midst of all his honourable and useful labours of love, the hand of death arrested his career, and the closing scene of his life is very graphically placed before us by his brother's pen. After finishing the Arabic translation of his Chronicle within three or four pages, he was seized with fever at Maruga. The physicians prescribed for him, and urgently entreated him to take the medicines they had ordered; but he

'refused, for he said that his time was now come, and medicine would be of no avail. Although he was strong as a lion, and his body was in that year stronger and more agreeable in temperament than ever, yet in three days he was so weakened by the fever, that when he asked for writing,

materials in order to make some final arrangements relative to his cell and his disciples, he was unable to make use of them. Still he asked for them every two or three hours, and rubbed his right hand against his left, and said, "My strength is departed, and has failed!" "Thou hast deluded me, and hast denied me the destiny to die and be buried by the bishops, the monks, the priests, and the deacons, over whom I have presided twenty-two years! Thou hast withdrawn me from death, but this withdrawal has not availed me. Now, therefore, be strengthened and take courage! Weep not nor mourn as if some new thing had happened." These and similar words of consolation he addressed to those around him in cheerfulness all day. And at the same time he called to Said, the deacon and physician, saying, "Write what I am about to utter!" And this was the beginning of his words, "The son of man, like grass are his days, and like the flower of the field he buds!" Then after making some arrangements about vestments, he gave his disciples this command, "Remain in love, and separate not from one another, for when you are assembled in love I shall be among you!" His attendants tore their garments, and threw dust upon their heads, until nine o'clock at night; but he ceased not to speak to them in a cheerful and encouraging tone, till at last, in the midst of this exhibition of Christian calmness and cheerfulness, "he was extinguished as a lamp, glorious and shining, and a great pillar of the weak and infirm people of the Jacobites!" He departed thus to his Lord on Tuesday, 30th Tammuz, in the year 1597, *i.e.* A.D. 1285.'[1]

Thus died Abulfarage, or Gregory Bar-Hebræus, the chief ornament of Syriac literature; a man of vast attainments for the period in which he flourished, a zealous, earnest Christian bishop, an ornament and blessing to his country and his age.

One more personal anecdote is worth recording, to show the sway which judicial astrology then exercised over the minds of the greatest men, especially in the East. The very last page of Abulfarage's own Memoirs—the very thread which is taken up and continued by his brother—is occupied with a prediction of his own death, in the following remarkable terms:—

'In the year 1597 of the Greeks, which was the sixtieth year of the age of the Mafrian, he presaged his death, for he said, "In the year in which Saturn and Jove were in conjunction in Aquarius I was born; and after twenty years, when they were again in conjunction in Libra, I was consecrated bishop, and after twenty years, when they were in conjunction in Gemini, the office of Mafrian was intrusted to me; and after twenty years, when they are again in conjunction in Aquarius, I think I shall depart out of the world:" for he said, "Oh net of ages! in the year 1537 thy net caught me, and I think in the year 1597 I shall be no longer in thee!"'

The ink with which these words were written could scarcely be dry, when he was seized with this fatal disease, the progress and

[1] This is translated literally from the Syriac, but there is some difficulty about the date. It appears from Sir H. Nicolas (Chronology of History), that the 30th July in A.D. 1285 fell on a Monday. In A.D. 1286 the same day of the month fell on a Tuesday. Bernstein (Ankündigung, &c. p. 17) places the death of Abulfarage in A.D. 1286; and we are inclined to believe, from other reasons, that this is correct.

result of which is so simply and touchingly told by Barsuma, his brother.

While we praise so highly this author, we are not blind to the importance of the great doctrines on which his views were heterodox. But we feel that great allowances are to be made for him, in consequence of the age in which he lived, and the circumstances of the Church in his day. And we believe, also, that the divergence of this class of sectarians from the true faith has been exaggerated by the use of indefinite language. It is necessary to make this statement in commenting on the life of Abulfarage; but having once called attention to the circumstance, we shall advert to it no more.

We do not feel disposed to give a list of this author's works, as they are very numerous, and the mere recital of their titles would give no adequate notion of their contents. For instance, one of his treatises is entitled 'The Business of Businesses, viz. Physics and Theology;' and another, 'The Book of the Apple of the Eye, Logic.' But the one great work which has achieved for him a more than European reputation, is the celebrated Syriac Chronicle to which we have already alluded. Those who have lifted the ponderous volume in which the works of Abulfarage are contained, now in the Bodleian Library, will have some notion of the extent, if not of the variety, of his lucubrations. The amiable librarian of that splendid storehouse of literary treasures, in entrusting us with the volume for the purpose of reference, intimated that, valuable as it was, he had less misgivings in leaving that volume in the hand of a stranger than almost any other, for it was quite clear that no person but a descendant of Hercules could run away with it.

Having thus traced the life of the author, we now direct the attention of our readers to his principal work, which Dr. Bernstein, as will be seen from the announcement at the head of this article, a few years ago proposed to re-edit. That intention, however, as we have said, he soon abandoned in favour of Dr. Tullberg, who had undertaken to assist him in editing the ecclesiastical portion of the Chronicle. Dr. Tullberg was in England shortly after Bernstein had given his collections for the other portion into his hands, and he was in connexion with some Oriental scholars at Oxford. But for some time we regret to state that we have been able to gain no tidings of the progress of this new edition. The specimen itself, though it only extends to three pages, is so beautiful in its typography, and so rich in historical illustration, that we feel extremely tantalized by the prospect of so admirable an edition, and sadly vexed by the fear that our hopes of seeing it executed may, after all, be destined to be disappointed. It is to be regretted that Bernstein himself should have given up

the plan. He is admirably qualified for the task. He is not only the best Syriac scholar of the day, but he has bestowed great attention on this author; and he has shown his great knowledge of the language, and his skill as an editor, in his new edition of Kirsch's Chrestomathy. He has added considerably to the extracts in that volume; his preface is admirable, and the Lexicon is the best Syriac Lexicon as yet published. The fact is, that a really good Syriac Lexicon is a desideratum in our literature. That of Castell was admirable for the time in which it was written, but it is adapted to little more than the study of the Bible in Syriac. The edition of that Lexicon by Michaëlis is a great improvement on all preceding Lexicons, but it is wholly insufficient for the requirements of the present day, because it is only calculated for the Syriac Bible, and the 'Bibliotheca Orientalis' of Assemanni. The means of improving this Lexicon are to be found in the Glossaries to the Chrestomathies which have appeared at various times in Germany. The Chrestomathy of Michaëlis was, we believe, the earliest of these useful publications; but the Glossary which was to accompany it was not published by Michaëlis himself; in fact, it did not see the light till 1829, when a very able Syriac scholar, Doëpke, finding that most of the copies of the Chrestomathy remained unsold, composed an admirable Glossary for it, and added some very valuable critical notes upon the text of the Syriac extracts. The next Chrestomathy which was published was that of Kirsch, in 1789; and this has served as a foundation to almost all succeeding works of the same kind, for the compilers have generally contented themselves with repeating the same extracts which Kirsch made with great judgment from the Chronicle of Abulfarage, and accompanying them by a few passages drawn from other sources. These remarks apply to the Chrestomathies of Oberleitner, Rödiger, &c.; but those of Michaëlis, Tychsen, Seyffarth, and Hahn, form an exception to this general rule. Seyffarth and Hahn conjointly published a very valuable selection from the Hymns of Ephrem Syrus, and accompanied the hymns with good notes, and an excellent Glossary. But by far the best Syriac Lexicon which has yet been published, is that appended by Bernstein to his new edition of Kirsch, in three octavo volumes, two of which are devoted to the Glossary.[1] From a careful comparison of

[1] Cardinal Wiseman has alluded to the defects of Syriac Lexica in the Preface to his 'Horæ Syriacæ.' We should be glad to know what the learned Cardinal meant by one sentence in that portion of the Preface. After stating that he is only exhibiting a specimen of the deficiencies of existing Lexica, and after declaring he is well aware how much labour a new Lexicon would require, he proceeds thus:—'Accedit præterea Castelliani operis præstantia, quod quidem te emendaturum, vix sperare potes, nisi integrum incudi reddere audeas; at *quot libras* in uno vire

these Glossaries, and a search through the later publications of Mr. Cureton, a very admirable Syriac Lexicon might be formed; but the labour would be great, and the reward—*nil!*

We now proceed to give some extracts from the great work of Abulfarage—his Syriac Chronicle. We have before stated that it consists of three parts—

1. The Dynasties—a Civil Chronicle from Adam to A.D. 1286.
2. An Ecclesiastical History, which falls into two divisions.

(1.) A Catalogue and Chronicle of the Patriarchs of Antioch, called by this author the Pontiffs of the West.

(2.) A Catalogue and Chronicle of the Primates, Patriarchs, and Mafrians of the East.

The two latter divisions have never yet seen the light, and are known only by the extracts from them printed in Assemanni, B. O. The portion of Ecclesiastical History to which they refer is very obscure; and if Dr. Tullberg perseveres in his plan of publishing this work, much light may probably be thrown on many difficult points. Indeed, it is so obscure, that Renaudot, a man of considerable learning, pronounced it incapable of being illustrated by native writers. But our business lies with the Civil Chronicle; and the 'Historia Dynastiarum,' so far from exhausting the interest which attaches to this part of the work, only enhances it. The savoury pieces of information which Abulfarage reserves for his Christian auditory, are precisely those which prove most interesting to European readers, and to them we now invite especial attention.

The most remarkable of the portions omitted in the Arabic are the pranks of the Khalif Hakem—the founder of the Druses—and the account given of Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin. One of the most interesting parts of the narrative common to both, is the history given of the Tatar and Mogul empire.

Hakem—the celebrated founder of the Druses—like many respectable potentates of the East, rejoiced in a variety of epithets, enough to make a compositor's hair stand on end, from sheer dread of ever placing them in type in a readable form. His full title as given by Sylvestre de Sacy is, Hakem Beamrillah Abou Ali Mansour. The strange proceedings of this Khalif of Egypt were not, we believe, till very lately at all worthily com-

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requirit hujusmodi cœptum Augeanum Herculis laborem vincens?' Did the learned Professor of Oriental languages (as the Cardinal then was) just dash off this sentence in allusion to Juvenal's

> 'Expende Annibalem, quot libras in duce summo
> Invenies?'

without the remotest notion of its meaning? If he did, it would not be altogether unlike some of his later literary exploits.

memorated in English. We do not remember meeting with any account of this remarkable man which gives any notion of the events of his life, till we saw some time ago a very entertaining little volume lately published, entitled the 'Modern Syrians.' A very meagre account of Hakem is indeed to be found in the only work of Volney of which one can speak in terms of commendation—his 'Travels in Syria.' He was a shrewd observer; and his picture of Palestine, intended to bring discredit on Holy Writ, only serves to confirm some of its most striking predictions: and that too, by the most valuable of all testimony, the evidence of a hostile witness. His lucubrations on Ancient History are contemptible; but he introduces occasionally into his Travels a tolerable summary of interesting portions of Oriental History, derived from Arabic writers. Among these is his 'History of the Druses, with a slight Biographical Sketch of Hakem.' The latter is, however, so brief as hardly to form an exception to the general silence of English literature as to Hakem. The Druses are so interesting to Oriental students, that Sylvestre de Sacy—the greatest French authority in regard to the Semitic languages—did not consider his time misemployed when devoted to an elaborate publication designed to illustrate their origin and history, of which the Life of Hakem forms one of the most considerable portions. His chief authorities are the Arabic writers, especially Macrizi, El-Makin, &c.; but, it must be remembered, that Abulfarage lived at least a century nearer to the period in which Hakem flourished, than Macrizi, the primary Arabic source of information.

The Fatimite Khalifs having transferred the seat of sovereignty to Cairo, the third Prince of that dynasty was Hakem. He is described by Gibbon as a 'frantic youth,' and Volney calls him 'one of the most extraordinary princes of whom history has preserved the memory.' Volney adds, 'He compelled the 'Jews and Christians to abjure their religion, and then permitted 'them to resume it. He prohibited the making slippers for women, 'to prevent them from coming out of their houses. He burnt one-'half of Cairo for his diversion, while his soldiers pillaged the 'other. Not contented with these extravagant actions, he forbade 'the pilgrimage to Mecca, fasting, and the five prayers; and at 'length carried his madness so far, as to desire to pass for God 'himself.' This outline of his conduct is rather amply illustrated by the Syriac Chronicle of Abulfarage, and we now proceed to give a few extracts, which, we believe, have never before appeared in our own language. We have translated them directly from the Syriac; or, rather, have slightly altered them from a literal translation which we made some years ago.

His reign began in the year of the Hejira 386, or A.D. 996;

and his frolics began very soon after his accession to power. One of his first amusements was, a persecution of the Christians and Jews, in a fit of indignation against the former for the imposture of the miraculous fire at Easter. The account of Abulfarage is circumstantial and curious. It is as follows :—

'At that season Hakem issued his commands, and the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem was utterly destroyed, and its furniture entirely despoiled. A thousand churches in his dominions were destroyed at the same time. He ordered proclamations to be made that honours should be bestowed on every Christian who would embrace Islam, while those who refused should be subjected to insult, and bear a cross upon their necks; while the Jews who refused should also carry on their necks the likeness of the head of a calf, in remembrance of that which they worshipped in the wilderness. They were forbidden to wear rings on the right hand, or ride on horseback or on mules, and only permitted to ride on asses with humble saddles and wooden stirrups. All who refused to submit to these indignities, were ordered to gather together their goods and depart into some place under the dominion of the Franks. On the promulgation of this decree, many by night abjured Christianity; while others, who submitted to wear the cross, made that of gold and ornamented their saddles with mahogany. When this came to Hakem's ears, he ordained that the cross should be of wood and four pounds in weight, ordering that those who infringed this regulation should suffer death; while he commanded the Jews to carry round their necks a wooden bell[1] of six pounds weight, and that whenever they went to the bath they should bind smaller metal bells upon their necks to separate them from the Mohammedans. This persecution took its origin from the hatred of a certain man towards the Christians, he having reported to Hakem that the Christians, when they assemble to celebrate the Passover in the Temple in Jerusalem,[2] deceive the Prefect of the Church. They anoint, according to his account, with oil of balsamon the iron chain by which the lamp is suspended over the Sepulchre; and when the Moslem Governor seals the door of the Sepulchre, they, from the roof, set fire to the top of the iron chain, and the light runs down to the lamp and ignites it; but the Christians begin to sing Κύριε ἐλέησον, and weep until they see the light that descends from heaven on the Sepulchre, by which they are confirmed in their faith. This persecution continued till within a short time of Hakem's death, when he repented of what he had done, and gave commandment that those who had abjured their faith should return to its profession, and he entreated the Christians to rebuild their churches, and those who had fled he requested to return again to their houses.'

There is much which is curious in this extract, but the most remarkable part of it is evidently the account given of the Easter fire. We have here the view taken of this imposture by a Mohammedan in the eleventh century, reported by a Christian Bishop of the twelfth. One can hardly fail to call to mind, and

[1] The best Syriac authorities are rather at fault in the explanation of this passage —the literal translation of which would be 'a stump in the likeness of the hand of a bell.' But what is exactly intended by 'the hand of a bell,' they do not know; perhaps some author, as yet unedited, may use the word 'hand' in a passage which would give a clue to its meaning here.

[2] *i. e.* to celebrate Easter in the Church of the Resurrection.

apply to this disgraceful trick of the ecclesiastical Greeks of the present day, the remark which Mons. Roque, at Athens, used to make in comparing the Athenians of the present day with their classical ancestors: 'Monsieur, ils sont la même canaille qu'ils étaient au temps de Themistocles.' The trick is performed, however, in the present day, with rather more attempt at concealment in the machinery. But this passage, at all events, is a contribution towards the history of this imposture, and is the more curious because it is one of the portions of the Syriac Chronicle omitted in the Arabic abridgement.

Our next extract will also be derived from the same part of Abulfarage, being a description of rather an exciting scene in Bagdad. To those of our readers who can remember a Gown and Town row in Cambridge, the account will suggest some reflections on the identity of man's nature in all ages and localities. Where there is a body of men separated from the ordinary population of a place, either by privileges, profession, or faith, there is a mass of inflammable matter which it requires only a small spark to ignite. We need look no further for an illustration, than to the accounts of the insurrection of the Mohammedans of Bombay, which occurred a few years ago. We proceed now to give a brief account of a

'STREET RIOT IN BAGDAD.

'In the 403d year of the Mohammedans (A. D. 1011), died the wife of Abunatzar, the son of Israel, the Christian lawyer in Bagdad. They raised her on a bier in the day time with a cross and lights, while old men and monks, and female mourners weeping, preceded her with cymbals. A Mohammedan being incensed at this, threw a stone at the bier, and the servants of an eminent Emir, who surrounded the bier as guards, smote the Mohammedan with the sword, and there was an awful riot in Bagdad, and many of the Christians and Mohammedans were killed, while Abunatzar, the husband of the deceased lady, fled to the house of a great man; nor was the tumult appeased till he had been taken and dragged to the palace of the Caliph. He was imprisoned a short time, and then released, to the great joy of the Christians.'—*Abulf.* p. 216.

Although recorded in the midst of the memoirs of Hakem, this incident, occurring at Bagdad, had of course nothing to do with the eccentricities of that Khalif. But his vagaries are so strange, that one hardly knows which to select as the most characteristic. It seems that he had a very bad opinion of the ladies of Cairo, and employed a body of female spies to make him acquainted with all their intrigues. This system of espionage led him occasionally to send his guards with some of the eunuchs of the palace to call at certain houses, to order the immediate appearance of certain ladies, whose names had been reported to him as guilty of grave indiscretion. No matter what their rank

might be, they must appear at this formidable summons. When a sufficient number of these unhappy victims had been collected, five perchance, or ten—for the Khalif was, as the Irish say, 'none of your dirty, exact kind of people'—they were quietly sunk in the Nile! Not content with this reign of terror, the ladies were strictly confined to the house, and their most natural amusement, shopping, abominably curtailed. The dealers who went from house to house with tapes and bobbins, and other implements of female industry, were ordered to play bo-peep at the doors of females; the ladies were to open the doors, but to take care that neither their hands nor their faces could be seen! The articles they wanted were to be thrust into the doors on a kind of spoon, with a long handle, which was also to serve for the export of the price, as well as for the import of the store. But even this indulgence was only obtained after representations of the serious evils which the strict blockade of the doors had actually entailed on widows and single ladies, who had neither husband nor brother to send out to do their shopping for them. It is represented as having nearly caused the starvation of several of the ladies of Cairo. After this narrative, we can hardly wonder at the practical joke played upon Hakem, by placing a female figure made of pasteboard in the line of his evening rounds. When he ordered his guards to despatch the contumacious woman, as he was expected to do, they discovered the imposture, and found a trimming libel in the hand of the figure, which incensed Hakem beyond measure. The libellous document contained charges of licentiousness against his maiden sister, and Hakem immediately determined that he would take signal vengeance on the people of Cairo for this impertinence. He ordered therefore his guards to slay every Egyptian whom they met, to plunder the houses, and set fire to the streets; in short, to make an onslaught upon the city, to which we have scarcely any parallel, unless some of the scenes in the various Revolutions of modern France may be considered worthy to stand by its side.

The circumstances of Hakem's death are involved in considerable mystery. Sylvestre de Sacy does not appear to give full credence to the narrative of Abulfarage, because he has adopted a different version of the affair. But we cannot fail to repeat that Abulfarage is a more ancient authority by a century than the most eminent Arabic writers, to whom De Sacy gives greater weight.[1] We shall therefore state very fully the view

[1] De Sacy refers so slightly to the Syriac Chronicle at all, that if one did not find it quoted among his authorities, and a positive assurance given that he had actually made a translation of every one of those authorities before he began his task, one would think that he had overlooked it, or contented himself with

taken in the Chronicle. In consequence of the scandalous reports contained in the libel found in the hand of the pasteboard figure, Hakem was about to order some very unpleasant investigations respecting his sister's conduct. She was entirely disinclined to submit to any such indignities, and determined to sacrifice the life of her brother. She applied in consequence to a nobleman who was under suspicion in the eyes of Hakem; she promised him her hand, and a share in the regency, which would naturally fall into her hands during the minority of her nephew, then a child. Hakem was a strict believer in judicial astrology, and the story proceeds thus:—

'Hakem's sister having overcome the scruples of this nobleman, he said to her, "Instruct me now in the mode by which we may effect our purpose." "My brother," she replied, "constantly visits alone the summit of a hill by night, to contemplate the stars; and in his horoscope (nativity, literally) it is written, that on a certain night he is in great danger of death; but if the danger of that hour shall pass away, he will live for eighty years longer! Therefore prepare two of your servants—clever and confidential—to waylay him in one of the caverns of the hill, to rush out upon him and kill him." And when that night came, Hakem rode upon his mule up the hill, not suffering any one to remain with him on the top of the hill except a little boy, and leaving the rest of his servants below the hill. Hakem then began to look towards the East; and when he saw Mars rising over the horizon, he muttered between his lips, and said, "Thou hast ascended, thou cursed one! thou shedder of blood! The hour is come." As he uttered these words the two accomplices sprung upon him, drew a rope round his neck, and strangled him; they slew the boy with the sword, and hamstrung the mule. The body of Hakem they carried down by the other side of the mountain, and took it to his sister, who hid it in the house without being perceived, nor was any one conscious of what took place except herself, the two murderers, and their master.'

Such is the account given of Hakem's death by Abulfarage; and he adds that his sister immediately accused the murderers, and procured their execution, so that she herself might take the administration of the government into her own hands, without fearing the detection of her crime. Abulfarage then mentions some reports concerning his latter days, which had obtained a partial belief: first, that he had retired to the desert of Asceto, and died as a monk; and secondly, that while Hakem was persecuting the Christians, our Lord appeared to him as he had done to St. Paul, and from that time he became a believer, and retired to the Desert, where he died. He states also, but very briefly, Hakem's profane assumption of the Divine attributes. He remarks:—

'It is said that he almost equalled the profaneness of Pharaoh by saying, *"ine is the Nile, and I made it.* (Ezekiel xxix. 3.) And when flatterers came

Arabic abridgement. We should be very glad to meet with his translation of is portion of the Chronicle, but we do not know in whose hands his papers were ft.

and addressed to him language such as this, *Peace to thee, the solitary and the only one,* or *Peace to thee, who killest and makest alive, who makest rich and makest poor,* he was delighted with the flattery. In consequence of this, one of those flatterers, going up to Mecca and entering the mosque, struck the black stone with a spear, and broke it, exclaiming, *Wherefore do ye worship and kiss, ye foolish ones! that which can neither profit nor injure you, and desert him, who killeth and maketh alive in Egypt?*'

These are the simple notices afforded of this remarkable character in the Syriac Chronicle; but it will be observed that this assumption of Divine attributes is very hesitatingly assigned to Hakem by Abulfarage, nor does he hint that he thus became in any way the leader of a sect.

Whatever judgment may eventually be passed on the authority of this narrative, it appears clearly desirable that, in an historical question of so much interest as the origin of the Druses, the earliest account of their supposed founder should be duly weighed. We do not claim for it any pre-eminent authority, but its actual value has never yet been sufficiently ascertained.

We should call attention to another portion of the Syriac Chronicle, were it not that it has been published with a translation into English in the little volume entitled 'Syriac Reading Lessons,' which has issued within the last few years from the press of the Messrs. Bagster:—we mean, the history of Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion, of which scarcely a word is found in the 'Historia Dynastiarum,' but which is treated at such length in the Syriac that it occupies about ten pages. The circumstances of the Crusade in which Richard I. and Philip of France fought under the same banners—an occurrence to which no parallel has since occurred—are narrated in these pages, but more with reference to the sort of intercourse which took place between Saladin and Richard, than to the general history of the times. Indeed, Abulfarage was so far misinformed in regard to European affairs, that he tells us, 'it was said that Richard died before he reached England.' But there is one passage which it may be worth while to quote, because it relates to a dark transaction, which has sometimes been used to blacken the memory of the great English warrior. Even Gibbon, who professes, in his text, to disbelieve the slander, insinuates a doubt in his note, by stating that the Moslems believed it, and by disputing what he is pleased to call the King's only defence. This transaction was the murder of the Marquis of Montserrat, by two emissaries of 'The Old Man of the Mountain.' They confessed *under torture,* that they were instigated by Richard, and the Moslems greedily accepted the calumny. Bohaeddin is cited as the authority for this slanderous accusation, but we may quote with more confidence the account of a Christian Bishop who lived within a short time of the events. He narrates the transaction

in the following words, which we shall translate with the most scrupulous exactness, preferring in this instance accuracy to elegance.

'And when the year 588 of the Mohammedans had arrived, 'the Franks went to Askelon, and they began to repair its 'buildings. And the Marquis, the Governor of Tyre, because 'a disagreement had arisen between him and the King of 'England on this account—viz., that it is not right that he 'should govern Tyre, and he (the King) wished to take Tyre 'from him—promised therefore to Saladin that he would be with 'the Mohammedans. And when a message such as this had 'been sent to Saladin, two men attacked the Marquis as he was 'riding—two Ishmaelites in the dress of monks; and when one 'of them had smitten him with a knife, his companion fled to 'the church, which was in the neighbourhood. And the Marquis 'having been wounded, they brought him to that church. And 'when the Ishmaelite monk, the companion of him who smote 'him, saw that he was yet speaking, it happened that he also 'rushed upon him in the church, and smote him a second time; 'and he died at once. And those two Ishmaelites, when the 'Franks had taken them and tortured them, said that the King 'of England had sent them. *And on account of the hatred that 'existed between them, the Franks believed the words of those two 'murderers.* And it was afterwards discovered that *Sinan, the 'chief of the Ishmaelites, had sent them.* And the King of England 'gave Tyre to Count Henry, and he married the wife of the 'Marquis and had intercourse with her, although she was *enceinte;* 'a deed repugnant to the law.'

Such is the evidence as detailed by Abulfarage. The calumny is based only on the word of a murderer, tortured by the enemies of the person whom the slander maligns. We know that torture will extract almost any confession, and the accusations which rest upon that basis are utterly valueless; but Abulfarage speaks of the attribution of the deed to Sinan as an established fact, and it seems fairly entitled to that name.

We have seen in the case of Hakem the extreme importance and interest of the information derived from our author, but that interest arises chiefly from the character of the individual. The portion of his writings to which we invite attention is remarkable, not only in regard to the individuals whose history is narrated, but for the extensive influence which their government exercised on European and general politics—we mean the Tatar Princes. The amount of that influence is greater than was suspected even few years ago; fresh discoveries are made at every new search to the archives of England and France—the two countries all others the least likely to be affected by Tatar movements.

Yet so it is! The researches of Abel Remusat in Paris,[1] and of Hudson Turner[2] in London, have indicated a degree of intercourse between these kingdoms and the Tatar emperors of which the best informed writers till very lately had scarcely any notion. M. Remusat observes that, 'The Great Mogul Empire, 'destined to embrace the whole world, was created in less time 'than it ordinarily takes to found and people a city.' He then proceeds to extract from the unpublished treasures of the Parisian Library, as well as from all the stores of works, published long ago, the notices which illustrate the intercourse between these Moguls and the sovereigns of Europe. Of these some are direct negotiations between the Tatar princes and the States of Europe; others are communications between the European sovereigns, which demonstrate the dread which the very name of Tatar inspired in the thirteenth century. The first occasion on which the Christian powers were confronted with the Tatar hordes, was during the irruption made into Georgia by the generals of Tuli, the son of Jenghis Khan, about the year 1221. The Mohammedan powers had made but a slight impression in Georgia under the Khalifs; the Seljuks exercised a more powerful, but a transient influence. David the Restorer had retaken Teflis, and driven the Moslems beyond the Araxes. The Tatar hordes, however, now began to overrun the eastern portion of Europe. They took Moscow, and drove the King of Hungary before them. The dread of them now began to reach France, Germany, and England. Queen Blanche said to S. Louis, as we learn from Ivo Narbonensis, 'What shall 'we do in these sad circumstances?' 'My mother,' replied the saintly monarch, 'let us be sustained by a heavenly consolation, 'because if these fellows whom we call Tartars should come, we 'will drive them back to Tartarus, from whence they came.' The Emperor Frederick wrote to Edward I. of England, in the same strain, calling them *Tartarei*, and indicating the appropriateness of the epithet from the fire and smoke of their advancing armies.[3] As the name *Tatars* is an Oriental designation, we

[1] See his 'Mémoires sur les Relations Politiques des Princes Chrétiens, et particulièrement des Rois de France avec les Empereurs Mongols: par M. Abel Remusat.' Paris, 1822. 4to.

[2] We allude to a paper on 'Some Unpublished Notices of the Time of Edward I.,' printed in the Archæological Journal, No. 29, March 1851. We deeply regret the loss of this very able archæologist and valuable writer. His 'Notices of the Domestic Architecture of England previous to the Time of Richard II.' is a most valuable contribution to the architectural literature of the country.

[3] This European dread of the Tatars, and the absurdity of deducing their name from *Tartarus*, are both treated of by Gibbon with his usual sagacity and learning, in the able summary of early Tatar history, given in his sixty-fourth chapter. The references in that chapter indicate all the authorities available at the time in which Gibbon wrote.

land, are to the Western people pretty much what the aristocracy of Krâh-winkel, in the Deutschen Kleinstädter, might be to the Court of Vienna. The exceptions to that Cimmerian darkness owe their immunity from neglect, partly to their own intrinsic greatness, partly to their connexion with European politics and history. The Khalifat of Bagdad is known to us by so many illustrious names that some rays of its glory necessarily fall upon the power to which, six hundred years after its establishment by the influence of Mohammed, it succumbed. The Khalifat of Bagdad, beginning immediately after the decease of Mohammed, with Abu Bekr, existed about 626 years, during about 523 of which it was in one family, and was finally extinguished by Hulaku in A. D. 1258. This latter gentleman—who, like the rest of the Tatar sovereigns, rejoiced in the lofty title of 'King of Kings,' and, like them, also is remarkable for the ambiguity with which the spelling of his name is attended—figures of course in the Chronicle of Abulfarage with considerable effect; an effect which is greatly heightened by the circumstance that he was, as we have observed, a personal acquaintance of our author. This personage, whose career appears in the page of history marked only by burning towns and slaughtered people, whose grim visage seems to glare upon us through an atmosphere of smoke and blood, is presented to us in the Chronicle of Abulfarage in a very different light. No man is a hero to his *valet-de-chambre;* and it would seem that even the grim sovereigns of Tartary were not quite Blue-beards to the Christian Bishops with whom they were brought into an anomalous kind of relation. We have been long persuaded—contrary to the vulgar belief—of the great and inestimable advantage of a *bad* reputation, or rather of a bad reputation of a certain sort. Let a man only have the reputation of being a brute, and then, every time that he is approached under those softer influences which create the *mollia tempora fandi*, his reputation is spread, and his praises are sounded in a thousand different channels. In the same manner, all the personal intercourse of Abulfarage with Hulaku would lead to the belief that he, too, was not without a tender spot in his heart.

The Syriac Chronicle, indeed, supplies us with many most interesting particulars relative to the origin of the Tatar dominion, and especially with regard to the family of Jenghiz-Khan. In reading it, we must always bear in mind that it is the work of a writer who lived at no great distance of time from the events here described, and who was familiar with the localities in which they took place. We cannot indeed always congratulate him on his perspicuity in geographical details; and in his description of the original habitat of the Tatar tribes, he certainly cannot

be considered to excel in that very desirable quality. After a very indifferent description of their early abodes, he continues thus:—

'And before Jenghiz-Khan,[1] their first king, arose, they had no chief, but paid tribute to the king of the Chataians, or Chinese. They were clothed in the skins of dogs or wolves, and fed upon the flesh of mice and other abominable creatures, as well as animals which died a natural death; their drink was the milk of mares. The mark of honour of their chief ruler is an iron stirrup; those of others are made of wood. And in that year, *i.e.* the year 1514 of the Greeks (A.D. 1202), and the year 599 of the Mohammedans, when Yunuch-Khan, that is, *John the Christian King*,[2] was ruling over the tribe of the barbarian Huns which is called Krith, Jenghiz-Khan was constantly in his service. But his intelligence and activity excited the jealousy of his superior, who desired to seize him by stratagem, and put him to death. Two youths in the service of Yunuch-Khan having perceived the trap laid for him, made it known to Jenghiz. And Jenghiz immediately communicated it to his own people, and left their tents by night, and secretly formed an ambush. And in the morning, when Yunuch-Khan attacked his tents, he found them deserted. And then the followers of the house of Jenghiz attacked him; and near a fountain called Baalshinah they fought, and Jenghiz conquering, Yunuch was routed. Several engagements subsequently took place, until the whole force of Yunuch-Khan was entirely broken up, he himself killed, and his wife and children taken captive. And Jenghiz exalted the two lads, and bestowed their liberty upon them, with all the spoil which they might have taken, and the following privileges besides, viz. exemption for ever from the payment of the king's portion, permission to approach the king at all times without special command, and exemption from capital punishment. Jenghiz ennobled also the rest of his companions in that war, and specially honoured the tribes of the Mongolians, which is called Aviratheans, by ordaining that they should possess the privilege of intermarriage with the royal family. And this ordinance remains to the present day.'

We consider the latter sentence of some value in creating a degree of confidence and credit for the former part of this narrative, which, as a mere historical announcement, it could hardly have. The rise of the Tatar power under Jenghiz-Khan dates from the early part of the thirteenth century, and in the middle of that century Abulfarage was often brought into official communication and personal intercourse with the Tatar court. His information, therefore, on such subjects, may be presumed to be derived from credible sources. The person whom he calls Unuch, or Yunuch-Khan, in the Syriac Chronicle, is called Vang, or Ung-Khan, in the Arabic abridgement, and is the indi-

[1] On the orthography of this name we may refer to Gibbon, chap. lxiv. But the orthography of Oriental names, even of those connected with the Arabic language, is a very arbitrary affair at present. They are capable of being reduced to a system; and it is a pity that some attempt is not made to obtain uniformity in this respect. The Tatar names, and names derived from other languages, are, however, a more complicated business.

[2] *i.e.* Prester John. See below.

vidual of whom so many fabulous tales are related under the name of PRESTER JOHN, the great Khan, who was reported, chiefly by the Nestorian missionaries, to have embraced the Christian faith, although the amount of his Christianity appears merely to have extended to giving a limited toleration to Christians.

We must now, however, call special attention to the continuation of this extract in the Chronicle, which disappears in the Arabic abridgement, or rather undergoes a remarkable curtailment, in order to adapt the work to Mohammedan readers. Abulfarage proceeds to inform us that the victory of Jenghiz-Khan and this loss of life to Ung-Khan, or Prester John, ought to be traced to the just retribution of God on one who had renounced Christianity in his later years. The passage in Syriac proceeds thus:—

'And it is proper to know that King John, the Christian, was not *rejected inconsiderately*, but after his heart had turned away from the fear of Christ his Lord, who had exalted him, and he had taken a wife from the Chinese people who are called Karacata. And when he deserted the worship of his forefathers, and changed to other gods, God took his kingdom from him, and gave it to one who was better than he, and whose heart was upright before God.'

Now, of this retributive act of Providence, as we may well imagine, the Arabic text preserves *οὐδὲ γρῦ*—not a single syllable, but both the narratives immediately mention the prophetic annunciation delivered by Tubut Tangare, who, during the season of cold and frost, ran naked through the mountains of Tatary, making a proclamation in the following words:—'I went to God, 'and He said unto me, "I have given the whole earth to Timour-'shin and to his children, and I have named him Jenghiz-Khan."'

The Syriac Chronicle gives, as does also the Arabic, an account of the four sons of Jenghiz-Khan.

1. Tushi—devoted to hunting—whom he appointed Master of the Hounds.

2. Shagatai—whom he made chief of the lawyers—the Tatar Lord Chancellor.

3. Uchatai—to whom he committed the administration of the kingdom—the Prime Minister, and eventually his successor in the kingdom.

4. Tuli—whom he made Commander of the Forces.

Jenghiz-Khan thus composed his cabinet of his own family. We do not know whether we are indebted to the gentleman with the euphonious name of *Shagatai* for the laws which Abulfarage quotes in his Chronicle, but omits in his abridgement. They have one great merit—they are very brief; and we should appre-

hend no great nicety would have prevailed in the administration of chastisement to those who infringed them. But this reminds us of another very curious passage in the Chronicle, which informs us how ingeniously some Eastern nations contrive to avoid the employment of any functionary in that awful service which the High Sheriff of every county is obliged to perform, either *per se* or by deputy. We have heard of such treatises as 'Every Man his own Washerwoman,' but we never before heard of 'Every Man his own Executioner.' But they manage these things better in the East. Here is their method:—

'A SINGULAR KIND OF PUNISHMENT.

'And Tergoman sent again an envoy to Aleppo, and seized upon Rashid-eddin, who had fled thither, and shut him up in a castle called Habig. Now, from that castle none of those imprisoned in it were ever suffered to escape alive, except this man, who afterwards obtained favour, and was liberated. In the work of this castle there is a door, at a very great height, and outside of it a small ledge, on which a man could scarcely stand, much less sit. And when any one of high rank is capitally convicted, on whom they are unwilling to lay hands and kill him, they take him out and set him upon this ledge. They then shut the door, and after he has stood there a day or two, he is overcome with sleep, falls down, and is dashed to pieces.'

This passage would surely excite the envy of that active functionary of the English law to whom we have just alluded. This Oriental contrivance would render his task comparatively easy, and render his employment a much nearer approximation to a dignified service. Count de Maistre, in his 'Soirées de St. Petersbourg,' has endeavoured to ennoble this employment; but notwithstanding the cleverness of that remarkable writer, the great apostle of Ultramontanism and the tool of the Jesuits, the defence breaks down.

We might continue our extracts from the Tatar history of Abulfarage almost *ad libitum*, but this essay has extended to so great length, that we feel it necessary to refrain. We will, therefore, only state generally that the Chronicle enters into the history of Munga-Khan and Gujuck-Khan very particularly, but is still more elaborate in its account of the taking of Bagdad by Hulaku (commonly called by Gibbon and other English writers Holagou), and of the other warlike exploits of that great Tatar conqueror. These portions of the history deserve translation and illustration. As we have already stated the demerits of Bruns and his edition, we cannot part with Abulfarage without repeating that we must receive Bruns's gift with gratitude; but could he have given more time to both the processes which engaged his attention, the result would have been more satisfactory. He was an able Syriac scholar; but his mistranslations, from his

haste, are sometimes so ludicrous that it casts much suspicion on the rest. For instance, in one passage where Abulfarage, who seems to have kept as sharp a look-out as the editor of a country newspaper for every *lusus naturæ*, whether in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom, is stating the fact that 'in Further 'India a she-mule had given birth to a foal, which many persons 'had seen,' Bruns translates the passage, and makes it an announcement 'that a beautiful figure had been delivered, and many persons had seen its embryo!' Lorsbach (in his 'Archiv für die Morgenländische Literatur,' p. 199), in a very admirable review of the Chronicle, makes himself extremely merry with this blunder. But although these errors show that no mere reader of the translation can ever rely on the information he derives from the work, they must be looked upon with some degree of leniency, when we consider the difficulties under which this task was achieved. Still, the incompetent manner in which the work was edited, and the entire, or almost entire, want of illustrative notes, have much enhanced the desire for a new edition; and the Prospectus of Bernstein, or rather the specimen with which it is accompanied, has shown how much may be accomplished by a competent scholar and diligent editor. We may remark also, that the portion selected as a specimen is the most unpromising part of all—the mere commencement of the book, which is occupied with the Antediluvian history. Abulfarage, like Josephus, must certainly have stumbled upon some private memoranda, made by Adam and the rest of the Patriarchs, or they could never have given us so much information in regard to their personal history! But be this as it may, almost every three or four lines furnishes occasion to Herr Bernstein to pour from his large stock of knowledge some fertilizing drops. We must repeat the regret we have already expressed at his abandonment of this undertaking, although Dr. Tullberg, should he carry it on, would, no doubt, give us much valuable information. We believe no living writer to be so familiar with the language and the author as Bernstein; and for this reason we feel that no one can do as much for Abulfarage as he could. But we should gladly hail an edition from any person qualified for the task, as Dr. Tullberg is, and who would avail himself of the labours of Lorsbach, of Doëpke, of Mayer, and of the numerous other critics whose lucubrations are scattered over the various periodicals and pamphlets of Germany. With the collections of Bernstein added to his own, we cannot doubt that an admirable edition would be the result.

And here we take our leave of this deeply interesting author. In the extracts which we have given, we cannot point out to the admiration of our readers the graces of style or the beauties of composition. The lively form of Annals unhappily deprives the

work of such ornaments;[1] but we appeal to it as a valuable storehouse of solid information on a subject of which even well-educated Englishmen are often profoundly ignorant. We look upon it also as a very remarkable production for the age and country in which it appeared; and, therefore, whether it be regarded as illustrating Oriental history, or as affording some light to guide us in researches into the history of literature during what we are pleased to call the dark ages, we feel that an improved edition of the Chronicle of Abulfarage is calculated alike to interest the divine, the historian, and the philologist.

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[1] Even the German translator of the Arabic Chronicle thought himself obliged to apologize for the baldness of his style; he begs his readers to remember that he could not beautify the original (ich konnte das original nicht verschönern). This translation was published at Leipzig, by George Laurenz Bauer, in 1783—5, in two 8vo. volumes.

ART. III.—1. *Food and its Adulterations; comprising the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission of the 'Lancet,' for the Years* 1851 *to* 1854 *inclusive. Revised and extended. By* ARTHUR HILL HASSALL, M.D. London: Longmans.

2. *Adulteration of Food, Drink, and Drugs, being the Evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee. Arranged and simplified.* London: David Bryce.

IT is of the very essence of life, as our present experience enables us to comprehend it, to be absorbent of external matter. Everything that lives devours. Each kind of life has, indeed, its peculiar subject-matter, on which it exercises this universal condition of its being; but feed it must, or death is the result. All things change in this mundane condition, and every atom in organic bodies performs (see Hamlet) a multitude of circuits, which would make its history as varied as that of the great world itself. Whether our experience may ever be different; whether the state of things we see around us may be confined to the operations of time as opposed to eternity; whether there is, in fact, a deep and special meaning, beyond what its authors contemplated, in the expression, 'Tempus *edax* rerum,' we must leave to those who speculate on the nature of spiritual beings, who dive into subjects wholly unseen. Our present task is with things not, indeed, easily discerned,—for the microscope is the necessary companion of all investigations such as Dr. Hassall reveals,—but still with distinctively physical arrangements, and with matter, strictly so speaking.

Having, then, established the truth that we absorb a continual succession of atoms in order to support life, we may next consider the general method by which all living substances perform this condition of their existence. There is a wonderful similarity throughout all nature in the process by which this is done, if we trace, in the different kinds of life, the functions and instincts of acquisition and digestion. These may be differently organized, or may act in different ways. What in one kind of life may be done simply by a mechanical process, may in a higher life be done by instinct, and in a higher still by the mind of man; but the same thing is nevertheless being done in all, as a condition of primary vitality;—certain *appropriate* atoms are being absorbed;—the qualities and substances which are *wanted* for each one's separate requirements are being taken in, with a marvellous power of adaptation between the means and the end; and, with the material thus introduced into the living workshop, there are ever being produced, so long as life endures, the

various consistencies, the forms, the colours, and the functional actions, which distinguish each living object, and give it an individual existence.

The process of absorption is the one most connected with our present subject; though still we must have an eye at the work done, at the result manifested, in order to test the good and fitness of the raw material. If a tree is not placed in an appropriate soil or climate, it withers and dies; if a lion cannot obtain flesh, it dies of want, though all nature may beam with life and plenty around it; while the giraffe or antelope might perish at an alderman's feast, unless it discerned a dish of green peas performing its circuit in the hands of a waiter. The primary art of living is to select those substances which most conduce to each one's separate welfare, that they may be applied to the full development of those objects for which it was created. In the case of vegetable life, this first process of selection is performed, under the mysterious guidance of its nature, by small fibrous roots acting in a mechanical manner. If we go a step higher to the inferior grades of animal life, we discover symptoms of voluntary action gradually developing themselves. The race of zoophytes absorb their feed with the smallest degree of intelligence that is conceivable, and thus afford an admirable link in the chain of that universal law which we are tracing through all descriptions of life. The worm and the leech suck in their subsistence by a process a little—but only a little—raised above the former in the growth of instinct. In the insect tribe, however, we have a great stride: the busy bee and the ant are proverbial for the depth of a wisdom which is not only intellectual, but even moral, as contrasted with the imagined thoughtlessness of the butterfly. What labour, what research, do the various orders of created beings exhibit, that rise one above another in the water, in the air, and on the face of the earth, from those already mentioned to the nobler animals! Some prowl in woods and deserts for flesh, or for the same living sustenance hang in mid air or mid water, waiting their opportunity when that which is fitting for the peculiar wants of their nature shall come within range; while others feed on the grass of the field, and patiently consume the requisite number of leafy atoms which their animal economy demands.

The point in all this, however, which now especially we would notice is, the amazing unerring nature of that instinct which guides each living thing to make a proper selection of its own diet. Would that human reason performed this work in all cases with the same truth, the same guileless integrity! But how in the human race is this work accomplished, which thus exquisitely may be traced in the separate habits of unreasoning

life? Man, it is true, does not as he stands on the ground absorb nourishment through the soles of his feet, as a tree does through its stem; he does not open out his stomach, like a zoophyte, for the reception of any morsel that may be wafted along in the stream of fortune; nor, like some of them, is he capable of being turned inside out, with perfect indifference as to which portion of the surface of his frame is applied to digestive, and which to ornamental purposes; he does not suck in vital nourishment from the blood of his neighbours, and thus transform himself into the similitude of a red currant, like a parasitical animal of the human race well known in all ill-regulated dormitories. He does not literally, however in a figurative sense he may strive to do so, suck honey from every flower. He does not range like a wolf, or graze like an ox; he does not, in fact, by his own individual labour or instinct, obtain those things which are needful for his life. The work is done by cooperation among his fellow-men; the task is divided, and each individual collects his own nutritive elements by means of his brother's labour, while he, if he is a useful member of society, contributes his portion in one or other of the many subdivisions.

It follows, then, from this, that man has to depend on his fellow-creatures rather than his own unassisted instincts. He has indeed fibres, multitudinous and intricate as any herb or tree, which draw in the atoms that are suitable for his support from the exterior world to his own private interior; but those fibres are not so much physical in their nature as moral, for they are to be traced through the habits, occupations, and interests of his fellow-creatures. The economy of human life requires this; and the more civilized he is, the more intricate is the tangled web of those fibrous roots which conduct his nourishment from a raw to a manufactured state.

If we view this system in its moral aspect, we see at once that man is made very dependent on the integrity and uprightness of his fellow-creatures. He has in a great measure to devour what is put into his hands by others. This mutual dependence on each other is typical, in Holy Writ, of our dependence on God Himself, and it is, indeed, part of our high condition as being under trial for an eternal blessedness. Our Lord illustrates that holy confidence which we are entitled to place in our prayers to Heaven, by the loving faithfulness with which our earthly parent avoids deception in the very point we are speaking of, viz. the supply of food which a child solicits and expects at his hand. 'What man is there of you, whom if his 'son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, 'will he give him a serpent?' A sacrilegious character is thus imparted to that betrayal of mutual confidence in the human

race, which results in the substitution of one article of food for another, in that every-day intercourse between man and man which is the foundation of civilized life. Every instinct and feeling we possess points with indignation to any tricks practised on human food, as a betrayal of the highest, and, at the same time, the most necessary confidences that we place in each other. No worse symptom can exist of entire rottenness in the moral habits of a people, than the discovery of, and still worse in the apologies for, fraud and adulteration in the common supplies of life. Solomon uttered loud complaints on the prevalence of what we may call the dishonesty of shops, when he said, 'Sin sticketh close between buying and selling;' and again when he solemnly pronounced the eternal truth, that 'A false 'balance is abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is His delight.' Nor do things appear to have ended when Hosea had occasion to write of Ephraim, 'He is a merchant; the 'balances of deceit are in his hand; he loveth to oppress.'

The English are a nation of traders, and to magnify their position as such, they are rather fond, at least their preachers are for them, of quoting the text, 'Whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth.' The mere quoting this text at the end of a rounded period in S. Paul's Cathedral, even though a bishop is the preacher and the Lord Mayor a listener, does not however establish the fact, that the application is altogether merited by the trading system of this country. Sinister revelations of the corrupt and demoralized state of commerce and trade come out one by one, but too many of them point to an opposite deduction. With influential banking firms we have no concern in reference to our present subject, except that dishonesty and roguery in the higher departments of commerce would make us very suspicious of the lower; and it happens unfortunately for our daily peace of mind, that recent investigations into the subject of meat and drink and also of drugs make it very obvious that there is awidely extended and wholesale deception practised upon the public by the trading world, in very many of the most important articles of consumption. The world is now fully alive to this subject, and therefore we wish to treat it temperately, for there is danger of exaggerated notions gaining possession of nervous minds, which may spoil their digestion from the mere force of imagination. Yet, as belonging to the great public, we must claim with a stern voice the duty of cultivating truth and honesty on the part of traders; and we cannot allow that common pretext which is brought forward for the more innocuous kind of adulterations, that the public prefer articles thus adapted to their taste and their means, and that they like being deceived. We must *in*

limine protest against any supposition of this kind, and take it to be an axiom of trade, which ought to be imperatively demanded, that words and names as representing substances must be held sacred, and that the act of selling one thing under the name of another thing constitutes deception, which should stamp every one privy to it as guilty of wilful falsehood, and as being a dishonourable man.

It began many years ago to be suspected that the trade of this country, as far as articles of food were concerned, was very largely tinctured by certain dangerous *secrets*, which caused the public to be made unresisting victims to the interests of provision dealers, grocers, druggists, and brewers. Accum, in the year 1820, published a treatise on 'Culinary Poison' and 'Death in the Pot,' which he illustrated on the title-page with a significant hour-glass, and with other emblems of mortality. Since that time, however, the ingenuity of trade has made rapid strides, stimulated by the eager competition that has characterised this period. Things at length got to such a pass, that the subject was warmly taken up by the 'Lancet,' and a series of papers brought out, commencing in the year 1851, which are now published in a thick volume, by their author, Dr. Hassall, chief analyst of the commission. From periodical literature, the subject has been moved up to a committee of the House of Commons, before which various witnesses have been examined, whose evidence is now before us. The labours, however, of this committee are not concluded, and it stands over to next session. The present, therefore, is just the time for the public fairly and impartially to view the case as it now stands between the trade and the public. The trade, on its part, may justly claim of the public, that they shall not suppose individual or partial instances of dishonesty,—for this word we take to be analogous with adulteration,—to be taken as representing the practices of the whole trade; that stories about wonderful poisonings, copied from one book to another, may not be exaggerated far beyond what truth would justify; while the public on their part have a right to express very just indignation against the organized deceptions which have been practised on them; and to require, on such a delicate subject as human food and human medicine, that they who supply them shall give some guarantee of their probity and fair dealing.

It was no light task which the commission of inquiry, appointed by the 'Lancet,' undertook; either if we look on the mere labour of microscopic observation and chemical analysis, or the invidious character of a work, the object of which was to bring serious accusations against our fellow-countrymen. Yet, once begun, it was perseveringly continued, in spite of every obstacle.

The most unwearied care has been essential in order to avoid making false charges, which would throw discredit on the whole affair; but the very minuteness of the investigations thus rendered necessary, have produced their own reward, on scientific as well as economic grounds. The power of the microscope has been largely developed, and its use made to assume quite a new feature in social life. In conjunction with chemical analysis, a power is produced by these two, before which the very atoms of nature seem to be dissolved, and to portray their inmost character. Every known substance has its peculiar conformation, not only externally in its general shape, but in its smallest parts, such as require very large magnifying powers to discern. By this means we are, happily, enabled to get behind the secret arts and deceptions of trade, and discover whether ground coffee, for instance, is composed of the real article or of chicory, beans, burnt sugar, or other substances. The cunning and artifice with which adulteration has long been carried on, have at length met their equal in the penetrating glances of science, and we have more security than before against being compelled to swallow the rubbish that has too often passed for invigorating food.

But is it not humiliating to reflect that all this research of science is to penetrate, not so much into the secrets of nature, as to get behind the scenes of certain human operations which are going on all around us? It would appear that every trade has its secrets of adulteration and sophistication,—kept as dark, unknown, as any of the occult sciences of old. To 'learn a trade,' too often means to be instructed in certain regular practices of deceit and lying. It is almost a maxim of modern retail commerce, that the margin of profit must be worked out by a man's own ingenuity in distributing to the public an inferior article to that which he himself procures. It has been proved, in many cases, that the retail price of articles is less than the wholesale; which of course implies that the purchaser has other substances than those he asked for, palmed off upon him. Perhaps the worst sign in the whole affair, is the serious way in which adulteration is defended; and the use of words and names made, as it were, private property, in their use or possession transferable; even by so-called 'respectable tradesmen,' and in one case by a witness before the Committee of the House of Commons. If Mr. Wallington's evidence thus given at all represents the morality of English trade, it is certainly high time that the public should adopt some means of protecting itself. Let us quote his own words:—

'There is no understanding between the public and the seller that the seller shall give you what you ask for; neither do I think it beneficial that it should be so.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 219.

Again,—

'Adding innocuous adulterating substances to other articles with a view to reduce their price is what I entirely justify.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 220.

These sentiments are expressed at greater length, with more elaborate sophistries, and even with some adornment from poetic philosophy:—

'I think it is justifiable to mix any foreign substance with an article which is about to be sold, and sell the mixture at the same price at which you would sell the genuine article, provided the trade can get that price; but I do not believe that they can obtain an excessive price for any article. I think the public are sufficiently protected by competition. Competition does not enable the public to know that an article is adulterated; neither do I think it necessary that it should. I think it is sufficient for the public if they get the article, whatever it is, at the cheapest price. "What the eye never sees, the heart never grieves for," is the rule which I should adopt in reference to that.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 220.

We are certainly of opinion that it is the duty of an honest tradesman to supply what he is asked for, unmixed with any other material. Mr. Wallington, however, is equally instructive and original in his theory of names as representing substances:—

'There is nothing in a name; he procures an article which answers, according to my belief, the purposes for which the public require it, or they would not use it.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 221.

But it is on the subject of isinglass that he is most warm in maintaining the liberty of words unbridled by any mediæval, and, to his mind, obsolete restrictions. In the following extracts from his evidence, there is a sublimity of logic that must astonish the majority of retail traders, and at the same time a simplicity of frankness for which his friends will hardly thank him. Let the reader bear in mind that gelatine is usually the produce of the knacker's yard:—

'The name isinglass, in itself, represents nothing; it is merely an article sold which is taken from the bladder of a fish, which contains gelatine, which is denominated isinglass; and any person in the nineteenth century has as much right to take the same gelatine, which is equally pure, and even better in all respects, and call it isinglass, as a person in the thirteenth century had to take a fish's bladder, and, for some reason or other, give it the name of isinglass. If you prevent that class of dealing, namely, the substitution of articles, you strike a blow immediately at trade and at competition, which is the nucleus of trade.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 223.

It is not with this philosophic dignity, this imperial audacity of insolence, that the more vulgar adepts at adulterations defend their art, or repel any insinuations as to the propriety of their conduct. Dr. Normandy says:—

'When I was beginning these investigations, I was foolish enough to go to the parties occasionally and tell them, "Really, this is very bad;" but generally they abused me, and therefore I gave up the remonstrance. They began to use offensive language. I went to this person in the Kingsland-road; I said, "This is too bad; you are putting an enormous quantity of

chicory in your coffee;" and he said, "What is that to you?" and began to speak offensively, and I left.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 68.

On another occasion his microscopic investigations were responded to by 'a very offensive expression about his eyes,' which made him beat a precipitate retreat; convinced that fair remonstrance was a very inadequate mode of meeting the great evil of the present age, on the subject before us.

Of the mass of valuable and interesting research collected by Dr. Hassall, it would far exceed our limits to give any general review. It must ever remain a book of warning to the one side, and of comfort to the other. The little circular illustrations with which it abounds—showing, under a magnifying power of 420 times the natural size, the minutest conformation of all the common substances that admit of being adulterated, as well as of those with which they are adulterated—are a hint to the trade that their devices will be no longer in the dark; but that the public have access behind the screen of professional mysticism, by which they were so long deceived. The exposures also of the vast amount of adulteration actually practised—exposures which the trade have never dared to contradict—must show to all the world that the work of scientific scrutiny is really practical, and can be applied to useful purposes.

It is obvious that the articles most subject to adulteration are those which the public buy in a prepared, as opposed to a raw state. This consideration points out the serious check which is put to the refinements as well as the economy of life, by the prevailing dishonesty of tradesmen. It is the characteristic of savage life to deal in raw and unprepared substances of diet; whereas the higher arts of civilization are capable, by the superior skill of those who make it their special occupation, to combine great economy of labour with a better style of living. So long, however, as professional persons are not to be trusted, the public are thrown on the necessity of living, as, in fact, the middle and lower classes in this country do, on the simplest elements of nature, prepared, each household for itself, in a rude, and at the same time, wasteful manner. Whenever this system is departed from; whenever the delicacies of foreign diet are attempted; whenever imported articles of luxury are sought for; it is at the peril of being made to swallow the most deceptive, and often trashy, if not unwholesome substances.

The general effects of adulteration are thus well described by Dr. Hassall:—

'But adulteration makes not only those who practise it dishonest, but other very serious evils ensue. Thus, it begets the greatest mistrust on the part of the buyer, who loses confidence in those with whom he deals, and in this way sometimes the honest trader comes to be looked upon with the same suspicion as the adulterating merchant, manufacturer, or tradesman. Another consequence is, that the status of that portion of the trading com-

munity which sells articles of consumption is lowered, and is looked upon with misgiving in all its transactions. Lastly, the character of the whole nation suffers in consequence of the prevalence of adulteration. The character of this country has certainly suffered, to some extent, in consequence of the disclosures contained in the reports embodied in this work. In proof of this statement, we have only to refer to those foreign journals, principally German and French, in which the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission are noticed, and nearly all the Reports were thus noticed from time to time as they appeared. These notices were not unfrequently accompanied with remarks anything but flattering to our integrity. One notice, we remember, alluding particularly to our being a nation of shopkeepers, observed that we appeared to have strong claims for being regarded as a nation of rogues.'—*Hassall*, p. xxxv.

It is time, however, we go into detail, and quote from the words of Mr. Hassall, and also from the evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. Mr. Hassall, in his introduction, says as follows:—

'The adulterations practised differ in kind as well as in degree. One form of adulteration consists in the addition of substances usually of greatly inferior value, for the sake of bulk and weight, the choice being determined by the cheapness of the substitute, and its fitness for the peculiar adulteration required. This is the principal and most frequent description of adulteration practised.

'Another form of adulteration consists in the addition of colouring matters of various kinds, with a view to heighten the colour, and, as it is considered, to improve the appearance of the articles, as well as to conceal other forms of adulteration. This is a very prevalent adulteration, and it is the most objectionable and reprehensible of all, because substances are frequently employed, for the purpose of imparting colour, possessing highly deleterious and even in some cases poisonous properties, as various preparations of lead, copper, mercury, and arsenic. Of the use of these substances many instances are recorded in the pages of this work.

'A third description of adulteration consists in the admixture of substances for the purpose of imparting smell, flavour, pungency, and other properties.'—*Hassall*, p. iii.

The chief articles commonly adulterated are all those various things which are sold by grocers; it is this class, therefore, of traders who deserve most censure. Bakers are also guilty of a most extended and uniform system of deceiving the public. Articles of drink, principally beer and gin, are also much tampered with; and, worse than all, the dishonesty of inferior druggists is proved to be very injurious to the health of those persons who do not obtain their medicines from first-class establishments; for it is but fair to say that the chemists patronized by the rich are, on the whole, far above any wilful adulterations, and do their best to sell pure articles.

One of the most difficult articles to obtain in a pure state is coffee. It is adulterated with the following substances:—chicory, roasted wheat, rye, and potato flours, burnt beans, acorns, mangel-wurzel; while the chicory thus used is itself adulterated with carrot, saw-dust, mahogany saw-dust, and

burnt sugar. It would appear as if there resided in the bosom o the coffee trade a fixed determination not to allow the publi the satisfaction of pure coffee. The principle is most boldly defended, and many persons are induced to sanction it, as regard chicory, by an imagined preference for this mixture over coffe in a pure state. The English, in fact, do not know what coffe is; so long as a hot and dark-coloured liquid is on the break fast-table, which passes under the name of coffee, they ar perfectly satisfied, and never miss the essential qualities of tha exquisite berry, which operates, if allowed to do so, in a highly refreshing and beneficial manner on the human frame. The difference between coffee and chicory is thus defined :—

'The active principles of tea and coffee are "theine" and "caffeine,"—highly nitrogenised substances, possessed of extraordinary influence on th nervous system; and, by means of chemistry, the remarkable discovery ha been made that these two bodies are identical. It is thus seen how correc has been the almost universal practice of mankind in making use of te and coffee,—a practice not based on science in the first instance, but result ing solely from experience.

'Chicory, on the contrary, is the root of a plant. Now, roots in genera are remarkable rather for nutritious properties than for any active o medicinal qualities; and of this we find a very sufficient explanation, in th fact of their exclusion from light and heat, the great agents in the elabo ration of all the more active organic principles.

'The cells of chicory-root, unlike those of the coffee-berry, do not contai any essential oil, and the plant, moreover, is wholly destitute of the activ principle of coffee,—viz., caffeine; it being described as somewhat resem bling in its medicinal properties, taraxacum or dandelion, being slightly tonic, but chiefly aperient; these properties, however, are probably almos entirely destroyed by the roasting.

'It is therefore obvious that *chicory root is no substitute for coffee*, since i so completely wants the peculiar fragrance and the invaluable stimulan qualities of that berry.

'Of the inferiority of chicory the observer may easily convince himself by preparing hot infusions of chicory and coffee separately, and then carefully contrasting their more obvious properties: the one has little or no fragrance a sweetish and mawkish taste, and is dark-coloured, thick, and glutinous the perfume of the other is rich and exhilarating, the taste agreeable, and the liquid bright and transparent.'—*Hassall*, pp. 8, 9.

The following hints are those given to coffee-drinkers:—

'Thus every person who desires to have good coffee should attend to the following points.

'Except of tradesmen of unquestionable integrity, he should never buy ground coffee, but should procure the roasted berry: in choosing this, care should be taken to notice that it be not too dark, for if so it has been too much roasted, and some of its active properties have been injured or destroyed. It should be ground to rather a fine powder, as this, by setting free the essential oil contained in the cells, allows more readily of the action of water upon it. Immediately on being reduced to powder, it should be placed in a tin canister. Lastly, an *infusion*, and not a *decoction* of the berry should be made, as during the process of boiling the active principles, and especially the delicate aroma, are in part dissipated. By

attending to these directions, not only will good coffee be obtained, but "a heavy blow and great discouragement" inflicted on the adulterators of coffee.

'Above all, the coffee-drinker should never buy the coffee contained in canisters; for he may be assured that it is even more adulterated than other coffeee, as it is necessary not only that the purchaser pay for the coffee, but also for the canister itself.'—*Hassall*, p. 9.

The home grinding of coffee is, however, a great inconvenience in small houses, and it certainly is a great hardship imposed on the public that we should be deprived of the advantage of getting ground coffee unless we submit to these trashy adulterations. Nor are we perfectly safe, however, if we buy coffee whole. A machine was actually registered some time back for pressing lumps of chicory into the shape of coffee-berries. Most inferior berries can also, by the aid of burnt sugar, be passed off at a far higher price than they are worth to the consumer.

The absurd 'puffs' about their coffee, published by inferior grocers, occupy a considerable space in the pages of the Report. The 'puff' is given *in extenso*, and then the result of analysis on the article thus favourably described. Take the following as a specimen of the truthfulness of coffee-dealers. First, read the prefatory announcement:—

'At the present time, when the public mind is agitated by all the conceivable contrivances which the ingenuity of interested men and selfish motives can suggest, we deem it proper to call attention to the FACT, that we have always declared our readiness to GRIND OUR COFFEE under the immediate inspection of those of our customers who are tenacious of chicory. And now, to demonstrate and give publicity to our *fair dealing system*, we have placed *one of our mills in the window*, so that the most incredulous cannot but feel satisfied that they have a genuine article.

'We do not deprecate the moderate use of chicory with the finer description of coffee, as by that means a delightful beverage is brought within the reach of the poorer classes; but we do *condemn* the fallacious conduct of those who, under pretence of selling pure coffee, charge an exorbitant price, when, in reality, they vend an article adulterated to an extent never thought of by their less bombastic neighbours. Still we acknowledge that the people of this country have a right to expect a supply of genuine coffee, if they pay a price which will yield the retailer a fair profit; and we therefore invite all to our establishment, pledging ourselves to supply them with a wholesome beverage.'—*Hassall*, p. 172.

Now for the analysis:—'Adulterated with a large quantity of chicory.'

In other puffs we find the words 'Delicious;' 'Aromatic Flavour;' 'Extraordinary Coffee;' 'Rush of Consumers;' 'Grateful Beverage;' 'Genuine Coffee;' 'No Chicory;' followed by the stern Dr. Hassall's concise analysis, in words such as the following:—'Adulterated with chicory, which forms near one-'half the sample.' 'Containing very little coffee,' 'With a con-'siderable quantity of chicory, and a vegetable substance closely

'resembling horse-chestnut.' 'Chief ingredient, chicory. C
'infusion, highly and unnaturally coloured.' 'Containi
'numerous fragments of some amorphous substance.' Out
thirty-four samples, only three were pure, the adulteration bei
thus classified:—

'That chicory was present in thirty-one instances; roasted corn
twelve; beans and potato-flour, each in one case. That in sixteen ca
the adulteration consisted of chicory only; that in the remaining fift
samples the adulteration consisted of chicory, and either roasted co
beans or potatoes. That in many instances the quantity of coffee pres
was very small; and in others, it formed one-fifth, fourth, third, half,
so on, of the whole article.'— *Hassall*, p. 179.

Canister coffee is the worst of all, especially such as
described as possessing a 'rich aroma.' Compare the followi
puff with its analysis:—

'This beautiful compound of coffee gives that rich aroma so highly
preciated by continental travellers, produces a beverage strong, bright,
clear, is rich and mellow in flavour, and must be appreciated by all
LOVERS OF A CUP OF GOOD COFFEE.

'This coffee, being roasted on the most improved principle, which confi
all that fragrance (which evaporates with the common roaster) so deligh
and pleasing to the palate, and being packed hot, both from roasting
grinding, in well-seasoned canisters, which being perfectly air-tight
keep for any reasonable length of time, or in any climate, without the le
injury to its original flavour; offering at once a canister of the finest c
pound of coffees ever imported into Europe.'—*Hassall*, p. 185.

'Adulterated—scarcely any coffee; nearly all chicory a
mangel-wurzel.'

One more of the same kind:—

'This peculiarly fine, rich, old mellow-flavoured coffee, being packed
air-tight tins immediately it is roasted and ground, will retain its freshn
and exquisite fragrance any length of time.'—*Hassall*, p. 190.

'Adulterated—with chicory, and containing a few partic
resembling acorn.'

The permission recently given to coffee-dealers to sell
mixed with chicory, if they label their packages according
does not appear to have secured to the public a fair choice as
whether they prefer it thus adulterated or not. Dr. Hassa
in his evidence before the Committee, states as follows:—

'From an examination of thirty-four samples of coffee purchased short
after the recent regulation authorizing the sale of mixed chicory and cof
in labelled packages, out of the thirty-four samples, all purchased as coff
only three were genuine, while no less than thirty-one contained vario
proportions of chicory; in six of the samples chicory was present in t
proportion of about one-third of the article; in twenty-two of the samp
chicory formed about one-half of the article; three of the samples consist
almost entirely of chicory; thirteen were not labelled "Mixture of chico
and coffee," and yet ten of these were adulterated with chicory.'—*Pa
Ec.* pp. 7, 8.

Of the adulterations of chicory itself, he further says:—

'In thirty-four samples of chicory, fourteen were adulterated; in nine with roasted corn; scorched beans were present in four of the samples; in one a substance resembling ground acorn. In a second series of samples, twenty-three in number, eleven, or one-half, were adulterated; four with roasted wheat; the substance like ground acorn was present in an equal number of cases; three contained sawdust; mangel-wurzel was detected in one of the chicories; and in one, roasted carrot. In the microscopical examination of chicory, out of eighteen samples procured from manufactories, five were adulterated with roasted wheat-flour; several yielded a coloured ash; out of the sixteen samples of chicory purchased at the establishments of different grocers in the metropolis, only one was adulterated with roasted farina; the ashes of several indicated the presence of some red ferruginous earth, as reddle and Venetian red.'—*Parl. Ev.* pp. 10, 11.

The peculiar principle of tea and coffee we have already seen to be identical. Lo-Yu, a learned Chinese, gives the following description of the qualities of tea:—

'It tempers the spirits, and harmonises the mind; dispels lassitude, and relieves fatigue; awakens thought, and prevents drowsiness; lightens or refreshes the body, and clears the perceptive faculties.'—*Hassall*, p 272.

Now, it is obvious that to produce these intellectual results, which Dr. Johnson so highly appreciated, we must have the genuine article. Nature is not so prodigal of her charms as to scatter this refreshing and stimulating quality on every shrub that grows around us. Dr. Hassall states, that tea is generally unadulterated when it arrives in this country, but mark the ingenuity which then operates upon it:—

'It has been repeatedly ascertained that the leaves of various British plants are sometimes used in this country in the adulteration of tea.

'The leaves of the following species have been detected from time to time in samples of tea of British fabrication:—beech, elm, horse-chestnut, plane, bastard-plane, fancy oak, willow, poplar, hawthorn, and sloe.

'The leaves are dried, broken into small pieces, and usually mixed up with a paste made of gum and catechu; afterwards they are ground and reduced to a powder, which, when coloured with rose-pink, is mixed either with the dust of genuine tea, or with inferior descriptions of black tea.'—*Hassall*, p. 273.

It is also a common practice to buy up old tea-leaves, and prepare them again for sale by the aid of glazing, and also by mixing them up with inferior tea. The following is a description of the process:—

'There was an extensive furnace, before which was suspended an iron pan, containing sloe-leaves and tea-leaves, which they were in the practice of purchasing from coffee-shop keepers, after being used. On searching the place, they found an immense quantity of used tea, bay-leaves, and every description of spurious ingredients, for the purpose of manufacturing illicit tea, and they were mixed with a solution of gum and a quantity of copperas. The heat of the place was so excessive, that the officers could scarcely remain in it, but the prisoners did not seem at all oppressed by it. The woman was employed in stirring about the bay-leaves and other compositions with the solution of gum in the pan; and in one part of the room there was a large quantity of spurious stuff, the exact imitation of

genuine tea. In a back room they found nearly 100 lbs. weight of re-drie tea-leaves, bay-leaves, and sloe-leaves, all spread on the floor drying.'—*Hassall*, p. 289.

Nor can any one be secure if he buys a chest of tea, as he imagines, direct from China; the chest, indeed, may be the same, but the tea different:—

'A large tea-dealer (and it is surprising to see how the most respectable men will sometimes do that which is not right) met me in Fenchurch-street, and he said, "Doctor, I want you to come and see what beautiful seams the tea-chests are closed with." The tea-chest as it comes from the warehouse is closed, and there is only a hole cut about the size of the hand, for the purpose of taking out a sample. He showed me a seam of the cover, which was a very beautiful sheet of lead, exceedingly thin. It appears that great endeavours had been made to open the chests, for the purpose of making suitable mixtures, and to repack them, and make that beautiful seam which the Chinese make, and it appeared that application having been made to many of the tinsmiths in this country, they could not reproduce that seam; that is to say, in attempting to resolder it they melted the lead, and the operation was spoilt. I saw a room, which was perfectly clean, boarded with very clean boards, and it had heaps of teas piled up against the wall, and there was a rope against the wall, which served the following purpose. It appears that the chests are only permitted to be cut open sufficiently to put the hand in and take a sample, and it is through this hole the whole of the chest is emptied on the floor. A mixture is made on the floor with teas of a very inferior quality; some of which I have examined, which yield an infusion with about as much taste as an infusion of brown paper. This is thrown upon the floor and mixed with magnesia and Prussian-blue; and then the question comes, how they can reintroduce it into the original chest from which it was taken; and it is done in this way: a small quantity of tea is put in the chest; a man puts his foot upon the hole, grasps the rope, and by a series of jerks he succeeds in packing it up tight, and so he goes on with another layer, and the pounding process is repeated till the chest is eventually filled up as tight as if it had not been touched. This I know from personal observation, and I understood that all persons do it; so that a man who buys a chest of tea is under a great delusion if he thinks he is secure from fraud.'—*Parl. Ev.* pp. 60, 61.

The evidence of Mr. Phillips is as follows, in which, indeed, he is supported by many others:—

'In tea, as imported, I have found gum, indigo, a vegetable yellow (I cannot say exactly what it was); Prussian-blue, which is rare; carbonate of magnesia, sulphate of lime and silica. In the tea made up in this country, I found re-dried tea-leaves; other leaves—namely, beech, elm, bastard-plane, fancy oak, and willow, made up to represent green tea with gum, Dutch-pink, Prussian-blue, indigo, carbonate of magnesia, French chalk, and sulphate of lime. When dried leaves and re-dried tea has been made up to represent black tea, I have found gum outside the leaf just coated over with rose-pink to give it a bloom. Foreign leaves are broken up very small, and sifted through a sieve; they are then gathered up by means of gum-water, and rolled into pieces, sometimes to represent the caper tea, sometimes coarse gunpowder; they are then faced over with colouring matter made of the blue and yellow substances I have named; and bloomed, by being put into a bag with a little carbonate of magnesia, French chalk, or sulphate of lime.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 206.

The mass of tea sold as green is only made so by a direct process of painting, the colouring material being 'Prussian-blue, 'turmeric, and a white material, which seemed to be a mixture 'of soapstone with sulphate of lime.' The yellow and blue colours when mixed form a green, and white is added either to lessen the intensity of the former colour, or else to give polish to the surface of the leaves. Verdigris, arsenite of copper, Dutch-pink, and vegetable dye, and other substances, are also used for the same purpose, many of which are most injurious to health. We cannot, therefore, commend green tea to our readers. The difference in the colour is supposed to have its origin in the first preparation of the leaf in China:—

'The black tea undergoes a fermentation; they cannot dry it black unless it has undergone that process. They very often make green and black tea from the same plant; if we take a plant which is rich in nitrogen, and allow it to ferment a little, if we attempt to dry that, it dries brown or black, but if we dry it immediately it is gathered it dries green.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 49.

Practically, however, with ourselves, the difference is merely deceptive, and the green colour is often very unwholesome in its qualities. 'Fine young Hyson,' when submitted to a minute examination, is described as follows, 'Leaves twisted, wiry, 'glossy, and of a greyish-blue colour, faced with Prussian-blue, 'turmeric-powder, and China clay.' Whole pages full of these same results are before us, with the names of the tea-dealers from whom the samples were obtained. The trade may almost be said to be one great lie in all its lower branches; and indeed all persons who can afford it have been aware of this, and have ceased to procure tea except from large merchants, whom they can trust with more confidence than the shopkeeper near, who, at a higher price, would inevitably furnish an inferior and adulterated article.

On the subject of sugar, a new element is introduced into our calculations. We have not to complain so much of the mixture of foreign substances with it, as of the want of care in the mode of preparation for the market; a want of care which not only saves expense, but in a more direct way adds largely to the weight, and thereby to the profit of the article. Flour indeed, is occasionally found mixed with sugar, but there is a more frequent intrusion of an organic description in the shape of disgusting insects, called *acari*. Fragments of cane also from the original manufacturer, which by proper purification ought to have been cleared out, are found very generally in large quantities, though very minute in size. Sporules of fungi also abound in the less pure kinds of sugar. In white or lump sugar these are never found, and this form is by far the most cleanly

in every respect, the adulteration which exists in it being le offensive. Cases, however, occur even in these sugars, whe not only are there vast quantities of woody fibres, but whe the clarifying process, which it has to undergo, is the occasic for introducing corrupt animal matter into it. We trust, hov ever, that this is not common:—

'The employment of the blood of animals is confined to the manufactu of loaf-sugar, and its use, we believe, is now very frequently dispensed wit even in the preparation of this article.

'The blood acts only through the albumen which it contains: now, w have just said, that one of the great difficulties of sugar-refining arose fro the presence of vegetable albumen in the cane-juice; and here we have th apparent contradiction involved in the practice of putting albumen into th solution of sugar.

'The advantages derived from the use of this substance, we presume, ar considered to more than counterbalance the disadvantages attending it and indeed it would appear that there is not the same difficulty in th removal of animal albumen as is experienced in the abstraction of vegetabl albumen.

'The mode of its operation is as follows: the fluid albumen is diffuse throughout the whole of the sugar-solution to be clarified; on the applica tion of heat, the albumen immediately solidifies, and forms meshes an films, which, being lighter than the water, ascend, and in their upwar course carry with them the solid impurities contained in the solution, on th surface of which a scum is gradually formed, consisting of the impurities i question and the solidified albumen: this scum may be removed b skimming.

'Now, as it is the albumen of the blood only which assists in clarifyin the sugar solution, and not the blood itself, it would be far better tha albumen alone, as white of egg, should in all cases be employed.'—*Hassall*, pp. 16, 17.

The *acarus*, however, though excluded from lump-sugar, revel wildly in coarse soft sugar. Its history is thus told:—

'The *Acarus sacchari* is first visible as a rounded body, or egg; thi gradually enlarges and becomes elongated and cylindrical, until it is abou twice as long as broad; after a time, from the sides, and one extremity o this ovum, the legs and proboscis begin to protrude.

'The acarus thus far formed, goes on increasing in size until it attains it full growth, when it is visible to the naked eye as a mere speck.

'In its perfect state, its structure is as follows:—The body is oval, o rather somewhat ovate, being broader behind than before; from its poste rior part four long and stiff bristles proceed, two together on each side and some eight or ten smaller ones are arranged nearly at equal distance around the circumference of the body; from its anterior part a proboscis o complex organization proceeds, and from its inferior surface eight legs jointed and furnished with spines or hairs at each articulation; the spin which issues from the last joint but one of each leg is very long, and extends much beyond the termination of the leg itself; lastly, each leg i armed at its extremity with a formidable hook.'—*Hassall*, pp. 17, 18.

It is supposed that this animal produces what is called the 'grocer's itch,' a most unpleasant eruption of the skin, which is found to ensue from the handling of sugar—a process very

requisite in the preparation of it for sale. In thirty-three out of thirty-six samples of sugar these animals were found, sometimes in great numbers, counted by hundreds, and said to be *swarming*. Dr. Hassall sums up his notice of sugar as follows:—

'We have now adduced incontestable evidence of the impure condition of the majority of brown sugars, as imported into this country, and particularly as vended to the public. These impurities prevail to such an extent, and are of such a nature,—consisting of live animalculæ or acari, sporules of fungus, starch, grit, woody-fibre, grape-sugar, &c., — that we feel compelled, however reluctantly, to come to the conclusion, that *the brown sugars of commerce are, in general, in a state wholly unfit for human consumption.*

'One portion of our advice to the public must therefore be, not to purchase the inferior brown sugars of the shops.

'We have also clearly shown that lump-sugar is free from the greater part of the impurities and adulterations by which brown sugar is so largely contaminated and deteriorated; it does not contain *acari*, fungi, grape-sugar, albumen, or grit, the chief impurities consisting of starch granules and microscopic chips or fragments of woody-fibre.

'We recommend, therefore, the more general use of refined or lump-sugar.'—*Hassall*, p. 31.

The subject of bread is treated by Dr. Hassall at considerable length, and in a very interesting manner. The diseases to which wheat is subject are explained with great fulness, and many discoveries related which were never made till recent microscopic operations assumed their practical position with reference to human food. There is a specific disease called Ergotism, resulting in terrible gangrene, which has been known to become epidemic after a wet harvest, in which the corn has produced ergot largely. The liability of wheat to disease, however, can hardly be called adulteration, but it leads to it by making it necessary to use alum in order to disguise the inferior quality of flour. Potatoes used to be in great request for the adulteration of flour, but they are now too expensive to make it worth while, and it would not appear that any other adulteration except that of alum is extensively employed. To this, however, all bakers and millers adhere most pertinaciously. It has several uses; it makes flour white, even though its quality is inferior, and it causes the bread to absorb large quantities of water, and thereby to increase its weight. All the witnesses agree on this point, and the only question which remains to be considered is, whether the public choose any longer to be cheated in this habitual and systematic way. It would not appear that alum is directly injurious to health if used moderately; but it is an imposition, and bread can be made very well without it, if the flour is good, and care be taken. The making of bread, however, brings us to the interesting investigations on the subject of yeast which have recently been made.

Yeast, it would seem, is a kind of fungus, of very rapid growth, and for this reason is liable to be spoilt or killed by mechanical injury. It consists of a number of sporules, which are developed one from another in various stages of perfection:—

'I have myself,' that gentleman writes, 'examined yeast at Messrs. Hanbury and Buxton's brewery at various stages of the fermentation of both porter and ale, from a few hours to many days. In the more advanced stages of fermentation, I observed the globules of yeast were frequently in strings or rows, apparently forming moniliform, often branched plants. But as the cells or joints were very readily separable, I could not satisfy myself that the adhesion was otherwise than mechanical, such as we see between the blood-discs when they arrange themselves in series like money-rolls, and such as we sometimes perceive even in inorganic amorphous precipitates. My experience agrees precisely with that of Schlossberger, who states that he "never could perceive a budding or bursting of the yeast-cells, accompanied by a discharge of their contents, nor could I ever produce this by compression. These curious brachial and other adjustments of the cells of yeast to each other appeared to me the work of chance." '—*Hassall*, p. 153.

M. Robin pursued this investigation:—

'We know only this mode of propagation of this vegetable; but its fructification in the air has not been seen, not can it be seen, because it perishes from the part at which it is in contact with the atmosphere; so that we cannot yet say whether it ought to be classed amongst the fungi which fructify only in the air, or even amongst the algæ, from which it is separated by very many particulars, and which fructify under the water.' —*Hassall*, pp. 153, 154.

It has remained, however, for Dr. Hassall to trace the development of this plant through all its stages:—

'*First Stage, or that of Sporules.*—In this, the ordinary state in which the yeast-plant is met with, it consists entirely of sporules; these are for the most part separate, but sometimes feebly united in twos, threes, and even in greater numbers; they vary in size and form; some are several times smaller than others, and nearly all contain one or two nuclei, which are the germs of future sporules.

'*Second Stage, or that of Thallus.*—After the lapse of some days, and under favourable circumstances, the sporules become much elongated; a division or partition appears in each, and it now consists of two distinct cells; the extension still continuing, other septa appear, until at length jointed threads, at first simple and undivided, afterwards jointed, are formed, and the plant now exists in the form of root-like threads or *thallus*.

'The yeast-plant in the state of thallus constitutes the *Mycoderma Cerevisiæ* of Desmazières.

'*Third Stage, or that of Aërial Fructification.*—After the lapse of a further time, vertical threads spring up from the thallus; these, when the plant has reached its complete development, become branched, each branch bearing at its extremity a row of rounded and beaded corpuscles.

'These corpuscles are about the size of the original yeast sporules, but differ from those bodies in their darker colour and firmer texture.

'Occasionally in the rows of beaded corpuscles one cell several times larger than the rest is seen.

'From observation made subsequently on the development of the sugar fungus in saccharine wine, it appears that the beaded threads do not form the last condition or stage in the development of the plant, but that true aërial tufts or heads of sporules are formed.'—*Hassall*, pp. 154, 155.

The *modus operandi* of yeast is thus explained:—

'The presence of yeast in a substance containing sugar, or starch convertible into sugar and nitrogenised matter, induces certain chemical changes, comprehended under the term vinous or alcoholic fermentation.

'These changes in the making of bread consist in the conversion of the sugar of flower into alcohol and carbonic acid gas; the latter, in its efforts to escape from the dough with which it is mixed, distends it, forming vesicular spaces in its interior, and so causing it to become porous and light.'—*Hassall*, pp. 155, 156.

Fraud is indiscriminate in its operations; it attacks the weak as well as the stronger moments of life. In no cases, perhaps, is it more absurdly audacious than in advertising all those delicate farinaceous foods, which are supposed to be peculiarly beneficial for mothers and infants, and indeed for all persons in less robust health than usual. Advertisements are put forth with various attractive words, such as 'Ervalenta,' or 'Revalenta Arabica,' promising health and strength to the invalid; professing that these substances have the most valuable medicinal as well as nutritious qualities, and are specially adapted to procure all manner of blessings to 'mothers and infants.' We cannot fill our pages with the trash that is written in explanation of the professed qualities of these 'light and nutritious foods;' but for one or two of Dr. Hassall's analyses we must find room. The Arabian Revalenta, sold at a shilling a pound, 'consists of lentil-'powder, the colour being such as would be produced by a mix-'ture of the two species of lentil, the red and the yellow.' Lentil is a kind of bean, the flour of which is cheaper than barley flour, being only worth one penny and a fraction a-pound. It is used in workhouses by very ingenious economists, yet in other shapes it is often sold to the rich as high as two shillings and sixpence a-pound! So true is it, that extremes meet.

Another article, said to be protected by 'royal letters patent,' and to contain 'nitrogenous matter, indispensably requisite for nourishment, of which sago, &c. are devoid,' and to be wonderfully adapted for children and weak digestion, consists, on analysis, 'entirely of rice, reduced to an extremely fine powder.' Baster's Prince and Princess's farinaceous food, 'for the safety of infants from the hour of birth,' is still more simple. It consists of 'wheat flour sweetened with sugar.'

The whole catalogue of spices are most actively submitted to this uniform adulteration that disgraces our trade. Mustard can hardly be obtained in a pure state; it is *weakened* with flour, and

then coloured with turmeric. Pepper, ginger, and mixed spice are cooked up in the same way, while cayenne is coloured with red lead and vermilion. Preserved fruits and pickles are made green with copper, while anchovy sauce derives its colour from red ferruginous earth, as bole Armenian and Venetian red, which are neither more nor less than so much dirt.

As all powdered substances admit of adulteration more readily than solids, so are liquids still more at the mercy of various deceptive arts. Milk, beer, and gin, the national drinks of England, are uniformly *prepared* with great ingenuity for the public taste, as also for the profit of the seller. The first process of adulteration is very simple with all these liquids. They are largely diluted with water. In the case of the former and more innocent beverage, it would not appear that the poverty occasioned by the addition of water is very generally remedied; chalk being very seldom used. With the two others, however, the case is different. The publican is a man of many secret arts; on which, indeed, he depends for the profit of his trade. Ale and porter, as they come from the brewer, are generally said to be pure and unadulterated, while it is in the publican's cellar that the process goes on. After the porter is diluted, it requires flavour and richness of colour to be added to it by chemical ingredients. For this purpose there were, at one time, regular brewer's druggists, but now, it would seem, the publican does not employ any one in so open a way, but obtains the adulterating articles quietly and secretly. So acknowledged, however, has it long been, that some adulterations must be made, that treatises have been written on the subject:—

'I obtained a letter of introduction to two of the largest druggists in London, and from them I heard that cocculus indicus, foots sugar, liquor ammoniæ, and extract of gentian, were constantly sold by them to publicans for the purpose of adulterating beer. . . .

'Cocculus indicus is a poisonous substance; it contains about two per cent. of the poison called pitrotoxine; it is used, I understand, by poachers for destroying pheasants and fish. There is no doubt that this poisonous substance is occasionally used by brewers for the purpose of causing a species of inebriety which should be due to alcohol. . . .

'By the addition of water, not only have they diminished its sweetness, but they have also diminished its colour; and they then put a little liquor ammoniæ, or spirits of hartshorn, which has the property of darkening beer, so much so, that if you add a little ammonia to pale ale, it will become the colour of porter. Instead of hops, extract of gentian is used. Gentian is not a deleterious substance; it is introduced merely because the beer has been diluted, and it is no longer so bitter as it should be, and therefore a little extract of gentian is introduced. Indeed, I am given to understand that the chief sale of gentian is to publicans. It is cheaper than hops. I have been able to discover the proportion of water there is in beer, by detecting the quantity of alcohol; you judge of the quantity of water added from the amount of alcohol which is wanting.'—*Parl. Ev.* pp. 72, 73.

The same process goes on with gin. Dr. Normandy's evidence on this subject is as follows:—

'The articles used for adulterating gin are sub-carbonate of potash and alum; that is for fining. I have this information, I may say, in the handwriting of druggists themselves, and, in comparing the lists of the two parties, they were exactly similar. Alum can always be detected in gin. Oil of vitriol is also used, and oil of almonds; that is, for beading—in pouring the gin into a glass, it must form a series of little bubbles which hang on the periphery of the glass. Sulphuric acid can always be detected in gin. Then grains of paradise is used, which is a kind of pepper; it is a little reddish seed, about the size of small shot; it has a very peppery taste, and I understand it is used to replace the spirit, because the adulteration of gin is the dilution thereof. It is like beer; they use water, and then the object is to restore a portion of the taste and of the inebriating quality, for which they use cocculus indicus.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 76.

But if the luxuries of mature life are thus tampered with, so also are those of childhood. Confectionaries of the cheaper sort, which are gaily adorned with bright colours, are, when analysed, found to be simple poison; and the only doubt with regard to the child who has consumed any of them is, whether the quantity of poison taken into the system is sufficient to cause death. This has been pretty well understood among the higher classes for a long time, and a careful mother would tremble indeed to see her child with but one morsel of the sweets that are daily prepared and daily exposed in hundreds of shops, in London and elsewhere. Dr. Hassall, it would seem, collected around him a kind of childish paradise of apparently delicious sweets; all the birds, beasts, and fishes, that surrounded Adam in the garden of Eden were also here present; nor was the apple of temptation forgotten, which, from its composition, cannot but strongly remind one of its great prototype, for its attractive colouring was found to consist of 'chromate of lead in really poisonous amount.' Among the various shapes in which these confectionaries were made up, we find a 'rasher of bacon;' 'mutton chop on plate,' coloured with artificial ultramarine and red organic pigment; oyster; fish, coloured with arsenite of copper and emerald green; strawberry, with chromate of lead; oranges, lemons, plums, potatoes, swans, pigeons, cocks, pheasants, dog and hare, crown, figure of dancers, &c. &c. The colouring matter is thus described:—

'It will be observed that the list of colouring matters above enumerated includes some substances of an injurious character, and many which are amongst the most virulent and deadly of the mineral poisons. Of those which may be considered as more or less injurious, are *Ferrocyanide of iron* or *Prussian blue*, *Antwerp blue*, Gamboge, and *German* or *artificial ultramarine*. Amongst those which are deadly and poisonous, are—the three chrome yellows or chromates of lead; red lead or red oxide of lead; white lead or carbonate of lead; vermilion or bisulphuret of mercury; the three Brunswick greens; verditer or carbonate of copper; and emerald green, Scheele's green, or arsenite of copper.

'It may be alleged by some that these substances are employed quantities too inconsiderable to prove injurious; but this is certainly n so, for the quantity used, as is amply indicated in many cases by the e alone, is often very large, and sufficient, as is proved by numberless record and continually occurring instances, to occasion disease, and even death; some of these instances we shall hereafter refer.'—*Hassall*, p. 618.

It is said that French confectionaries, which far exceed o own in taste and beauty, are free from this poisonous colourin the strictest attention being paid to the subject; but meanwhil the children of our own country are being daily poisoned, a no one comes to their rescue. Dr. Letheby, in his evidenc says:—

'Every article of confectionary in this country is poisoned in this wa Continental confectionary never is so poisoned. There is no reason wh people here should use inert pigments, for our confectioners do not approa foreign confectioners in reference to the appearance of their confectionar and yet foreign confectionary does not contain any poisonous matter wha ever.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 245.

One of the worst species of unwholesome adulteration, an one against which the voice of mankind ought to show peculia indignation, is in the food supplied for the use of sailors. Th recent *exposé* of preserved meats procured for the navy, whe sealed canisters were found to hold the most abominable sub stances, was a most useful and at the same time painful warnin that our sailors must go on eating salt pork and hard beef; no from any physical necessity of the case, but because the dis honesty of provision dealers entirely prohibits any extende adoption of a more scientific mode in the preservation of meat such as would keep it fresh and agreeable to the taste, as wel as free from the dangers of a salt diet. But even sea biscuit are not always to be depended on, as would appear from a instance mentioned by Dr. Letheby in his evidence:—

'An emigrant-vessel, about to start for Australia, had on board a quantity of *biscuit*. Fortunately, they gave some of it to the crew about a week before the vessel sailed; they found it disagreed with those who ate it; i produced extreme constipation. The biscuits were sent to me for exami nation, and I found no less than about thirty-one and a-half grains of chalk in an ounce-and-a-quarter of biscuit. It would assuredly have killed the whole of the crew if it had not been discovered before they got to sea.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 244.

If thus, however, we are called on, as a matter of public spirit, to feel indignation at this dark dishonesty practised on others, we may also be allowed, with regard to another class of adulteration, to protest with equal warmth against a still more hidden wickedness that is habitually practised to the injury of ourselves, and to the hindrance of that practical adaptation of science to the welfare of man, which is the characteristic of civilization. It is the concurrent testimony of several witnesses before the committee of the House of Commons, that drugs and medicines are very diffi-

cult to procure in a pure state, are systematically adulterated, and that medical men are very liable to be wholly disappointed in the remedies which they prescribe, in consequence of the patient not having his medicines good. Many articles of ordinary consumption may be examined and judged of to some extent by the public themselves, who are thus not wholly without protection, but in the use of drugs they are utterly defenceless against imposition. A sick man swallowing his potion is a fit emblem of blind confidence in the efficacy of what he drinks; he certainly is not prompted to imbibe by his natural appetite, he simply does so because he has trust in the after results it is expected to produce. It is thus the highest moral, as well as the most dangerous physical treachery, to tamper with the substance or strength of medicines, and should accordingly be looked on as a most heinous public offence.

Though several witnesses agree in stating that there is a very general adulteration of drugs, it is but fair to the trade, that Dr. Redwood's evidence to the contrary should have its weight. His object, however, seems chiefly intended to clear the retail druggists of any wilful system of dishonesty; and also, to prevent any great panic among invalids, who might hear exaggerated reports of the uncertainty of their medicines. We are much disposed ourselves to agree with his defence of chemists, when he says that they are a highly respectable body of men. As they are the best educated of retail tradesmen, so we believe them the most trustworthy; but still there are practices in the trade which ought clearly to be held dishonest; and though it may be said that the adulteration takes place with the wholesale druggists and drug-grinders, and that the retailers are themselves imposed upon, yet the public individually have a right to look to the man of whom the article is bought, and hold him responsible. It may be true, as Dr. Redwood observes, that retail chemists have done much to stop adulteration; and that 'all which has been done has been principally done through them,' but this is in itself a confession that adulteration exists. One cause of this adulteration, committing both wholesale and retail dealers, is thus described by this very witness:—

'The greatest amount of adulteration in drugs takes place probably at the mills where the drugs are powdered. Drugs generally do not admit of adulteration in their original state. The great majority of drugs are of vegetable origin, and in the state in which they are brought into this market they do not admit, generally speaking, of adulteration. When they are reduced to powder, the detection of the admixture of foreign matter becomes much more difficult, and it is drugs which have been submitted to such a process that are principally adulterated. That adulteration has taken place to a very great extent, but for many years chemists and druggists have set their faces against the practice, and much has been done

towards mitigating it. A practice existed in this country a few years ag and up to the present time it exists to a certain extent, that the dru grinder has to return to the wholesale druggist within four per cent. of t quantity of the drug which was sent to be ground; so that if a wholes druggist sent 112lbs. of jalap to be powdered, he would expect to recei back 108lbs.; it was a conventionality between them.'—*Parl. Ev.* p. 141.

Mr. Herring, a wholesale chemist and druggist, takes a f stronger line, and we extract the first paragraph of h evidence:—

'I am a wholesale chemist and druggist, and have been in busine above forty years. During that time, and particularly for the last twen years, I have had great experience in my own way of trade, and from wh I have seen besides. Adulteration in the article of drugs exists to a ve great extent; I will show you what is going on at the present day. La week, or the week before, we had a sale of a most important article, *sca mony*. It took place at Garraway's Coffee-house. Brokers are employ by merchants to sell these articles. Scammony comes principally fro Aleppo, Smyrna, and those parts. It is one of the most important drug we have. As an article of commerce, the scammony which we consid ought to be used will cost us 40*s.* a pound; but here is a piece which wi show the Committee what is sold very often for that article. The tr article is called virgin scammony, and I have been compelled to give 4 a pound for it. The law allows anything to be imported, and that which have before me was imported in the last month, and was sold at a public sa for 3*s.* a pound. It contains not one atom of scammony; not a trace of i It is all gum and a mixture of various kinds; but still it is imported scammony, paying no duty, and in it comes. There is a large demand f that spurious article, ten or twenty times as much as for the other. If was not used, parties would not keep it; but it is used no doubt to a ver great extent. To show the Committee how difficult it is to get a pur article, I may state that a great quantity comes with one-third and on fourth adulteration; and I have lately examined four parcels of scammony one of which was imported by ourselves, and the others by different mer chants, and none of them contained any but a small portion of scammony We ascertained that in one parcel, which was an exceedingly good one, ou of 100 parts of the article there were seventy parts of scammony, twenty four of insoluble matter, and six of water; that we call an excellent article One had fifty-eight parts of scammony, thirty-six of insoluble matter, an six of water; and we descended at last to one containing sixty per cent. o scammony, insoluble matter thirty-six, and water four. We have som which is imported, not in this shape, which will contain from eighty t ninety per cent. of chalk. We analyse it, and get out the chalk and dirt and see what scammony there is. This is one of the most important drug we have, and still more so when you know that it enters into the compound extract which every medical man in ordinary practice is prescribing every day. When he is prescribing pills which are made from that compound article, he is doing more mischief than good, because, instead of acting as an aperient, it is acting quite as an astringent; a man is taking a quantity of chalk, and in many instances the bowels have been bound up, and it has been found to be occasioned by the medicine which has been taken.'—*Parl. Ev.* pp. 165, 166.

The evidence of Mr. Postgate is much to the same purport. The following passages occur in it:—

'I have lately found quinine very much adulterated with salicine, that is, an alkaloid obtained from the willow bark; it may have some effect upon

the system. I believe it is made in this country; a sample lately contained one-third. The price of salicine is 1*s.* 9*d.* an ounce; quinine, at present, I believe, is 9*s.*'

'Cod-liver oil I have found to be very much mixed up with other oils. This is difficult of detection.'

'In milk of sulphur I have found from 10 to 50 per cent. of sulphate of lime or plaster of Paris; this is extensively used in schools. I think the repeated use of sulphate of lime would be injurious. Plaster of Paris must be injurious in itself; it is perfectly innutritious and indigestible: it is like introducing into the system a quantity of clay.'

'Scammony I have found to be extensively adulterated with chalk and starch.'

'A quantity of white precipitate used for forming ointments came down from town adulterated to the extent of 65 per cent. with chalk and magnesia; the druggist was not aware of the adulteration, and had requested the manufacturer to send him a genuine article, inasmuch as his shop is one at which physicians' prescriptions are made up. He was not aware that the article was adulterated till I pointed it out to him. He paid the price of a genuine article.'—*Parl. Ev.* pp. 236, 237.

Those who endeavour to avoid the disagreeables of medicine by the use of capsules are liable to pay for the luxury rather dearly, as all who know the qualities of croton oil will acknowledge.

'I have here a sample of medicine prepared and sold in capsules; these are capsules containing, as it is said, concentrated *castor oil*, but really containing croton oil. I do not believe there is any castor oil at all. Croton oil is a medicine of a very violent purgative character; castor oil, on the contrary, is the mildest kind of purgative. I know a gentleman who was confined to his bed two days in consequence of having taken two of these capsules; one of these capsules contains ten drops of oil, and is stated to be equal to a teaspoonful of castor oil. Now castor oil cannot be concentrated, and therefore this is a gross deception upon the public.' —*Parl. Ev.* p. 238.

In other cases, the contents of capsules are wholly inoperative; and therefore a medical man, who allows his patient to use them, is liable to be surprised at a total want of success which will bring discredit on himself, and be dangerous to the patient.

There is other evidence of the same kind; and also the satisfactory assertion, that since the 'Lancet' published its reports, many articles which used to be adulterated are no longer so. May we hope that the same improvement will go on, and that all chemists will be united in checking to their utmost all tampering with the public health.

It is not only, however, in those things which are destined for the interior of the human frame that we find much adulteration, the same vice and the same misfortune surround also our exterior. We not only eat rubbish and poison, but we are clothed with rottenness, and therefore too often with rags. This part of our system ought to be exposed as well as the other. Every article of dress is made up for sale, and not for use; a process of deceit runs through our whole manufacture of apparel,

and we can never be sure what it is we have on our ba
Every fabric that is sold, as made of one thing, generally c
sists in great part of another. Silks are mixed with cott
a cloth that we may suppose came wholly from the wool of
sheep, really owes much of its substance to the same unive
adulterator that comes from an American tree. This peculia
applies to those goods which are made up for exportation,
English manufactures are now looked upon all through the wo
not only as showing a conspicuous want of taste, but as dete
rated in substance. Cloth, which has a very fair outside wh
perfectly new, soon becomes white at the seams and rotten in
wear; and ladies' dresses are so variously composed of silk, w
and cotton, all mixed up together, that, for anything
strength or lasting qualities, the purchasers of them are wh
at the mercy of the makers, for they cannot pretend to h
any knowledge, from examining the finished result, of
process by which it was made.

In this case, as in all other more elaborate articles of ma
facture, the maxim '*Caveat emptor*' is an utter fallacy. As
have already shown, the arts of civilized life require for
degree of development that we should have confidence in e
other. One man cannot understand everything; and many v
useful persons, in their respective lines, are very incapable
estimating the quality of the necessary articles which they da
consume or wear. It is, therefore, a breach of that mutual c
fidence, on which alone any progress in civilization can be ma
when trade and manufacture make dupes of the public, a
deceive them in all the materials of life which they supply
their use. But it may be said that the public can remedy t
themselves, and that if an article is found to be bad, the next pu
chase can be made at a different place, or another material tri
The public do, however, adopt this remedy, and yet find
benefit from it; for the system is universally prevalent, exce
in those shops where so extravagant a price is charged th
adulteration is hardly worth the tradesman's while. It is t
poor chiefly who suffer from deteriorated fabrics; every purcha
with them is of the nature of an experiment. Each artic
good or bad, must last till fashion in the making up of goo
is so changed, that former experience is of no avail. In
classes, indeed, and with reference to all purchases, it is a curio
reflection, as illustrating the 'changes and chances of th
world,' how life itself is made up of experiments. One thi
is tried, then another, and steady habits are scarcely to
found, except in the traditions of a former age.

There are persons, however, who hold such exaggerated and pe
verted notions of 'free-trade' that they claim for trade and manufa

ture entire non-interference, leaving the public to protect themselves on the principles of competition. This argument we have already answered in considering the morality of the case, and the dependence of any developed civilization on the mutual feelings of honour existing among mankind. The question of free-trade, as we understand it, has nothing to do with such necessary enactments as have for their object the detection and punishment of deception. We do not at all understand why, because duty is not charged on any imported article, that no other precaution should be taken to prevent the sale of impure and adulterated goods. Let legislation be aimed direct at its object, and not be efficacious only by a side-wind. The object of the Excise and Customs is to obtain revenue, and it is only very imperfectly that machinery used for one purpose can also accomplish another. Yet an attempt is often made to mix up these two objects, and to cast the odium which attaches to Excise and Customs on any efforts to improve the sanatory condition of human food and drink. It so happens, indeed, that our only present mode of punishing the adulterators of exciseable articles is through the excise officers, on the ground that Government suffers a pecuniary loss; but if a more direct means could be adopted, if authorized inspection of food could be established for the protection of health, and to expose deception, we do not see why the question of free-trade need any longer be supposed at all to interfere with proper securities against fraud and imposition. Once separate the inquisitorial visits of the Excise from the sanatory question, and the latter stands on the simple and tangible ground of morality and public honesty. Free-trade, in the present order of worldly affairs, can mean no more than a mitigation of certain taxes and imposts. It has a definite and technical signification, and when the expression is used in any wider sense it becomes mere nonsense, and the wild cry of a few deluded persons, whose real notion is that every man may do that which is right in his own eyes, and be responsible to no one. If, under the pretext of free-trade, it is claimed to give up all interference with the manufacturers and sellers of adulterated articles, it follows immediately that the free-trade then meant is too theoretical for the world as it now exists, for it would leave men altogether free to commit any crime they liked. Men at present are not to be trusted to pursue virtuous lives on any abstract principles of political economy. We do not, indeed, as a general rule, punish vice when it only hurts the individual; but we still require protection on the part of the public against all such, be they murderers, thieves, or adulterating tradesmen, who, by their own violent, immoral, and dishonest practices, are injurious to their fellow-creatures.

We cannot agree with the Laureate in his very odd vi that adulteration in food is a normal result of peace; or t the Russian war is likely to make tradesmen honest; but lines from 'Maude,' rough in their homiletics as in their rhyth are not to be forgotten:—

'Is it peace or war? Civil war, as I think, and that of a kind
Far viler, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword.
* * * * *

'When the vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife,
While chalk and alum and plaster are sold to the poor for bread,
And the spirit of murder works in the very means of life.

'And men must lie down arm'd, for the villanous centre-bits
Grind on the watchful ear in the hush of the moonless nights,
While another is cheating the sick of a few last gasps, as he sits
To pestle a poison'd poison behind his crimson lights.'

ART. IV.—*The Prayer-book of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri.* London: The Oratory, King William Street.

IF there be one point of ecclesiastical order which would at first sight seem, more than any other, to be commanded by Holy Scripture, sanctioned by primitive usage, and required by common sense, it is surely this,—that the public offices of the Church should be offered in the vernacular language of the people. To employ, in addressing God, a tongue which His worshippers cannot comprehend; to wrap up Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels in the obscurity of a dead language,—can this be a reasonable service? Can this be a gospel preached to the poor? Can this be such a worshipping in spirit and in truth as our Saviour's express command enjoins? Is it not diametrically opposed to the declaration of S. Paul, 'Yet in the church I had 'rather speak ten words to the edifying of the hearers, than ten 'thousand words in an unknown tongue?'[1] No man ever denied that the practice of the primitive Church was in accordance with this teaching, and that, *à priori*, one should have considered it a standing order, a stereotyped law, of the Church Catholic.

The more surprising, therefore, is it to find that all the branches of the Church, without one single exception, as well as heretical bodies, separated, indeed, from the Church, but still possessing ancient liturgies, have agreed in this: that the language of their public services shall be, to a certain extent,—some more, some less,—a language 'not understanded of the people.' We do not, as we shall presently show, except entirely our own Church; and for the rest, from Kamschatka round the globe to Brazils, from Malabar and Gondar to Finland, the rule holds good. The apostolic law is, really or apparently, broken; and the 'ten thousand words' of Liturgies, and Hours, and Offices, are said in an unknown tongue.

Any man of common modesty,—any man with the remotest pretensions to philosophy,—any man, in short, except an orator at Exeter Hall,—would naturally exclaim, on becoming acquainted

[1] We remember a familiar explanation of this verse. A poor man who had just returned from a sermon of which it formed the staple, was asked the text. 'Well, Sir, I don't know the words to say them exactly; but it meant as how the parson would rather preach five minutes in English, than half-an-hour in French.'

with the fact, 'There must be some reason for this. Churc
'separated as far by distance as by race and language,
'Churches severed more widely still by polemical hatred,—ne
'could coincide in so remarkable and unexpected an arran
'ment, were there not some strong cause which seemed to just
'it. Good or bad, there must be a principle at work here;
'cannot be a mere corruption.'

Let us see, in the first place, how the case actually lies; s
then let us endeavour to discover its philosophy by investigati
its history.

And, first, we will turn our eyes to the East. Here we see th
most ancient and venerable Thrones of Alexandria, Constantino
Antioch, and Jerusalem, giving their laws to about sixteen n
lions of Christians. And those Liturgies which are said at
countless altars of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, B
garia, Roumelia, the Principalities, Hungary, Croatia — or
Churches, now few and far between, of Anatolia, Syria, and Eg
—in what languages are they offered? For the most part, in t
only—Greek and Slavonic. In Slavonic, for the Slavonian peop
of northern Turkey and the Principalities; in Greek, for the Gr
himself, the Turk, the Syrian, and the Egyptian. Now, take
case in which the written language of the office-books, and
spoken dialect of the vulgar, bear the closest resemblance. I
any Greek scholar take up for the first time a Romaic book, a
see how far he can always master even its general meaning. Th
let him remember that he comes from the harder to the eas
tongue,—that his necessary knowledge of comparative philolo
stands him in good stead; and next let him judge to what exte
the Peloponnesian or Athenian peasant can comprehend the offi
books of his own Church. And yet they have a far better char
than the Slavonic peoples. The three branches of the Illyric
Servians,—Servians proper, Croatians, Vendes,—and, again, t
Bulgarians and the Slovacks, cannot understand each other, mu
less can they comprehend the old Church Slavonic in which th
pray. A remarkable proof of this occurred in the Panslavic Co
gress holden at Prague in 1848, where the deputies, in order
be intelligible to each other, were obliged to speak in the hat
German; and their literary organ is conducted in that languag
But more of this subject presently.

But three exceptions are to be found to this general rule. It
well known that the Wallachians employ a Romanæ langua
of the purest description; and that, in parts of that and adjoini
provinces, Latin, perfectly intelligible to an English scholar,
actually at this day spoken. Towards the latter part of t
eighteenth century, permission was given by the See of Consta
tinople for the employment of a vernacular Liturgy; a permissi

not altogether, perhaps, independent, on the consideration that, possessing such an indulgence, the inhabitants would have less temptation to join the Latin Rite. Shortly afterwards, a Turkish form was authorized for some few villages in Asia Minor, where nothing else was understood; and an Arabic version is said to be used by the few orthodox who border on that country. These three exceptions are worth far more than their own intrinsic value, and we shall have occasion to refer to them again.

Casting our eyes over the map in a north-eastern direction, we come to the ever-orthodox Church of Georgia; a Church which resisted the artifices of Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, produced countless martyrs under the invasions of Turks, Persians, and Tartars, and formed the nucleus of a mighty empire during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here, again, the rule is the same: the Georgian of the Church books is entirely different from the Georgian that is now spoken; intelligible, perhaps, to the educated, but certainly not to the peasant.

Russia follows—and is the more worthy of our attention, because here the principle of a Church language, which is not the vernacular, is as boldly asserted as it is by Rome; its difficulties are allowed, are grappled with, and are, to a certain extent, overcome. Children are taught both languages from the commencement of their education; and the habit of acquiring Slavonic *pari passu* with Russ, may, perhaps, give the Russians their wonderful facility of mastering other languages. The difference between the two dialects is about the same,—in grammatical derivation, as between modern English and that of Chaucer; in form of character, between our present letter and Anglo-Saxon. Thus, while Russ has thirty-four characters, Slavonic possesses forty-three; the latter has a dual, the former has none; the former has borrowed many words of every-day occurrence from the Tartar, the latter has formed no such intermixture. And thus we have traversed the domains of the orthodox Eastern Church.

Nor are the separated communions less tenacious of the same use. In Egypt, the Jacobites employ the Coptic, which is nowhere intelligible, with the exception of one or two provincial terms; and the copies of the Liturgy in use have, therefore, an Arabic translation at the side. The scattered Nestorians and Jacobites of Asia Minor universally employ the dead language of Syriac. In Armenia, of all nations, the sacred and vernacular tongues are most identical.

Three hundred years ago, in opposition to the then prevailing practice, a national Church decreed as follows:—'It is a thing 'plainly repugnant to the Word of GOD, and the practice of the 'primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to

'minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understanded of th
'people.' Three centuries passed; and the office then compile
has become so obsolete in its phrases as certainly to fall not ver
far short of incurring the condemnation there pronounced. Th
fact is, that we are so thoroughly used to both our spoke
language and to that of our Bible and Prayer-book, that we fa
to see what foreigners remark at once, the world-wide differen
between the two. Ordinary readers may never have observe
some of those great grammatical variations which would strike
foreign philological scholar at first sight: the total absence, f
example, in the older dialect of one of the most common possessi
pronouns of the new—the word *its:* 'Seek ye first the kingdo
of God and *his* righteousness.' 'These are they that came ov
Jordan . . . when *it* had overflowed all *his* banks.' 'The Tree
Life that—yielded *her* fruit every month.'—The utter confusi
of that distinction between the verbs *will* and *shall*, on which
now so pique ourselves: 'Open thy mouth wide, and I sh
fill it.' 'Them that are meek shall he guide in judgment; a
such as are gentle, them shall he learn his way.'—The absen
of that large class of participial adjectives which would seem
be, but are not, derived from a verb, such as *unwitnesse*
unharnessed; with one or two rare exceptions, like *unknow*
And if it be said that these differences are not such as to obscu
the meaning to an ignorant person, it is equally true that th
are others which must either make the sense unintelligible
him, or even reverse it. We have to explain, for instance, th
when we pray, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings,' we mea
'Assist us;' that when we lament our being let in runni
the race that is set before us, we mean that we are *not* let
run it. And so we may fairly ask the question: Is it n
almost impossible to find any one Collect which shall be int
ligible to an uneducated person? Do not the inversions of t
sentences, as well as the difficulty of the words, make it a matt
of difficulty to explain these 'vernacular' prayers to the poo
Even in one of the Creeds, who is there among the lower class
that could comprehend such a phrase as 'of a reasonable so
and human flesh subsisting?' And how differently would
have been expressed had the service been composed in mode
times! Nothing can be more clear than that the compilers of t
Prayer-book did not use the easiest and readiest words. The
had no idea of a simple Anglo-Saxon idiom. Far from wishi
to express such a phrase as 'the impenetrability of matter,'
'the unthoroughfarishness of stuff,' they purposely took th
harder Latin word, to the exclusion of our own Englis
synonym.—'And finally, after this life, may attain everlastin
joy and *felicity*.' 'Where the souls of them that sleep in th

Lord enjoy perpetual rest and *felicity*,'—in the prayer for a sick *child*. The very title, *Solemnization* of *Matrimony*, is as good as a hundred proofs of this.

We are not blaming this,—far from it. We are merely showing that those who thought it their duty to exclaim most loudly against the employment of a foreign tongue in the services of the Church, themselves used a dialect of English different from any which is now, or which was ever, spoken; and 'not understanded' entirely by any worshipper of the nineteenth century.

And now we will turn our attention to the successive developments of the Roman Church on this matter. Let us take a point where as yet the question of a vernacular service could not have assumed a practical form, and therefore, as the great men of that age were not given to philological theorizing, where it could not have taken any tangible form at all. Let us imagine how S. Gregory the Great must have regarded such a difficulty. Looking around him from the Eternal City, he saw, within his own Patriarchate, a people, as yet, almost homogeneous: in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Africa, multitudes of Liturgies, but as yet, in different degrees of corruption, only one language. That this language was becoming so changed as to seem scarcely like itself, was a fact which we can hardly imagine to have struck, even if it were barely known to, the authorities of the Church. The Gallican Liturgies, such as we now have them, may use the ablative for the accusative, may employ terms, may familiarize idioms unknown at Rome; but the Roman Church ignored such varieties of Liturgies, owning the one faith, the one Creed, and the one Western language. At a later period, when some ignorant priest had baptized *In nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sanctua*, we find the successor of S. Peter maintaining the validity of such a rite; and no one, from that time to this, has questioned the truth of such a decision.

It was when the Roman Church was brought into contact with the Teutonic or Celtic races, that the question of a vernacular language must first have presented itself as a difficulty to be solved. It is not our intention to enter on the subject of vernacular translations of Holy Scripture; this would swell the remarks we shall have to offer beyond all due limits. The version made by Ulphilas into Mæso-Gothic, between the years 360 and 380, must be considered as the first great attempt to grapple with the difficulties of a barbarous language; and though the Bishop himself was a Cappadocian, and, of course, introduced Eastern rites among his flock, yet the influence of such an undertaking must have been prodigious in the Western world. Whether he in like manner translated the Liturgy is a question which

cannot be answered; there is no trace of any such version, and the fact that the Eastern rite so soon died out among the Goths seems an argument that it never existed. There is no doubt that the mass maintained itself in Latin; there is equally no doubt that, in the next centuries, a part of the daily offices were said in the dialect of the country, and many curious documents remain as standing witnesses of the fact. Versions of Psalms and Canticles abound, almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Germany. The *Te Deum*, for example, received a version in the eighth or ninth century, which has been more than once reprinted, and which commences—

Thih Cot lopêmes,
Thih truhtnan gehernes:
Thih ewigan Fater
Eokiwelih erda wirdit.

So, again, a version of the Psalms existed in Dutch as early as the time of Charlemagne. One of the Epistles and Gospels was made in the eighth century, in what is now the Duchy of Brunswick; the monks of Fulda, in the same age, translated the like parts of the Liturgy. Then there is the so-called Wessobrumi Prayer, which speaks to the same thing at the same date in Bavaria. S. Notker Balbulus, the inventor of Sequences, who died in 912, made a High German version of the Psalms, clearly and manifestly for the benefit of those who were constantly hearing them in church, and interlined with a short commentary, in this manner:—

'*Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum.*

'*Der man is salig, der in dero argon rat na gegieng.* As Adam did, when he followed the advice of his wife in opposition to God.

'*Et in viâ peccatorum non stetit.*

'*Noh an dero sundigon wege ne stuont.* So he did. He went thither; he went to the broad way that leadeth to hell, and stood there, for he gave way to his lust.'

So, again, in the same centuries, there was a Theotisc[1] translation of the most popular of Latin hymns; it is both accurate and spirited, and was no doubt used in public worship. A still more remarkable example of the same thing is to be found in the 'Evangelical Harmony of Otfrid,' a work of the latter half of the ninth century.[2] These are hymns of considerable length, on such subjects as the Mission of the Angel to S. Mary, the Magnificat, the presentation of our Lord in the temple, His Baptism, the opening of the first chapter of S. John, &c. Here is the shortest of them, the mere versification of a Collect:—

[1] It has been published by the celebrated philologist Grimm, under the title of 'Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiæ xxvi. versio Theotisca.' Göttingen, 1830.

[2] Published by E. G. Graff, Königsberg, 1831.

'Got, thir eigenhaf ist
thaz io genâthih bist
intfaâ geba unsar,
thes bethurfun wîr sâr
Thaz uns, thiô ketinun
bindent therô sundûn
thînerô mildô
genad intbinde baldo.'

'O God, Whose nature and property
is ever to have mercy and to forgive,
receive our humble petitions; and
though we be tied and bound with the
chain of our sins, let the pitifulness
of Thy great mercy loose us.'

The Council of Leptines, in 744, expressly orders that the renunciation and profession of faith in Baptism be made in the vernacular, and proposes this Theotisc formula for the latter: '*Gelobistu in Got almechtigan Fadaer? Ec gelobo in Got al-*
'*mechtigan Fadaer. Gelobistu in Christ, Godes Suno? Ec gelobo*
'*in Christ, Godes Suno. Gelobistu in Halogan Gast? Ec*
'*gelobo in Halogan Gast.*' And S. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, had before this especially insisted on the same point. '*Nullus sit Presbyter, qui in ipsâ linguâ quâ nati sunt baptizandos*
'*abrenuntiationes et confessiones audire et interrogare non studeat,*
'*ut intelligant quibus renuncient, vel quæ confitentur.*' But, curiously enough, the opposite practice seems to have become prevalent again; for, in the middle of the ninth century, we find S. Hrabanus Maurus insisting that the priests of his province should preach in Theotisc; whence one can only conclude that they were in the habit of delivering their discourses in Latin. It is certain also that from a very early period, perhaps as early as this, part of the Office for the Dedication of Churches and Churchyards was in the vernacular language, as also was much of that for the Visitation of the Sick.

But this one great fact remains unquestioned: that, till the latter part of the ninth century, Rome never conceded—perhaps had never been asked to concede—the use of a vernacular Liturgy. That the Epistles and Gospels were often read in the patois which the people happened to speak, is conceded; that the *Gloria in excelsis*, and other hymns of a similar kind, had also been translated, is equally certain; but the mass itself was said in Latin, and in Latin only. It is true that, in some Gallican and Mozarabic masses, the Latin is so corrupted as almost to amount to another language; but still the principle was maintained. Let us see what that principle was.

Up to this period Rome had won to herself only the Romance peoples: the first to acknowledge her, the last to remain faithful to her; and here for centuries Latin remained the spoken tongue, dying off so gradually and imperceptibly into French, Spanish, or Portuguese, that the change was hardly noticed; and the uneducated went on praying in the tongue in which their fathers and grandfathers had prayed, without knowing that every year was widening the gulf between that which they heard, and that which they spoke. At length the Patriarchal Throne

of the West was brought into contact with the fierce, young activity of Germanic life,—with tongues that, to the soft ears of the South, must have presented the most barbarous dissonances —languages without grammar, with unsettled inflexions, differing widely from each other, each intelligible in its own little plot of country only. There was not material as yet, there was not stability, to endure a translation of the fixed and immutable Liturgy. Dialects were altering so fast, that a translation would soon have itself needed an interpretation. Then half the words must necessarily have been mere Latin or Greek obtrusions into the language. Baptism, Church, Resurrection, Communion, Incarnation—how could those barbarous races have expressed them, but by themselves? Add, again, the necessary irreverence that must attend the transfusion of such solemn mysteries into tongues incapable, as yet, of grammar. Add, also, the difficulties regarding particular words, such as that which lately occurred in a version of the Scriptures for, we believe, some of the islands of the Indian Ocean; where the word *lamb* is used in the sense in which we employ *ass*, and it was therefore impossible to translate the Scriptural name of our Lord but by a paraphrase. No doubt these, and such as these, were wise reasons for the non-adoption of the vernacular; and others have been well stated by a late writer:—

'But when the nations and kingdoms of modern Europe were 'at length formed, and their languages fixed, the disturbing 'influences of their separate nationalities became so strong that 'they could hardly be kept together in ecclesiastical unity, even 'though they had all one and the same faith, Church Law, and 'Ritual, and one common clergy, with a language of its own, 'interpenetrating them all, and concentrated in one common 'independent centre at Rome. Under such circumstances, any 'change which should tend to strengthen still further the separate 'nationalities, and to divide and nationalize that common clergy, 'which, like the citizens of old Rome, being mixed everywhere 'with the provincials, bound the whole into unity, would be 'manifestly most dangerous; and exactly the same reasons which 'would move an heresiarch or a tyrant who wished to try with 'impunity to introduce the use of the vulgar tongue for the purposes of religion, to abolish the celibacy of the clergy, and to 'banish monks and friars, would weigh with bishops and popes 'to make them oppose or forbid such changes.'

But it is now time to turn to the two great struggles which Rome carried on in defence of this principle, in both of which she conceded it, and in both with only partial success. And let us first fix our eyes on the mission of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

It was while Constantinople was alternately disgusted by the buffooneries, and horror-struck at the ferocity, of the Emperor

Michael III., that a deputation arrived from the Prince of the Khazares, to solicit instruction in Christianity. His kingdom stretched from the Caspian to Wallachia and Moldavia; it had passed the zenith of its greatness, and many of the Slavic tribes that had been his tributaries, were beginning to throw off the yoke of the Hunno-Tartar. By the advice of the Patriarch S. Ignatius, Constantine (better known by his last name of Cyril), a native of Thessalonica, was appointed to the mission; and after having been raised to the priesthood, he spent some time in Kherson, where he mastered the Khazaric language. He was so far successful as to convert and baptize the Khan, whose example was followed by a large portion of his people; and the missionary had his attention next directed to the neighbouring Bulgarians. He found them using a language of inexhaustible richness and beauty, abounding with inflexions, capable of expressing various shades of meaning with a felicity peculiar to itself—the rival of Greek in flexibility, its superior in copiousness: he found a people desirous of receiving the true faith, and he became the parent of their literature, as well as their apostle. He first had to invent an alphabet, and this he did with great skill and judgment. He adopted the Greek characters so far as they went; but its twenty-two literal forms went but a little way in supplying the forty-three which he found to be necessary to his system. He therefore varied some of these, where he saw an analogy between the old sound and the new. For example: the sound B was unknown to ancient Greek, (it is expressed in Romaic by $\mu\pi$,) and that symbol represents V. But it existed in Bulgarian, and therefore Constantine expressed it by docking a part of the upper loop. Some of his characters he derived from the Hebrew, and some few he invented for himself; and thus he produced the Slavonic or Cyrillic alphabet—the sacred language to this day of all the Slavonians of the Eastern Church. He is said to have perfected his work on his return to Constantinople, and there to have commenced his translation of the Scriptures with the assistance of his brother, Methodius, who associated himself in the labour. A few years later, Rostislaff, Prince of Moravia (then one of the Slavonic peoples), sent an embassy, requesting that Constantine might be despatched to them, not only to confirm them in the faith which they had already received from the Western Church, but ' to teach them to read,'—that is, to introduce his new alphabet. The two brothers accordingly set forth, and were received with the greatest joy.

Nicolas I., one of the ablest and most enterprising among the Popes, at this time filled the chair of S. Peter. Hearing of the success of the new missionaries, he requested their presence at Rome, where, however, they did not arrive till

after the consecration of his successor, Hadrian II. By t
Pontiff they were raised to the episcopal dignity; and shor
afterwards, Constantine, having changed his name to Cy
departed this life. Methodius returned the same year, A.D. 8
into Moravia, and occupied himself in preaching the Gos
there and in Pannonia.

It is not wonderful that the people, who had before be
accustomed to the Latin Rite, were delighted at hearing t
Liturgy in their own language, and deserted the Western m
sionaries for the new comers. It is also not wonderful that t
former, chagrined at the turn of affairs, appealed to Ro
denouncing Methodius as a heretic, and his Liturgy as impi
and profane.

'We are informed,' writes Pope John VIII. to that prelate, 'that y
sing mass in the Slavonic tongue. We have already forbidden this, in
letters sent by Paul, Bishop of Ancona; and we enjoin that you celebr
mass in Latin or in Greek, as is the use of the Church in all the countr
of the world; but you can preach to the people in their own language.'

At the same time, he requires Methodius to present himself
Rome.

Here therefore, for the first time, we find Rome brought i
collision with a vernacular rite. But the missionary had gr
advantages on his side. The talents and learning of Photius h
made him a most formidable rival to the papal chair; the t
Churches had entered on their terrible and fatal struggl
Moravia, and Pannonia, and Bulgaria were the border land
and it was necessary either to conciliate their peoples, or a ri
might offer more advantageous terms. To Rome Methodi
came, and there satisfied the Pope as to his orthodoxy, and a
as to his use of the vernacular.

'We approve,' writes John VIII. to Sviatopolk, Prince of Moravia, '
the Slavonic letters invented by Constantine the Philosopher, and we w
that the doings and the praises of JESUS CHRIST be published in th
tongue, because S. Paul teaches that every tongue ought to confess th
Christ is LORD, to the glory of GOD the Father. For it is not contra
to the faith that the same Slavonic tongue should be employed in ce
brating mass, in reading the Gospel, or the other Scriptures of the Old a
New Testaments well translated, and in chanting the other offices of t
Hours. He Who has made the three principal languages, Hebrew, Gree
and Latin, has made also all others to His glory. We will, however, th
to the end more reverence be paid to the Gospel, it be read first in Lat
and then in Slavonic, for the sake of those who do not understand Lat
as the practice is in some churches. And if you and your principal m
prefer to hear the mass in Latin, we will that it be sung to you in Latin.

The letter is of June, 880.

On this Methodius returned to his labours; but the opp
sition to the vernacular service was not entirely at an end. T
Pope, however, stood firm, and the success of the energet
missionary proved the wisdom of the permission. Bohemia h

already been, to some small extent, evangelized, but had almost relapsed into idolatry. Carrying his Liturgy and his translation with him, Methodius advanced into that land, and, in 894, converted the Duke Borzivog, and his wife S. Ludmilla,—the latter afterwards the protomartyr of her country. But the nation again relapsed into Paganism, and its final emersion from darkness was owing to missionaries of the Latin Church. These indefatigably put down the Slavic Liturgy wherever they found it, both in Moravia, Pannonia, and Bohemia; and the latter people, afterwards to exercise such an important influence on the question, were at first scarcely even familiarized, as their neighbours had been, to a vernacular rite.

We pass over nearly two hundred years: and it is worth while to give a glance at the altered circumstances of these border lands. The two Churches were now irreconcilably separated. Bulgaria, so long the object of their contention, had attached itself to the Oriental faith, and maintained with all its might the Eastern Liturgy in the Cyrillic version and with the Cyrillic characters. Not the province that it is now, but a vast kingdom, it stretched from the Save to the Gulf of Lepanto, embracing Servia, Albania, and parts of Roumelia, and teeming with all the young life of that second spring in the Byzantine Church. To the north lay the vast province of Strigonium, in the Latin obedience, comprehending Hungary and Transylvania; comprising on its north the provinces of Gnesne, which embraced Poland; on its north-west that of Mayence, which contained a part of Bohemia and Moravia; and on its west that of Salzburg, in which lay the rest of these two countries. In all these, the vernacular Liturgy was nearly at an end. Bohemia alone still struggled for it. The Archbishop of Magdeburg had insisted, in 977, on a Latin Liturgy: a deputation, headed by two of the nobility, Bolchosi and Myslibor, went to Rome, and obtained permission from Benedict VIII. to use the vernacular rite, a privilege which they maintained precariously for nearly a century. But in the province of Dioclea, in Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, it still strove for the preeminence. The Eastern rite was given up; but the Latin Mass was said in Slavonic, and with Cyrillic letters. Rome had been unceasingly on the watch to withdraw the privilege accorded to Methodius, and the history of Spalato records a series of attempts, sometimes on the part of the Metropolitan, sometimes on the part of the Pope. In the obscure Dalmatian annals of the commencement of the tenth century, we meet with the name of one prelate, who was clearly a man with wisdom beyond his age,—Gregory of Nona.[1] In the

[1] It would seem that the see of Nona had some such metropolitical pretensions over Croatia. How far a rivalry on this point with Spalato might have embittered the other dispute, it is now impossible to say.

Council of Spalato, held about 910, he alone stood up for
vernacular rite, and, undeterred by the threats of his brethren,
refused to pay obedience to the canon of the synod which
scribed it. The matter went by appeal to John X., the
execrable wretch (if we except Alexander VI.) who ever wore
tiara—the infamous lover of the more infamous Theodora.
stupid letter in which he confirms the Council is given at len
by Farlati: it makes, however, this exception,—that where a
trict is ill supplied with priests, if one of them is unacquain
with any tongue but Slavonic, he may apply to Rome for a disp
sation, and continue to employ it. The people, notwithstandi
were not to be coerced into the change: the Slavonic Litur
remained in use, till in 1058 another Council was held against
The proscription was now more rigorous than ever, and
Croats actually rose in rebellion, headed by one Ulf. This p
sonage, however, was no honour to the cause: he went to Ro
came back with a sham bishop, whom he intruded into the
of Vegla, and kept up the imposition for some years. When
was discovered, the perpetrators suffered according to th
deserts; but it was by this time that an attempt to eradicate
national rite was hopeless. At another Council of Spalato,
1064, the matter seems to have been, to a certain extent, co
promised. 'A great part of the inhabitants of Illyria,' says t
clever writer, who assumes the name of Talvi, 'remained, nev
'theless, faithful to their language, and to a worship familiar
'their minds through their language. A singular mea
'Dobrovsky asserts, was found by some of the shrewder priests
'reconcile their inclinations. A new alphabet was invented,
'rather the Cyrillic letters were altered and transformed in su
'a way, as to approach in a certain measure to the Coptic ch
'racters. To give some authority to the new invention, it w
'ascribed to S. Jerome. This, it was maintained, is the Glagoli
'alphabet so called, used by the Slavic priests of Dalmatia a
'Croatia until the present time. Cyril's translation of the Bib
'and Liturgic books were copied in these characters with a ve
'few deviations in the language, which probably had their found
'tion in the difference of the Dalmatian dialect, or were t
'result of the progress of time; for this event took place at lea
'360 years after the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet. Wi
'this modification, the priests succeeded in satisfying both t
'people and the chair of Rome. It sounded the same to t
'people, and looked different to the Pope. The people submitt
'easily to the ceremonies of the Romish worship if only the
'beloved language was preserved; and the Pope, fearing just
'the translation of the whole Slavic population of those pr
'vinces to the Greek Church, permitted the mass to be read
'Slavonic in order to preserve his influence in general.'

It has since, however, been demonstrated that the Glagolitic alphabet—the rudest, coarsest, and clumsiest of European symbols—is of a much earlier date, and that probably the indigenous priests reintroduced it for the purposes above mentioned. After this, the opposition to the national rite ceased in a great measure. The ninth canon of the fourth Lateran Council, where Bernard, Metropolitan of Spalato, was present, decrees that, in case of different rites or language, the Bishop shall provide, *sacerdotes qui secundum varietatem rituum et linguarum divina officia celebrent;* and may even, under the same circumstances, appoint a Vicar-Bishop. This canon was understood to bear especial reference to Illyria.

By degrees, however, Rome obtained one great object of her desires,—the adoption of Latin letters in the Illyrian mass. We shall see, presently, that the Cyrillic character was always excessively obnoxious to Ultramontanes; and that, at whatever expense of philology, the Roman alphabet was introduced wherever circumstances permitted. The then existing version was corrected by Raphael Levacovich, under Urban VIII., both in the Breviary and Missal: this was not well done, and gave rise to some discontent. The ritual was translated by Bartholomew Carsio. These versions were again corrected by Cavamanus, Bishop of Jadera, a thorough Slavonic scholar, and appeared in 1741; his edition is a good one, but we have been told that the language is rather too fine.

There are, therefore, in these provinces three distinct rites of the Roman use: the Roman rite, with the Latin language; the Roman rite, with the Slavonic language; and the Eastern rite (Uniat), with the Slavonic. The way in which these Uniats are (or at least were, till the end of the last century) supplied with priests, is remarkable. The Uniats insist on having their clergy ordained according to the Greek rite. This, notwithstanding many applications to Rome, the Bishops of the Uniat communion have never been allowed to use. Application is therefore made to the prelates of the Eastern Church: the priest is ordained by them; is thus made to renounce "schism," and so instituted to the pastoral office.

It may not be amiss, before we quit these remarkable nations, to give the reader some idea of their numbers, and of their respective attachment to the two Churches. Putting Russia aside, the Eastern Slavonians are divided into the Illyrico-Servian and Bulgarian branches; the Western, into Czekho-Slovakians, Poles, Suabian Vendes, and Tchacones. The numbers stand about thus:—

	Total Number.	Eastern Church.	WesternChu
Illyrico-Servians :			
1. Servians (in Servia)	1,100,000	1,000,000	100,0
2. Servians (in Hungary) ...	400,000	300,000	100,0
3. Bosnians (many are Mahometans).	500,000	300,000	80,0
4. Tchernogortzi, or Montenegrins.	60,000	60,000	—
5. Slavonians (Kingdom of Slavonia and Duchy of Syrmia.)	500,000	200,000	300,0
6. Dalmatians	500,000	80,000	420,0
7. Croatians..... ...	800,000	200,000	600,0
8. Slovenzi, or Vendes (in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola).	1,100,000	—	1,000,0 the rest P testants
Bulgarians :			
1. Bulgarians proper	3,500,000	3,200,000	300,0
2. Bulgarians in Bessarabia.	80,000	80,000	—
Czekho-Slovakians :			
1. Bohemians & Moravians	4,500,000	—	4,400,0
2. Slovaks (principally in North Hungary).	2,400,000	500,000	1,000,0
Poles :			
(Russian Polish provinces, Galicia and Lodomiria).	10,000,000	2,000,000	7,500,0
Suabian Vendes :			
(Lusatia, and some part of Brunswick, now Germanised).	2,000,000	—	1,000,0
Tchacones :			
(Eastern part of Peloponnesus, say)	20,000	20,000	—
	27,460,000	7,940,000	16,800,0

Of course, when we add the 38,000,000 of Russians pro and the 13,000,000 of Russniaks, who belong to the East Church, we quite reverse the proportion. But the depende of these eighteen or nineteen millions on the Roman Church owing, in great measure, to the use of their vernacular langua in eucharistic offices. Let us now look at the remarkable strug in Bohemia on this subject.

We have seen that in A.D. 977 the Bohemians arrested fr the Court of Rome the use of the vernacular language in th Liturgies. This privilege was again taken from them in t pontificate of S. Gregory VII., though the resolute spirit of t people still maintained the Slavonic Ritual as they best cou in spite of the decrees of councils and of popes. Towards t

end of the fourteenth century, the cry for a vernacular service became loud throughout Bohemia. Mixing itself also with the demand for the free accordance of the chalice to the laity, it found a mouth-piece in John Huss and Hieronymus von Faulfisch, better known as Jerome of Prague. Those to whom the fate of Huss is as a household word, may not be so generally aware that he was the settler of Bohemian orthography, and the framer of its language as it now exists. Bohemian is the most copious and the most exact of the Slavonic tongues, and its forty-two letters received their ultimate name and disposition from Huss. Whatever were his errors, and whatever absurdities may have been promulgated regarding the violation of his safe-conduct by the Council of Constance—which safe-conduct never existed, and therefore could never have been violated—Huss is thus to be honourably distinguished, when compared with Jerome of Prague, a man of but doubtful morality, violent, self-willed, and insincere. If his fate be remembered, it must also be remembered that he himself had ordered the murder of a monk who opposed one of his services. Then came the split between the so-called reformers in Bohemia; the Calixtines or Utraquists contenting themselves with the demand for the permission of the chalice, and of a vernacular service; the Taborites, and their various schisms, being heretics of the worst description, and ready to repeat the enormities of their ferocious leader, Ziska.

The Council of Basle, that standing protest against Ultramontanes, and equally abhorred and feared by members of that faction, proved its wisdom and moderation by admitting the delegates of the Bohemians to a free and open conference. We may smile when we read of the tedious manner in which deputies spoke, and members of the Council answered—of the three days the famous Calixtine Rokitsana consumed in proving the advantage of communion in both kinds, and the length which John de Prague required for his reply. But it is never to be forgotten that the decree of the Council which succeeded these disputations, was the means of preserving a whole nation in the unity of the Church.

'As to the Communion in both kinds, the intention of the Council is not to tolerate it as an evil connived at on account of the baseness of heart of those that demand it, but as one useful and salutary to them that receive this Sacrament worthily. The Council will examine the question more thoroughly; but the priests, who give the Communion in both kinds, are to teach that JESUS CHRIST is received whole and entire in each.'

With this, the question of the vernacular service was also mixed up, and that concession united the Calixtines with the Roman Church, and crushed the Taborites; yet Bohemia eagerly accepted the Reformation, and when it elected Frederick

the Elector Palatine, the imbecile son-in-law of James I., as king, three-fourths of its inhabitants had embraced diffe kinds of heresy. The battle of the White Mountain, in 1(settled the religious as well as the political state of the coun The Catholic Church was triumphant, and Bohemia may con with the Tyrol and Brittany the honour of being the n Catholic country in Europe. But the great result still mained; and that Slavonic people retained their vernac Liturgy.

The writer well remembers how, having arrived late in t glorious city of Prague on a Saturday night, and standing ea next morning on the bridge—the scene of the martyrdom of S. J Nepomucene—the masses of worshippers pouring to their vari churches, seemed to him more striking than anything of the k he had ever witnessed in any other Catholic city: how the l street on the one side that leads up to the Cathedral and Strahoff monastery, on the heights where the Hradschin star was one stream of heads; while, on the other, the main arte street that goes to the Theinkirche, was equally crammed. A to all, the clamour of countless bells, and the contrast of the ge Moldau, with the life and animation of both its banks, all lit by a bright spring sun, and the writer's first acquaintance wit vernacular Roman service was made under very pleasurable cumstances. It seemed strange, in the Theinkirche, to see well-known postures, and to hear the familiar chants, acc panied with Slavonic *formulæ*—the *Hospodine pomiluy*, for ample, instead of the *Kyrie eleison*. One concluding remark Bohemia may not be out of place.

It was the fashion, some ten years ago, among Anglo-Romani to prophesy the speedy conversion of England. The droppi from our ranks they took to be the forerunners of the whole h and must have been bitterly disappointed that the few went a came, and made but little real difference on the one side or other. Their own ill-success, despite so much zeal, so mu energy, so much munificence, seemed a startling fact. Theo are not difficult to make; and the latest seems to be this, t where a country, *as* a country, has apostatized from the faith, a country there is no regeneration for it; that the utmost Church can hope to effect, is to snatch individuals from the m of heresy or unbelief; and that this is the object to which she i lend her aim, and the goal with the attainment of which she to remain content—a most unsatisfactory thing, if it could proved, but contrary to all the teaching of ecclesiastical histo Witness this very country of Bohemia, which, in the beginni of the seventeenth century, had almost totally apostatized Lutheranism or Calvinism, but which was, humanly speaki

by that one battle of the White Mountain, brought back to the Church.

We will now turn our eyes to another remarkable instance in which a national rite and a vernacular language has been allowed: we mean the Greek Liturgy of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia.

And here again we are brought into that mournful portion of ecclesiastical history, the struggle between the Eastern and Western Churches. One is apt to forget, how weak, in the ninth and tenth centuries, was the actual authority possessed by the Roman Pontiffs; how Constantinople had invaded even their stronghold, Italy, elbowing them from Calabria and Apulia; while Sicily, under the temporal dominion of the Saracens, regarded the Œcumenical Patriarch as its spiritual head. In fact, the East gained further and further in this direction on the West, and at one period threatened to exclude the papal authority from the whole of South Italy; nor was it till the Normans, devoted to the interests of the Holy See, spread themselves over that country, that Rome succeeded in this quarter in her struggle with Constantinople. But though the Eastern Church was here driven out, the Eastern Liturgies remained behind, and they found a greater protection from the See of Rome than from their Norman conquerors, who abhorred them.[1] At Naples, especially, the Christians of both rites lived[2] in the greatest concord and amity; the Latins using the Latin, the Greeks the Greek, Liturgy. The Collegiate Church of S. Januarius, for instance, had, in 1300, a mixed chapter of Latins and Greeks. How the choir could, ecclesiologically, have been filled for the two rites, it is not easy to understand. So in the Chronicle of S. Maria de Piombino, which is supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century, it is mentioned that, on Easter-eve, the six Primicerii of the six Greek churches were under obligation to assist at the Latin office, and to sing six lessons in Greek, and at Easter other dignitaries of the same churches were in like manner to say the Creed in their native language. The Church of S. Maria del Poggio, in the district of Revello, petitioned Pius V. in 1572, to be allowed to pass from the Greek to the Latin rite. The Pope assented. The Chapter then altered its mind, and resolved to retain the Liturgy of its predecessors. But Spinelli, the bishop, obliged them to avail themselves

[1] 'L'origine del rito Greco nelle Provincie che compongono i due Reami di Napoli, e di Sicilia per mezzo degli Orientale nel secolo ottavo, e la sua decadenza procurata con maravigliosa destrezza dai Principi Normanni nell' undecimo, sono i due poli tra si opposti, ai quali l'argomento di questo primo libro dovra interamente aggorarsi.' So says Rodotà, at the commencement of his history.

[2] So Petrus Subdiaconus, in his life of S. Athanasius of Naples, where he is speaking of the interment of that prelate, 'Confluebant uterque sexus et ætas diversa, et qualiter poterant, psalmodiæ Græce et Latine suavi modulatione resonabant.'

of the dispensation for which they had asked. In Brundusium t
Greek rite was given up in 1173, but a trace of it still remains,
did remain, in the last century. On Palm Sunday, a sole
procession took place from the cathedral to the church call
Hosanna, in which the Epistle and Gospel were sung with e
traordinary solemnity in Greek. It appears that in 1609 t
Archbishop, Dionysio Odriscol, one of those persons who were
squaring everything to the exactest dimensions of the Latin ri
resolved to put an end to these ancient customs. The Chap
strenuously opposed him, and, on his persisting in his manda
appealed to Rome. The case was heard, and judgment giv
against the Archbishop, to his extreme chagrin. In a Dioces
Synod holden at Otranto, about the year 1580, no fewer than t
hundred priests of the Greek rite were present. It seems th
in some places, as at Galatena, the Greek priests had a repu
tion for piety so far exceeding that of the other rite, that t
Latin population flocked to them, although unacquainted w
their idiom. Where every thing else has disappeared, the na
of the church will sometimes tell of the great prevalence of t
Greek rite there: thus the Cathedral of Bova is called S. Ma
dell' *Isodia*, and another church in the same city, the *Theotoc*
The Cathedral of Rossano was entirely Greek till 1461, wh
the Archbishop, Matteo Saraceni, introduced the Latin rite
force, and caused the exploit to be recorded on his tomb:—

> 'Hanc, quam cernis, ille, cujus laus est perennis
> Transtulit in Latinum, ecclesiam, de Græco ad cultum divinum,
> Cui nomen est Matthæus, quem in Præsulem degit æternus Deus.
> Ordinis fuit minorum, qui in numero fuit magnus Prædicatorum.'

So again, in some places, as in the famous Church of S. Ma
del Grafeo, otherwise called *La Catholica*, in Messina, t
language was Greek, but the vestments were Latin, and azyn
were employed.

The Greek rite in Italy received considerable augmentati
by the immigration of a large body of Albanians when th
country fell under the dominion of the Turks. They we
especially protected by Leo X. and Paul III., notwithstandi
the various and repeated attacks of Latin Bishops. This, amo
other causes, gave rise to the establishment of the Greek Colle
in Rome, by Gregory XIII., in 1577. And for the same reas
Clement VIII., in 1695, instituted a Greek Bishop in the Chur
of S. Athanasius at Rome, to confer holy orders on those of th
nation. The Basilians, too, would form an interesting illustr
tion of our subject, did time permit us to enter on that part of
When Rodotà wrote, in 1760, there were three houses of the
monks in the States of the Church, eighteen in Neapolitan Ital
and twenty-three in Sicily.

The pleasing character of the union between Greeks and Latins in Italy, forms a mournful contrast with the Unia in Russia and Poland, to which we must now direct our thoughts.

At the time when Sigismund III. was seated on the Polish throne, his territory, be it remembered, extending over a great part of White Russia, wrested from that power by the Poles, an attempt of a novel nature was made to bring over a portion of the Eastern Church to the Roman Communion. The king himself had long been employing the usual methods of semi-persecution: the nobles who held to the faith of their forefathers were in every way discouraged: the churches were given to the Latins, and the orthodox were forbidden to erect new ones: a large emigration took place into Great Russia, and those who remained were of course the more dispirited and weakened. There was one Cyril Terletsky, Bishop of Ostrog, a man of bad character, who, angry at some reproof that his misdeeds had brought down on him, and wishing to better his position, determined to join the Roman Church, and offered his services to the King, to induce others to imitate his example. The Metropolitan of Kieff, Michael Ragosa, a timid man, was much under the influence of Cyril; and secret offers were made by Rome, which induced him to enlist in her cause. The rites were to be entirely unchanged; the *Filioque* was not even to be added to the Creed; the United Greek Church was to be perfectly free from the control of the Latin Bishops, and its members were not to be allowed to embrace the Latin Rite. All the privileges and prerogatives of the prelates were to remain; and Clement VIII. engaged to procure for them a seat in the National Diet.

A Synod met at Brzesc, in Lithuania, and the point at issue was warmly disputed. Several of the prelates stood firm; but seven resolved on giving in their adherence to Rome. There were, besides the Metropolitan of Kieff and Terletsky himself, the Bishops of Brzesc, Polotsk, Chelm, Pinsk, and a coadjutor of the latter. Hypatius of Brzesc and Cyril were despatched by the Synod to Rome, with an offer of obedience, but not unconditional; for it contains this remarkable clause: 'We have 'given it them in charge to wait on your Holiness, and (*if* your 'Holiness will guarantee that we shall retain the administration of the Sacraments, and the rites and ceremonies of the 'Eastern Church entirely, inviolably, and as we hold them at 'the moment of union; and will promise that your successors 'will never innovate in this matter) to pay in their own, and in 'the name of us, and of the flocks committed to us, the obedience 'due to the See of Saint Peter, and to your Holiness, as the 'Chief Shepherd of the flock of CHRIST.' Two more prelates, those of Lemberg and Przmisl, had by this time been won

over, and the letter was therefore[1] signed by nine, of whom one died almost immediately. It is dated June 12 (o.s.), 1595.

Such an accession of prelates and territory was to be accepted on any terms. The deputies were most graciously received, and the Vigil of the Nativity, which was also Ember Saturday, was appointed for the public profession of their faith. It is curious to see how, in the account given of this Union, in the Bull *Magnus Dominus*, the prelates are treated as if they represented the whole Russian Church, instead of comparatively an insignificant portion of it. The part which treats on the reception of their Liturgy is as follows:—

'We receive them as fellow-members of CHRIST into the unity of the Catholic and the bosom of the holy Roman Church, unite, annect, and incorporate: and, for the greater signification of our love towards them we permit, of our apostolic clemency, concede, and allow, to the same Russian Bishops and Clergy the ceremonies which, according to the institution of the holy Greek Fathers, they employ in the Divine Offices in the Sacrifice of the Mass, in the administration of the other Sacraments and other rites, so that they be not opposed to truth and to the Catholic faith and do not exclude communion with the Roman Church.'

And Paul V. still further confirmed and strengthened this permission by a Bull of 1615.

Hypatius and Cyril had no sooner returned home, than a second council was held at Brzesc, in which the proceedings of the deputies were approved, and the acts of the Union received. Thus began that Unia, which, after making such extraordinary progress at its commencement, fell suddenly, and was swallowed up by a truer Union in our own time. Job, Patriarch of Moscow, lost no time in condemning the acts of the Council of Brzesc and in excommunicating the prelates concerned in it; and thence forward began a terrible and bloody struggle between the partisans of the Orthodox and Uniat Rites in Poland, Lithuania, and White Russia. Under the Uniat Metropolitans of Kieff, Michael Ragosa, and Hypatius Phocieu, considerable progress was made by gentle means. The people, seeing no difference in outward rites, retaining their own Slavonic, hearing the unaltered Creed, knowing that the profession of the Unia was a stepping-stone to honours and emoluments, and caring very little for a papal supremacy, which they did not understand, flocked into the new Church by thousands, and thus emboldened its authorities to proceed to greater changes. The Creed was altered, the services shortened, Latin vestments introduced, and, curiously enough, Polish made to take the place of the old Church Slavonic in some of the services. Hence great discontent and complaints.

[1] It can be read in the Appendix of Documents to Theiner's *Neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche beider Ritus*, at p. 11.

The Bishops of Lemberg and Przemisl had scarcely joined the Union, when (influenced by the authority of Constantine, Duke of Ostrog, a centenarian, who yet retained almost the full vigour of his youth, and at whose expense, and by whose solicitations, the Scriptures were first translated into the language of White Russia) they again forsook it. But it was under the Uniat Metropolitan, Joseph Rudsky (1613—1635), surnamed by Pope Urban VIII. the Athanasius of Russia, and the Atlas of the Union, that more violent means were adopted to compel the peasantry to embrace it. The tyrannical landed proprietors of Poland closed all the Orthodox churches; whole villages remained without a sacrament; Orthodox churches were given on lease to the Jews, who exacted a rent for every Eucharist. Such violence naturally aroused resistance: the successor of Rudsky, Kunciecevicz, was murdered, and consequently beatified by Rome; and then began a persecution which has scarcely a parallel. Multitudes who persisted in retaining the Orthodox faith, were tortured to death at Warsaw. Some were boiled alive, some burnt, some roasted, some torn to pieces with iron cats; while, in White Russia, children were in like manner butchered, for no other crime but that of their baptism. The horrible barbarities which for twenty or thirty years branded Poland with infamy, make one cease to wonder that she has long since been blotted out from the category of nations. In process of time the Unia lost her Little Russia; the Uniats in that province returned to their native faith, and the strength of the Uniat Church lay in Poland chiefly. Yet here its clergy were despised by both Roman Catholics and Orthodox; its Bishops were never allowed their promised seat in the Senate, and, notwithstanding the papal authority had forbidden those of one rite to forsake it for the other, it was universally regarded as a stepping-stone to the pure Roman Church. Still, on the division of Poland, the Uniat Church remained, and reckoned, in 1825, under its Metropolitan of Wilno, and its three Bishops of Polotsk, Lukoff, and Brzesc, more than fourteen hundred thousand persons capable of receiving the Sacraments. It is well known that, on the 6th of March, 1839, all this multitude, amounting (children included) to nearly two millions, were received, under their three Bishops, into the unity of the Eastern Church. 'Ex tam atroci Catholicæ Eccle-'siæ inflicto vulnere, perspicitis, venerabiles Fratres,' said Gregory XVI.; 'quo tandem animo sumus, quaque intrinsecus 'ægritudine conficiamur. Dolemus atque imo ex corde inge-'miscimus redactas in æternæ salutis discrimur tot animas, 'quas Christus suo sanguine redemerat; dolemus violatam tur-'piter per discolores Episcopos fidem illam, quam Romanæ 'Ecclesiæ prius desponderant; dolemus pessime despectum ab

'iis characterem sacratissimum, quo ex hujus Apostolicæ Sed
'auctoritate fuerant insigniti.'

In the Nestorian Unia, so often attempted, we do not, indee
find a vernacular service, because the Syrian Liturgy of th
body presents, of course, a dead language to them, as well as
us; but it embraced the element of a national language, and
far falls within our subject. The office of the Patriarch of t
Nestorians had become hereditary, descending from uncle
nephew in the same family. These claims were rejected by t
clergy in 1551, who chose one Sulaka to fill the vacant pos
But being unable to obtain the requisite number of three Metr
politans for his ordination, they applied to the 'Pope of t
West;' and on his consecration by Julius III., the use of t
ancient Liturgy, with a few corrections, was allowed, and t
Nestorian body was thus rent in two, the Latinizing portio
being governed by Mar Simons, the original communion by M
Eliases. The former soon again renounced connexion wi
Rome, and thus two Nestorian Patriarchs arose instead of on
But in 1681 commenced a Unia, as well from Nestorians as fro
Jacobites, which continues to this day; and here also unaltere
rites and unchanged language have been found very useful i
bringing over converts to the new Church.

We are now in a condition to offer some remarks on the cour
pursued by Rome with respect to a vernacular language.

And, first, it must be admitted that there are some very gre
advantages to be derived from the adoption of one ecclesiastic
tongue in one patriarchate. At the time, to translate the Liturg
into hundreds of barbaric languages was in itself impossibl
and from the very nature of the case, could it have been pr
ferred, would have been most perilous to the faith. Agai
when they were consolidated into shape and form, when the
developed strength and beauty of their own, when long theol
gical teaching had given them theological terms, then aro
more strongly the rivalry of nations, which wanted some e
ternal sign that they belonged to one Church. Their offic
books were not verbally the same. Three large districts
western Europe—Milan, Spain, and Gaul—long maintained,
the former does still, essentially different rites; and the Lati
language was the only outward symbol of internal union.
must also be allowed that the clamour for a vernacular servic
has generally been rather national than religious. Whateve
might have been the case with Huss and Jerome of Pragu
those fierce Bohemian chiefs who drew the sword at thei
command, did it for the sake of Tcheck, and not of religion; jus
as in former times, princes of Bulgaria and Bans of Croatia ha
disdained to see their native Slavonic expelled by the usurpin

Latin. But when a great part of Germany might have been preserved to the Church by the same concession that was early made to Illyria—the Roman office-books in their own tongue—then the case surely becomes widely different. What was at first prudent caution is now converted into jealous obstinacy. Why might not Rome have obtained the advantages which Luther wrested from her—that of not only giving a translation of the Scriptures, but, by that translation, of actually forming a language? For every one knows that his version formed that *German*, which we at present allow to be the queen of all Teutonic dialects, and that to his residence at Wittenberg is owing its greater affinity with the Alemannic than with the Platt Deutsch. And so, to a certain extent, it is with our own English version.

'Who will not say,' asks a writer in the 'Dublin Review,' 'that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country. It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of the church bell, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the gifts and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of the English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of righteousness about him whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible.'

One should think that a question must naturally follow in the mind of a Roman Catholic,—'Why did not we do this? why did 'we leave it to "heretics" to frame so tremendous an engine 'against us?' If a version had never been made at all, it might have been easier to reply; but, as this principle has been since abandoned, why was it not yielded when it might have been yielded with such comparative graciousness, and to such exceeding advantage?

To return to the language of ecclesiastical services. It is clear that only three systems are practicable; and that the division which they involve is exhaustive. You may, as Rome does, employ a dead, immoveable tongue; you may, as England and Russia do, take bygone period of your own language, and crystallize your prayers in that; or you may revise them every forty or fifty years, so as to render them intelligible through the varying phases and improvements or corruptions of the tongue.

Of the three, we cannot but feel that the last is the worst. Continually to be altering the Creeds, the Litany, the other

prayers, has the look of tampering with the Truth itself. If poor saw the words of their Prayer-book altered, they would less shocked at its doctrines being touched. The words are Malakoff, so to speak, which defends the Sebastopol of our fa Assault them successfully, and the stronghold will ere long s render. It is a grand symbol of the changelessness, or, Dr. Newman happily expresses it, the *incorrigibility* of Church, to find that, though her expressions go out of fashi she retains them still; though, in the mouth of the world, t have come to mean the very contrary of that which she mea she will not, for all that, give them up. It is well also t there should be a language of devotion, which is so utterly ferent from the expressions of every-day life; that, as Church retains her ancient architecture, in all its contrast to fittings of a modern drawing-room, so her stern, masculine,– it be so, uncouth—expressions stand out against the minci ness and effeminacy of the terms of a luxuriant age. A therein are we especially happy, that by our adoption *thou* and *ye*, we can elevate and devotionalize our style at on No other European people can do it to a similar extent. T German *du* must suggest the fond intimacy, the ὰαριστὺς, intimate friends, as well as the address suited to the voice prayer; and the French *vous* must, save from long habit, painfully familiar. It is strange that French writers have attempted to introduce, in their translations of Holy Script and of the Breviary, that more venerable and impressive idi which they might possess if they would; such, for example, those lines which sum up the Ten Commandments in ev Catechism from Antwerp to Bayonne:—

> 'Un seul Dieu tu adoreras, et aimeras parfaitement.
> Dieu en vain tu ne jureras ni autre chose pareillement.
> Les dimanches tu garderas, en servant Dieu dévotement.
> Tes père et mère honoreras, afin de vivre longuement.
> Homicide point ne seras, de fait ni voluntairement.
> Luxurieux point ne seras de corps ni de consentement.
> Le bien d'autrui tu ne prendras, ni retiendras injustement.
> Faux témoignage ne diras, ni mentiras aucunement.
> L'œuvre de chair ne desireras, qu'en mariage seulement.
> Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras, pour les avoir injustement.'

This reads like a section from our own Prayer-book: a what a wonderful contrast does it present with the mode language of the Lord's Prayer!—'Notre Père qui êtes a Cieux, Que votre Nom soit sanctifié, Que votre règne arriv Que votre volonté soit faite sur la terre comme au Ciel,' &c.

These difficulties of language naturally suggest the questio Whether, after all, it is not possible that the present Roma system of parallel translations, explanations in the most famili

language, and so on, may not after all give her poor a far more intelligent idea (we are now speaking simply of the intellect, not of the affections) of her offices than is generally imagined? while our Elizabethan dialect, not being so explained, is much less comprehensible to them than we choose to believe it? To those of tolerable education there can be no doubt that ours is the system which best enables them to worship with the understanding as well as with the spirit. The lowest classes who cannot read, can certainly comprehend some part of our Prayer-book, can certainly not understand one word of the Breviary—or rather Vesperal, the only part of it with which he is likely to be conversant. But for the poor man who can read, and that is all, the 'Petit Paroissien,' and works of a similar stamp, must be more comprehensible, we think, than our own office, so that they were made as accessible to them—which they certainly are not.

But then it must be remembered that, in the point of a vernacular use, Rome has more nearly retraced her steps than in any other point of discipline which she ever maintained. At the outbreak of the Reformation, she opposed it with all her might. Her controversialists poured the most bitter scorn upon it; her advocates, then often more zealous than learned, denounced it as unheard-of, as profane, as scandalous. And yet gradually, and almost imperceptibly, the use gained strength within her communion, and she accommodated herself to its permission,—in hymns, especially in processional hymns; in the reading of the Gospel in French or German after its having been read in Latin; in Litanies; then in translation of the Breviary, or of the Missal (the Canon excepted). And though the versions which so often occupied the pens of the Jansenists were so loudly and bitterly condemned, everywhere throughout Europe the practice of vernacular services has increased, and is on the increase. And the last phase of active Romanism, Oratorianism, as it exists in England, seems utterly to regret all the old traditions of the Latin language, to vernacularize as far as possible, (and in what wretched, slip-slop English!) and to assume that the new practice will be one great means of bringing back this country to the fold of S. Peter. Why what is now so much put forward was three hundred years ago so bitterly to be opposed? is a question which we are not called to answer.

One natural consequence of this use is the general disregard which has attached itself among the people, to every service, excepting Mass only, and which has, by the addition of the Benediction at Vespers, made that office a sort of adjunct or correlative to Mass. And this is a late introduction, designed, as it has most amply done, to popularize a service at a convenient

time of the day, and of convenient length. The enormous c gregations which flow to Benedictions in one of those glori old cities of Belgium, or in the Tyrol—what a wonderful si they present! How they make the heart of an Englishman b within him, that his own Church Service could be rendered popular, could attract such thousands of worshippers!

Again, the vernacular Litanies now spreading so widely, encouraged so freely throughout Europe, form a great cha from mediæval Rome. We have often enough, in Picardy Flanders, heard in the early morning the coarse, gruff voices fishermen, giving all a good hearty response in their pat 'S. Etienne, P'iez pour nous; S. Laurent, P'iez pour nous.' remember when, some years ago, a recently established c fraternity took possession of, and restored, one of the li *igrejinhas* with which Madeira abounds, and said a Portugu Litany there early on Sunday morning, that a gentleman w whom we were acquainted went to hear it, accompanied his man-servant, a Scotch Presbyterian. 'Ah! Sir,' said latter, when they came away, 'it did my heart good to h that! It put me in mind, for all the world, of our singing —— Kirk.' In Spain too, and principally by the effects of association called the *Corte de María*, the same Litanies coming into vogue. We recollect entering a church at Palen one evening, and finding the nave occupied by some fem members of one of its offshoots—a striking scene, in their bl dresses, and with their tapers gleaming through the d church—one of them intoning, and the others taking up, *Estr de la mañana—Ruega por nosotros—Salud de los enfermos, Ru por nosotros—Refugio de los pecadores, Ruega por nosotros.* the most remarkable thing of the kind we ever witnessed, in one of the wildest mountain glens of Portugal, and at a li chapel called *Nossa Senhora do Desterro.* It was in the grey the morning, and our party were about to mount their mul when the west door of the *ermída* opened, and the priest, elderly man, came out on all-fours, followed by a congregat of some twenty or twenty-five, in a similar fashion. They t went round the chapel by the north side first, and, having finis its circuit, re-entered by the west door; and as they went, t recited—for there was no kind of attempt at chanting—one these Litanies. The ground was excessively rough and brok and the effect anything but edifying; nor did we ever see anot exhibition of a similar kind; yet, as our muleteer took it a matter of course, it cannot be uncommon in that unvisit district of the Estrella.

Rome, then, at the present moment, would seem to sanctioning what she does not openly command—the very gene

use of vernacular prayers in church. One thing would seem from past history to be certain, that no civilized nation which has ever left the Church, has been brought back to it without this permission. Belgium is scarcely an exception, for that country can hardly be said to possess a national language, divided as it is into Flemish, and Walloon, and mixed districts. Had Rome, with her usual tact, seized the moment at the reconciliation of England by Cardinal Pole, and given, together with a strict revision (such as was bestowed on the Roman), a version of the Sarum Breviary and Missal, who can say what would have been the effect among a people then well accustomed to a national rite, what on our language, and what on ourselves?

This is a mere dream. But an interesting and very difficult problem of the same nature is likely soon to come before us. The revision, or rather enlargement of the Prayer-book, is a work which cannot be much longer delayed. When once the subject is fairly brought before English Churchmen, they will see that the cautious conservatism of merely working up old materials into new services, is one which can satisfy nobody, and will equally offend those who would be offended by any change. We *must* have a new Evening Service. We *must* have an authorized Office for the Consecration of Churches and Churchyards. We *must* have a greater variety of Collects for the great variety of temporal wants; for example, those of travellers, and for the infinite number of spiritual necessities unmentioned in the Prayer-book. These things lie ready made to our hand in the same treasury whence our former Collects were derived; and they need only translation to be, as they once were, the support and comfort of many Christian souls.

But then, how is this translation to be done? If we are to have the modernisms, the verbiage, the diluted wretchedness that appears every now and then in our occasional services, it will be indeed the new cloth fastened on to the old garment, and it is easy to foresee the event. As it is, the hundred and twenty years which elapsed between the earliest and latest parts of our Prayer-book, have made no difference, except perhaps to the ear of a philologist, between its most ancient and its most modern parts. The prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, would scarcely be recognised by an uninstructed person as emanating from a different age than that which produced the Sunday Collects, *so far as language goes.* And it is remarkable that, in the revision of the Prayer-book threatened by William III., the principle was clearly adopted of writing the new Collects in the old Church language. One sits down to a perusal of that book with a most lawful and righteous prejudice against all its contents;

but it is impossible not to allow that, incomparably inf
as these Collects are to those which they were intended to
plant, they are better in matter, and infinitely better in ex
sion, to that which might have been expected from their wr
Again, in their still later revision, the non-jurors carefully reta
the older language; and the Scottish Church, in its Commu
Office, has, with scarcely an exception, done the same. I
earnestly to be hoped that similar care will be taken by
future revisers, whoever they may be; and that, while they
clear on the one side of the affectation of archaising, so on
other their language will be in simple harmony with that of
older book; that they will not so write as that a common re
may say, 'Here the old ends, and here the new begins;'
they will not, in short, build on a classical chapel to a Mi
Pointed church.

It is only since the above article was in type that
Trench's 'English, Past and Present,' has come in our
We mention this, with the double purpose of warmly rec
mending this little book, and of defending ourselves again
charge of plagiarism, from the coincidence of some of its rem
with the observations on the Prayer-book which have
offered above.

ART. V. *Jashar. Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tesselata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, Commentario instruxit* JOANNES GULIELMUS DONALDSON, *S. Theologiæ Doctor, Collegii S. S. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses quondam Socius.* 1854. Prostat Londini, apud Williams et Norgate; Berolini, apud Wilhelm Hertz.

THIS volume is an attempt by Dr. Donaldson to restore, translate, and illustrate an ancient book, which he supposes to have been composed partly from original, partly from preexisting writings in the time of Solomon, and to have been the most precious possession of the Jewish Church. His work is written in Latin, because it is addressed *ad Clerum;* it is printed and published in Germany, because it is in that country that investigations and views such as Dr. Donaldson has here put forth are, he thinks, most likely to meet with readers who will duly estimate and feel interest in them.

We need scarcely say that the volume is the work of a scholar, of a man of great ability, extensive knowledge, ingenuity, and acuteness. The Latin, though the author professes to throw aside the bondage of Ciceronian phrase, flows with the natural and classic grace which belongs to one to whom the language is as a mother tongue. The illustrative matter is drawn from every kind of literature, out of the stores of an accomplished and well-informed mind. The composition is free, flowing, and clear, as that of one thoroughly interested in and master of his subject. But the work is that of a person of wild and unrestrained imagination, who lives in a world of his own, and seems to be without the capacity of appreciating the value of evidence, not to mention more grave faults.

Dr. Donaldson's favourite pursuit hitherto has been comparative philology; and that study, perhaps, more than any other at this day, tends to seduce the mind into the practice of mere conjecture and theory, and to produce a habit of guessing and imagining, and of theorizing on very slight grounds, or on no grounds at all, and then becoming thoroughly convinced of the objective truth of that which has no existence whatever but in the mind of the imaginer. Such has been the danger in the study, at a particular point in its history, of almost every science. Chemistry and its cognate pursuits long continued in this childhood of science; geology has but recently grown out of it. Our own day has seen archæology pretty nearly set free from it, and facts and careful reasoning have taken the place of imaginations

forth Dr. Donaldson's grounds for thinking it a part of his imaginary book, his views about its composition, about the true reading and meaning of the text, and illustrations of its matter.

In order, however, that our readers may become acquainted with the mind of the author, we think it best to give the first specimen of his arguments which meets a reader. It will show the facility with which Dr. Donaldson builds up a theory, by a series (we trust we are not unfair in what we say) of assumptions and conjectures, and then gives to this airy creation of his own brain the solidity and firmness of demonstration. The specimen is a very fair one, and in itself not uninteresting; it occurs in the Prolegomena, cap. ii. pp. 8—13. The author is here engaged in showing the importance of 'searching the Scriptures,' not with the view of learning more of Divine truth, of what is revealed respecting God, or of making progress in piety and practical religion, but in order to discover in them what had never been suspected before. The specimen is, indeed, Dr. Donaldson's own, given by him as a proof of the advantage to be derived by religion from his method of investigation.

S. Paul says (1. Cor. xv.) that our Lord, after His Resurrection, appeared to S. James. It has been generally supposed that this appearance is not recorded by any of the Evangelists. Dr. Donaldson conceives that he has discovered that it is, and in the process of his argument goes very fully into inquiries respecting the relationship of the Apostles, and puts forth, as certain matter of fact, many things which neither we, nor, we apprehend, they themselves, ever knew or suspected before.

He proceeds thus:—First, he gives the lists of the Apostles as they are found in the Gospels; in these the twelve are found, up to a certain point, to be mentioned in pairs. First we have Andrew, and his brother Peter, who was brought by him to Christ. Then John, that other disciple of the Baptist, who, says Dr. Donaldson, 'without doubt' (*proculdubio*) brought his brother James to Christ (there not being the slightest intimation or ground for believing that he did so). Next came S. Philip, and he brought Nathanael to Christ (see S. John i. 40, &c.) Now, as Bartholomew is a patronymic name, it has 'always' (*semper*) been rightly inferred that Nathanael and Bartholomew were the same (the conjecture is highly probable, and of late has been generally received, but far from 'always'). And as Philip and Bartholomew are connected together in each of the lists of the Apostles, it 'would not be absurd to suppose' that they were brothers, the sons of Thalmæus. (Philip was of Bethsaida, and Nathanael of Cana—John i. 44; xxi. 2—but this Dr. Donaldson does not notice.) So that the first six

proof of it. But then Alphæus the father of S. Matthew, S. Thomas, and S. James, and the grandfather of S. Jude, is the same as Cleophas, the husband of Mary, the sister of S. Mary, and 'mother of James;' but Cleophas and another disciple were the two that were walking together to Emmaus. Now, what is more likely than that Cleophas should be taken into the country by his eldest son James; and if the second of these two were James, might he not have told it to S. Paul, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy? *q. e. d.* Thus we discover a fact of great importance, an undesigned coincidence between S. Luke and S. Paul in respect to that great groundwork of our belief—the witnesses of the Resurrection. To say nothing of the many improbabilities of these theories, Dr. Donaldson has overlooked one circumstance, which blows down his edifice like a child's house of cards. The appearance to S. James was *after* the appearances to S. Peter, to 'the twelve,' 'to five hundred brethren at once.'[1] Dr. Donaldson identifies it with an appearance on the day of the Resurrection to an Apostle, and the father of three of the twelve, who yet did not know, nor had heard any rumour, of our Lord's having really risen.

We now proceed to give a sketch of Dr. Donaldson's theories respecting the Book of Jashar, its origin, date, and matter.

The view which he entertains is this (Præf. pp. i. ii.) that in the reign of Solomon, through the enjoyment of long peace and prosperity, the Israelites, who had before been hindered by continual harassing wars, first cultivated a literature, and that works of various kinds were then sent out. Besides the writings attributed to Solomon himself, there were genealogies and histories of the patriarchs, 'the Book of the Wars of the Lord' (Numb. xxi. 27), and sacred songs respecting them; epic-like tales about the Judges, and histories of David; and particularly a religious and moral work, called the 'Book of the Upright, or of Uprightness,' containing both old and recent hymns, &c., and various other matters, which will be fully stated hereafter. And this book was compiled by the Prophet Nathan, by the direction of Solomon, and probably with the aid of Gad the Seer. It was the first literary production of the Schools of the Prophets.

The books, which we call the Books of Moses, were not, in Dr. Donaldson's view, composed till after the Captivity, with the exception of the Book of Deuteronomy, which was most probably written by Hilkiah the Priest, in the reign of Josiah. When these books, and those of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel,

[1] 'He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. *After that*, He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, He was seen of James; then of all the apostles. And last of all He was seen of me also, as one born out of due time.' —1 Cor. xv. 5—8.

the words of the Pentateuch, as commonly understood, should be taken as absolute authority in geology.

Dr. Donaldson here adopts the words of a book, of which, it seems, he has been supposed to be the author, the authorship of which he would have held to be a great honour, whether he agrees with all that it contains or not:—'Protestant Principles considered in their Results.'

Having thus removed the obstacles which any other view of inspiration might have opposed to his free handling of our sacred books, Dr. Donaldson proceeds (pp. 7, seq.), with a profaneness which is simply shocking, to adopt as the motto of his proceedings the words of our Blessed Saviour, 'Search the Scriptures;' not as seeking 'life' there—not in order to learn more of the Divine will, of our own duties, hopes, prospects—but to discover something (Dr. Donaldson says) which has never been found out before—searching as for gold in California or Australia, for all manner of facts, if facts they can be called, which have eluded the researches of previous inquirers. And as a specimen of his discoveries in this way, he himself gives the *morceau* which we have already presented to our readers respecting the appearance of our Lord to S. James, and the relationships of the Apostles; this being the fruit of his labour on the Gospels alluded to at the beginning of the extract which follows:—

'Quodsi talis labor in singulis Evangelii narrationibus consectandis non sine fructu ponetur, quid facies in casca vetustate Pentateuchi exploranda? Profecto, ut ait Cicero (De Finn. i. 3), "nec modus est ullus investigandi veri, nisi inveneris; et quærendi defatigatio turpis est, quum id, quod quæritur, sit pulcherrimum." Ut in Californiæ convallibus et saxosis Australasiæ campis, ita in tota sacrorum librorum serie haud ita penitus defossum delituit tamen aurum, quod indagatoribus immensas divitias suppeditabit.' —Pp. 13, 14.

We quote this also as a specimen of Dr. Donaldson's graceful style; for such it unquestionably is.

Further (Proleg. cap. iii. pp. 14—19), he lays it down as a principle, that the writings of which the Bible is composed have not come down to us in their original form, but have been altered in many ways, but yet are capable of restoration. He excepts the Epistles of S. Paul and the other Apostles; and, save a few additions, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of S. John. But the Gospel of S. Matthew is a (poor) translation, an 'adumbration' of the original; that of S. Mark is imperfect, and may also be a translation; that of S. Luke is a congeries from several sources. By considering this, he says, we may explain many difficulties in the Evangelists: for instance, *one* demoniac among the Gadarenes, *one* blind man at Jericho, only are mentioned by S. Mark and S. Luke; *two* in our Greek of S. Matthew. How is this? Why, the translator mistook one of two Syriac words—

Now 'the Book of Jashar' is mentioned in two places in the Old Testament only: in the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua, verse 13 (we adopt the English version): 'And the sun stood 'still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged them-'selves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the Book of 'Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and 'hasted not to go down about a whole day.' And again, just before the beginning of David's lament over Saul (2 Sam. i. 18), 'Also he taught the children of Judah *the use of* the bow; 'behold, *it is* written in the Book of Jasher.'

The first question is: What was this Book of Jasher? The context of the passages in which it is mentioned would lead us to suppose that it was some book of metrical chronicles, or poetic annals of the people, which, like our own old chronicles, was continually receiving additions as the progress of time supplied fresh facts to be enrolled in it; so that decisive arguments could not be drawn from a citation of it, as to the time at which the books that cite it were written or at which it was itself composed: nor could its name throw much further light upon the subject.

But this very obscurity is the delight of the theorist. A distinct and legible inscription is open to every one to read; no acuteness is necessary to decipher its characters, no recondite erudition to bring together illustrations and arguments for its meaning one thing rather than another. But let it be well-nigh obliterated, let there be scarcely one single distinct letter left, and it opens a rich field of inquiry, and affords ample scope for critical and historical disquisition. No one writes essays on the inscription on the Monument of London, but a few worn-out letters found on a tablet dug up in Cannon Street might furnish materials for many a disquisition and many a controversy.

It does not, however, appear to Dr. Donaldson a worthy occupation to deduce what the Book of Jasher was, merely from the contexts in which it is referred to. He elicits its nature and its contents from its name, *Jashar*. This name has been indeed most variously interpreted, but subject to qualifications; he adopts the interpretation of Gesenius, '"The Book of the 'Upright" (in the Vulgate, "The Book of the Righteous,") 'is a collection of old Hebrew poems.'[1] But at this point Gesenius went wrong, for he added, 'So called from its con-'taining the praises of upright men, or from some other cause, 'whatever it may have been; for the Orientals are wont to take 'titles for their books from subjects and words which have often

[1] 'Liber probi, *scil.* proborum (*Vulg.* Liber justorum), est anthologia veterum carminum Hebræorum.'—Proleg. cap. iv. pp. 20—25.

'but little connexion with their subject.' Thus the learne
Gesenius saying, as it were, 'The inscription is quite illegible-
no argument whatever can be drawn from the name.' In h
Manual, however, Gesenius ventures on a further conjectur
'Provided,' he says, 'it can be proved that יָשָׁר is used
'warlike excellence (de bellica *virtute*), you might translate t
'title, "The Book of Valour," *liber virtutis*;' and for a cor
sponding title he refers to an Arabic collection called 'Valou
Here Dr. Donaldson is astonished at Gesenius's mistake (for t
interpretation, 'The Book of Valour,' were fatal to his wh
scheme), and at this learned Hebraist's giving up the case. I
seizes, as it were, on the inscription which Gesenius declares
be illegible, and open only to the merest conjectural interpre
tions, and declares that it can be most clearly and satisfactor
made out.

'Jashar' means 'a moral and religious man;' and specia
the Israelites, as being, by profession, the worshippers of t
true God: in the same way that 'righteous' was technica
used; and so Jashar was a kind of special name for go
Israelites. Nay, it is the root of the names of the people, 'Isra
and 'Jeshurun;' the other derivations of Israel in the Book
Genesis being mistakes of the compiler.

It is clear from this, Dr. Donaldson says, (*i. e.* from a conj
tural and most disputable interpretation,) what the Book
Jashar was. 'It was undoubtedly a collection of ancient poe
'and other records bearing on religion, and on the history of t
'worshippers of the true God;' and 'we *must necessarily* c
'*clude* that this book was a *Sylloge* containing all those fragme
'which taught the rules of religion, the marrow of the law; whi
'exhibited the nature of uprightness, or celebrated the victori
'declared the blessedness, promised the future happiness of tr
'and sincere Israelites.' This is inferring a good deal more th
he has any premises for; but let us observe what follows, for whi
there is absolutely no foundation whatever: that portions of t
book are wrought into our Scriptures. Two citations are ma
from the Book of Jashar, by name; and we have no reason
the world to suppose that any part of it whatever besides
anywhere extant; yet Dr. Donaldson coolly goes on: 'Wha
'ever there be of this character wrought up in the sacred Scri
'tures of the Jews, which can be regarded as an ancient fragme
'that doubtless will claim a place among the remains of t
'Book of Jashar, and return there as to its proper home.'

As to the date of this imaginary book (we are throughou
giving exactly the substance of Dr. Donaldson's Prolegomen
see cap. v. pp. 25—27), every consideration confirms what
first sight is most probable: that these ancient poems we

collected, written out, and put together in the reign of Solomon. But more particularly: 1. The collection was later than the time of David, because the Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan was a part of the book. 2. In the blessings of Jacob and Moses, which *are most certainly* parts of the Book of Jashar, all the tribes are mentioned as still united. Therefore, the collection was made prior to the revolt of Jeroboam. (From the same consideration we might have argued that the Book of Genesis was written before that revolt.) 3. In that Blessing the word מָכֵרָה, 'a sword,' occurs; but this is the Greek word *μάχαιρα*, and, therefore, the composition is later than the time when David had his Cretan guards, the Cherethim, which was in the latter part of his reign. (It appears afterwards, p. 196, that there are many other interpretations of מָכֵרָה, and it looks very much like a proper Hebrew word derived from כּוּר, as Delitzch held, while Maurer connected it with the Ethiopic, and Dathe with the Syriac. But as if two languages might not have similar words, Dr. Donaldson chooses to say it is the Greek word, and, therefore, this was written in the time of Solomon.) 4. 'Shiloh' in Jacob's blessing most probably is a form of Solomon; therefore, the Song was written in his reign. (Of course it is not a prophecy, but written after the events, and pretending only to be one; Jacob himself being a mythical personage, representing the Israelitish nation.) 5. As this book of *Uprightness* turns on God's having made man *upright*, and that is the very expression of Solomon (Eccles. vii. 30), it is plain that Solomon is the most likely person to have been the author or adviser of the work. (We must leave Dr. Donaldson to maintain the genuineness of the Book of Ecclesiastes against his German brethren; that one passage has secured his convictions.) 6. David subdued the Edomites, but they recovered their independence under Solomon; and this is distinctly referred to in that fragment of the Book of Jashar (Gen. xxvii. 50), Isaac's blessing Jacob and Esau; therefore, the book was not compiled before the days of Solomon.

Is it possible for any one more entirely to disregard the laws of evidence than the writer of this book? Dr. Donaldson *imagines* what the meaning of the name, and thence what the nature, of the Book of Jashar was; then *imagines* it was used by the supposed compilers of the books of the Old Testament; then he selects the portions which he fancies were parts of it; then he argues from the contents of these parts the date of the work; and, as it appears that many of the poems were not only brought together by Solomon, but were actually written in his time, falsely pretending to antiquity, the result is, that the Book

conclusions, in order that, 'whilst your opponents are puzzling themselves to discover a connexion which never existed, you may build on their silence as defeat.'

On all this kind of argument, it is obvious to remark that it labours under one fault: there is no real evidence as to what the Book of Jashar was, or that any part of the Old Testament was taken from it; and, further, there is no clear ground on which any one part of the books of the Old Testament could be determined to belong to it. There are two citations from the book: allow it: these citations may fairly be supposed to be specimens of the collection; and it would seem from them to have consisted of poetical annals, or hymns celebrating the martial exploits of the Israelites. The existence of such a collection is both intelligible and probable; such works, whether written or unwritten, belong to the early literature of every nation: nor is there in the case before us the slightest ground for supposing that it was anything else. We have no right to argue from anything so uncertain as the name of the 'Book of the Upright,' that its contents were anything besides what these citations prove and suggest, and Gesenius' explanation might have sufficed. But to determine on such a ground as that יָשָׁר means 'upright,' the whole contents of this supposed book, and to draw out of the Old Testament its imagined fragments, is a mere amusement of fancy, unworthy in itself of any serious refutation.

We will proceed, however, to set before our readers what Dr. Donaldson holds to have made up this book. He imagines that it was divided into several parts; these being, according to the sacred number, *seven*. (Ibid. pp. 28—30.) The first part sets forth how man was made upright (יָשָׁר), and fell into sin. Of this we have two fragments, distinguished by the well-known difference in the name used for the Most High; the first using the name God (Elohim), the second the Lord (Jehovah). This difference of terms in the first chapters of the Book of Genesis, has been often noticed and adduced as an argument for the use of older materials by the writer of the book. The first fragment is called *Elohistæ carmen;* the second, *Jehovistæ.*

The first fragment (pp. 37, 38) Dr. Donaldson makes to consist of portions now disjoined and displaced; some being combined by the compiler with the history of the flood. He takes the last verses of the history of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis (Gen. i. 27, 28); then the beginning of the history of the flood, (Gen. vi. 1—6,) putting the third verse after the sixth, and inserting the twenty-first verse of the eighth chapter between the third and fourth verses, making it run thus, according to the English version:—

Gen. i. 27, 28. God created man after His own image,
After the image of God created He man;
Male and female created He them.
28. And God blessed them,
And said;
'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,
And subdue it.
And have dominion over the fish of the sea, and
the fowl of the air,
And over every living thing that moveth upon the fa
the earth.'
Gen.vi.1,2,4,5. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply o
face of the earth,
And daughters were born unto them,
2. And the sons of God saw the daughters of men that
were fair;
And they began to take unto themselves wives of all w
they chose.
4. There were giants on the earth in those days;
For after that the sons of God came in unto the daug
of men,[1] and they bare children unto them,
The same became mighty men, which were of old, m
renown.
5. And God saw that the wickedness of man was gre
the earth,
And that every imagination of his heart was only
continually,
Gen. viii. 21. For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his yo
Gen. vi. 6. And it repented [God] that He had made man on the e
And it grieved Him at His heart; (3.) and *God* said:
My Spirit shall not always reign in man,
On account of their sin, that is, flesh;
But his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.'

We give Dr. Donaldson's version of the latter part.

It will be seen that even here Dr. Donaldson has been obli to alter the very marks by which he professes to discrimi the fragments. In the text of Gen. vi. 6. the Divine nam the Lord: this he has altered to God, and marked as an alt tion, ('Videt autem [Deus] quod,' &c.) In the third verse, s he has altered the reading in the same way, but not marked we have printed the word in italics. It is also worth observ how improbable it is, that any compiler, in prefixing the acc of the six days' creation to this extract from Jashar, would h used the name Elohim only. The verses which Dr. Donald has thus severed are plainly part of the one narrative of first chapter.

The next fragment is that in which the name the Lord (Jehov is used. He calls it a fuller and poetical description of same event. He makes it consist of Gen. ii. 7—9; then, on ting the description of the localities of Eden, of verses 15, 18, and of chapter iii. omitting verses 20, 22. Such is a specin of the wanton way in which this work is done.

[1] There is, we presume, a misprint here in the original.

It is in a commentary on these passages (pp. 41—79), that Dr. Donaldson has indulged in a foulness of imagination, and a minuteness of detail in expressing his thoughts, which he has in vain attempted to justify. A few hints at the interpretation which he proposes would have sufficed, even on his own showing. It is impossible for us to do more than say, that the sin of our first parents is supposed to be that of carnal concupiscence; that many words are translated differently from what they were ever before believed to mean; and that the whole passage is illustrated by observations suited to the filthy ideas on which the interpretation is grounded.

The second part (pp. 80, 95, with notes, pp. 95—132) sets forth the election of the family of Abraham as the upright, (יְשָׁרִים,) and the rejection, 1. Of the descendants of Ham and the Canaanites. 2. Of the descendants of Cain. 3. Of the Hagarenes. 4. Of the Edomites. And consists of these portions, or 'Fragments,' I. Gen. ix. 18—27; II. Gen. iv. 2—8, and 8—16; III. Gen. xvi. 1—4, 15, 16 (xv. 6), xvii. 9—16, 18—26, xxi. 1—14, 20, 21; IV. Gen. xxiv. 32—34, with chapters xxvii.—xxix. and portions inserted from other places. But Dr. Donaldson tells us, the fragments of Jashar were greatly altered in the process of working them up into the Book of Genesis, and originally stood thus: '[Adam, *i. e.* man,] after (see Gen. ix. 18) he went forth [from Eden] begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet;' and so throughout the name of Adam is to be substituted for Noah. Then in verse 22, Dr. Donaldson inserts something which had been omitted by the compiler, but was really in the original, that Ham, when he had seen his father's nakedness, sent for his son Canaan, and that Canaan told Shem and Japhet, the two brothers of his father, &c. Such is the wantonness of the critic.

Then at the beginning of the so-called second fragment, Dr. Donaldson inserts into Gen. iv. 2, 'And Shem begat two sons, Cain the elder, and Abel his brother,' and so continues the narrative, with the extraordinary insertion in verse 7 of this passage, after the words which he translates, 'thou liest at the door of sin:' 'And the Lord said to Abel: Because thou hast done 'this thing, and hast believed me, therefore have I accounted 'it to thee for righteousness: and therefore thou shalt be 'Lord over thy brother, and unto thee shall be his desire,' &c. (the insertion being made up out of Gen. xxii. 15; Gen. xv. 7; Gen. xxvii. 29). He also in verse 8 reads the words that are found in the Septuagint: 'And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field,' &c.

The third fragment, on the rejection of the descendants of Hagar and the Arabians, has this introduction by Dr. Donaldson: 'And Abraham, the son of Abel, married his relation Sarah.'

The fourth begins: 'And Isaac married Rebecca, a connexi
of his father and mother.' And then, after the blessing of Es
(Gen. xxxix. 40), comes this strange insertion of a passage, part
taken from other places of Genesis: 'Then Esau became
'Cainite, and was called not as before Esau the son of Isaac, b
'Lamech, the son of Methuselah; and he, when he had depart
'from his father, married wives, Ada, the daughter of Elon t
'Hittite, who was also called Judith, and Zillah, the daughter
'Anak the Hivite, who was also called Aholibamah. When, ther
'fore, he had gotten a sword and a spear, he sang thus boasting
'to his wives: Ada and Zillah, &c.,' from Gen. iv. 23. (See Gen.
18, 19; xxvi. 34; and xxxvi. 2.) There are other insertio
throughout of passages from divers parts of the book of Genes
The 'fragment' concludes with the list of the wives and childr
of Jacob.

So the 'mythical' genealogy of the patriarchs would b
Adam, otherwise called Noah; he had three sons, Shem, Ha
Japheth; Shem had two sons, Cain and Abel; Abel was t
father of Abraham, who had two sons, Ishmael and Isaa
Isaac was the father of Esau and Jacob, but Esau afterwa
was called Lamech (and Methuselah Isaac, we presume), a
married two wives, who, like himself, had each two nam
Jacob's wives and children, the mythical representatives of t
twelve tribes, are named as in the Bible.

These 'fragments' are illustrated; and Dr. Donaldson's sel
tions, collocations, and insertions are maintained by notes, wh
bring together all kinds of matter (shall we say, to bear on t
subject, or to be attached to it?) from every quarter, in strai
incongruity, and without any real logical connexion.

The argument of the third part is said to be: 'The upri
'Israelites having escaped from Egypt, and spent forty years
'the wilderness, and undergone many other vicissitudes, at l
'dedicate a temple to the Lord, in a land of peace, under Solom
'their peaceful king.' The passages of which it consists
these:

Gen. vi. 5—14. 'And when the whole earth was lying buried under a floo
iniquity, and Israel walked uprightly and religiously, the L
decreed that he should be delivered from the waves of
tumultuous Rahab, and come at length into a land of pe
An ark was therefore constructed at the command of the L
in which he should sail over the waves of the wickednes
Gen. vii. 6, 11. the earth. And Israel was 600 years old, when he entered i
(12.) the ark. He wandered through the wilderness, as thro
the billows of the sea, forty years. And when these fo
years were passed, Israel sent forth a raven, [to seek ou
peaceful dwelling]; but the raven flew away, and return
but brought no news.'

Then come the verses (Gen. viii. 8—11) about the dove, su

stituting Israel for Noah; which is thus connected with what follows:—

'And Israel knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.
Gen. v. 29. 'And that he was made a man of rest (Noah).
Gen. viii. 4. 'And having got a peaceful dwelling on the mountain of holiness,
'He rested there in the seventh month, on the seventh day.
1 Kings vi. 'There he built a magnificent house of God (Bethel).
1 Kings viii. 43. 'There being always before God (that is, in Peniel).
Deut. vi. 18. 'And doing that which is right and good,
Ps. v. 8. 'He religiously worshipped the Lord in His holy temple.'
Cf. Ps. xlviii. 9.

The history of the Deluge, then, is a mythical or parabolical account of the peaceful settlement of the children of Israel in the Promised Land. The raven is the spies first sent out, who brought an evil report of the land; the dove, the good Israelites who desired to go into the land.

To go through the profaneness, the mockery alike of reason and religion, with which this whole subject is treated, would be shocking alike to our readers and ourselves. It is plain that Dr. Donaldson considers the sacred records as anile fables, which are a fair subject for every kind of mockery and derision.

We proceed with our painful task. The fourth part (pp. 150—157) contains the Law. In the Book of Jashar this consisted of portions of what was afterwards enlarged by Hilkiah, the high-priest in the reign of Josiah, into the Book of Deuteronomy; which is therefore the most ancient portion of the so-called Books of Moses. This alone, Dr. Donaldson argues, was known to the prophet Micah, and is cited by him, and this alone, he says, is sanctioned by our Saviour; a statement plainly contrary to fact, though Dr. Donaldson endeavours to establish it at pp. 163, 164. If any one were to suggest that Micah referred to the history of Balaam in the Book of Numbers, we are told that this is quite a mistake,—that the prophecy of Balaam was indeed extant before the time of Micah, but it was as a part of the Book of Jashar, afterwards compiled into the Book of Numbers; a proceding which renders argument well-nigh impossible. The selections, which Dr. Donaldson classes in three parts, are called by him Three Fragments:—

1. Deut. v. 1—22, being the Ten Commandments.

2. Deut. vi. 1—5; (Levit. xix. 18); Deut. x. 12—21; xi. 1—5; 7—9; which he calls the Marrow of the Divine Law.

3. Deut. viii. 1—3; vi. 6—25; the Inculcation of Obedience: inserting, however, out of the Book of Leviticus (xix. 18) the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and omitting Deut. vi. 19, 'to cast out all thine enemies before thee, as the Lord hath spoken.'

Dr. Donaldson gives the following reasons for constructi
this fourth part of the Book of Jashar:[1]—1. It is most probab
not to say unquestionable, that the Book of Uprightn
contained precepts of uprightness. They would be the ve
kernel of the book, and therefore, most probably, would
found in the middle of it, making the fourth of the seven boo
2. These precepts are to be found embodied in the Book of De
teronomy. Dr. Donaldson here compares that book with the oth
books of the law, in a tone of profane disparagement of th
books, though it is out of one of them that the second great co
mandment of the law has been taken. 3. Micah cited the Bo
of Deuteronomy only, but it was not the Book of Deuteronor
itself, but the Book of Jashar; for if any one alleged (as we s
before) that he referred to the history of Balaam in the Book
Numbers, we are told that that was a part of the Book of Jash
that the ritual portion of the law was not extant in an authoritati
written form, before the Captivity. Dr. Donaldson argues fr
the many passages in which the moral are preferred to ceremon
observances, and the disparaging terms in which the latter
spoken of, as by David, Samuel, and the Prophets; and inf
that there was not then any Divine sanction for such observanc
and that the Book of Deuteronomy, or rather that of Jash
in which the moral law only was contained, was alone know
as if the very reason why the people were in danger of exalti
the ceremonial observances were not the Divine sanctions
which they were confirmed; as the very same tone is fou
most unquestionably after the establishment of the ceremon
law, as of Divine obligation, in the Apocrypha and the N
Testament. 4. But our Lord gave His sanction only to t
Book of Deuteronomy, neglecting the rest of the law. H
Dr. Donaldson suggests that the books of the law were
separate volumes, and known rather to the Pharisees than t
people; as if the whole of the law was not regularly read in t
synagogues every Sabbath-day, and, as is clear from the N
Testament, familiarly known to the people. By 'the la
he says, 'our Lord meant only the Book of Deuteronom
notwithstanding the numerous citations of the other books
of fully equal authority, and of the passage of Leviticus (xix. 1
repeatedly, as the most important part of the moral law. Wh
our Lord, for instance, said He came to fulfil the law,
only meant the Book of Deuteronomy: when He spoke in t
well-known and received language of 'what is written in t
law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms respecting Him bei
fulfilled,' (Deut. xxiv. 44,) he referred to that harmonic

[1] Pp. 158—179.

teaching of the *Book of Deuteronomy*, the prophets, and Psalms, which Dr. Donaldson had before shown to be that, not sacrifices, but piety is acceptable to God; although it is manifest that our Lord was speaking of predictions of His own death and resurrection verbally contained in the Jewish Scriptures; and no one, before Dr. Donaldson, supposed that the Law of Moses meant only the Book of Deuteronomy. It is surely a waste of time to attempt to refute so reckless a writer.

The fifth part[1] consists of Benedictions and Admonitions, and is made up of the Blessings of Jacob, from Gen. xlix.; the Blessings of Balaam, from the Book of Numbers; and the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. xxxiii., with such omissions as Dr. Donaldson thought fit to make. These Blessings, he conceives, were written in the time of Solomon, and described the condition of the tribes at that day; save that the last portion of the prophecy of Balaam, 'And ships shall come from Chittim,' &c., was added after the expedition of Alexander. The prophecy so called not being a prophecy (the *possibility* of prophecy he does not deny), but a description of what had happened, could not contain these words, as the event did not occur till long after the time of Solomon; and the passages in the Song of Moses, respecting the privileges and dignity of the tribe of Levi, could not have been a part of what was written in the time of Solomon; because the prophecy of Jacob, which describes them as they were at that time, contains no reference to the exaltation of the Levites to the sacerdotal offices, and represents them only as men of violence: 'Simeon and Levi are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.' They were men of violence, vagabonds, like the Greek *ἀγύρται*. This Dr. Donaldson,—taking the two Levites mentioned in the Book of Judges to be specimens of what they all were,—imagines to have been their character; and asserts that they did not attain their priestly influence till the time when the young king was saved from Athaliah's violence by their means; and, after the Captivity, through the instrumentality of Ezra and others, who were of the Levitical families. 'Hence,' he says, 'the tithes and 'other privileges of the Levites; hence the rites and ceremonies, 'and the rest of the farrago of the Pharisees; hence the edition 'of the Pentateuch, throughout enlarged and altered.' As if there were not allusions to the ritual and ceremonial law in the Prophets and the historical books; incidental and slight, indeed, but enough to show that it existed and was recognised; and, even when broken and neglected, was regarded as of Divine authority,—allusions which, from the very circumstance

[1] Pp. 180—232.

that they are incidental, and sometimes not obvious, are of the same value in proof.

Jacob, indeed, is but a mythical representative of the Jewish nation, and his sons of their tribes; Balaam existed in tradition; and, indeed, Dr. Donaldson thinks the notion of these words, the blessings of Jacob and Balaam, being really spoken by them too absurd to need refutation. The attempt to illustrate the blessings of Jacob, Balaam, and Moses, by the after history of the nations and the tribes, as if they were written in the time of Solomon, and describe their condition at that time, is interesting and able, but exaggerated and wild in conjecture, and having a semblance only of argument. For instance, the beautiful blessing of Joseph was a judicious flattery of the most powerful tribe. The prophecy respecting Judah and the Shiloh is thus explained:—The lion's whelp is David in his youth; the full-grown lion, the same king in his strength; the lioness with her whelps is Solomon. 'Poeta 'autem aptissime transit a recumbente leæna ad tranquillum 'pacifici Solomonis regnum et auream illam ætatem qua Juda 'frueretur. Significat ergo Judæ imperium permansurum esse, 'donec quies et cum quiete gentium obsequium Judæ obtin-'geret. Vocem מְחֹקֵק (the lawgiver) denotare scipionem lon-'giorem quæ in insterstitio pedum sedentis regis atque ad 'humerum ejus reponitur, (cf. Æschyl. Agam. 195, *ὥτσε χθόνα 'βάκτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας δάκρυα μὴ κατασχεῖν.*) satis 'ostendit ipsius loci phraseologia,' &c. He says there are three interpretations of Shiloh:—1. The Messiah; 2. The city Shiloh; 3. Solomon,—which last he adopts, giving this most unreasonable interpretation: that of the authority which the tribe of Judah had possessed in the reigns of David and Solomon only, it is said, 'The power shall not depart from Judah till Solomon come,' when, in fact, it had only come to it in the reign of his father. 'Binding his foal to the vine,' &c. shows the prosperity of the reign of Solomon, when vines were so abundant that people tied their asses to them as to worthless trees, &c.

The prophecy of Balaam is in like manner explained of the events of the reign of David and Solomon, and was written in the time of Solomon. It was not written *before* it, because Num. xxiv. 3 is in imitation of 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, though Hengstenberg thought he had shown that the passage in Samuel is an imitation of that in Numbers. On this one single frail support is the assertion rested. It was not written after it, because Micah speaks of Balaam's words as something old in his time: 'Remember what Balaam,' &c.; and because the song speaks of the Israelites as numerous and prosperous, which could not be said after the revolt of Jeroboam; and of the subduing the

Edomites and the Amalekites, which therefore were then, probably, recent events. 'Rem igitur undique contemplanti *nulla* '*restat dubitatio,* quin hoc vaticinium Solomone regnante confic-'esse ponam.' Further it is 'proved' that it was written on purpose to be put into the Book of Jashar, that imaginary book —because it contains the two ideas of אָשַׁר (blessed) and יָשָׁר (upright), which are involved in the name of Israel. 'At vero 'si nihil aliud esset ad hanc rem pertinens nisi votum illud (xxiii. '10); Let me die the death of the righteous (ut probi, יְשָׁרִים) 'ibi equidem non potuissem non agnoscere Jasharani libri spiritum ac materiem.' Thus we have the author's own free and explicit confession of the very small amount, the almost infinitesimal quantity, of something which, if increased, might be tending to become evidence, on which he determines that a portion of Scripture is a fragment of the Book of Jashar. There is indeed a consistency in this. The ground on which it is determined that a passage is a part of the book, is exactly of a piece with the evidence on which the existence of the book depends. It is all in harmony, and, as it were, part of a system; like Berkeley's idea of bell-ringing bringing up an idea of a servant. So that one might compose out of it rules and examples of the Art of Imagination—after the manner of the Treatise on Bathos.

We must pass by the commentary on the Song of Moses, and proceed to the next part of the book, where we for the first time meet with a portion of the real Book of Jashar.

This, the sixth part,[1] consists of Songs of Triumph for the miraculous victories and deliverances of the 'upright' people: and is made up of the triumphant songs—1, of Moses and Miriam; 2, of Joshua; 3, of Deborah. Here Dr. Donaldson says he has come upon firmer ground; we have the very portions of the book that are actually cited. Now, as there were three great deliverances of the people, it is probable we should find them all celebrated in the Book of Jashar. Dr. Donaldson considers the departure of the Israelites from Egypt to be an historical fact; and each of the three deliverances or victories, with the destruction of their adversaries, under Moses, Joshua, and Deborah, were effected by natural causes operating providentially: by the refluence of the Red Sea, aeroliths, and by the combination of hailstones and the flooding of the river Kishon, in each of the three cases. Of the song of Moses he thinks that verses 1 and 21, 'Sing to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously,' &c. may have been sung at the time; and that the rest of the song was composed before the time of David.

[1] Pp. 233—289.

The comments on the 'Song of Joshua' are introduced by an exposition of the writer's notion respecting the miracle of the sun and moon being stayed. He supposes that the words cited from the Book of Jashar are a poetic prayer that the people may destroy their enemies before sunset, (forgetting entirely that the moon is mentioned also,) and that the writer of the Book of Joshua mistook the meaning of the document, and turned it into a miraculous fact; and, by the way, attacks Mr. Morgan Cowie about a sermon of his at Cambridge, (one of his Hulsean Lectures,) in which he commits the unpardonable mistake, if mistake it be, of interpreting Jashar, 'truth,' making the words mean—'Is it not written in the book of truth? Is it not true?' So frail is the foundation of Dr. Donaldson's theory, that the truth of this interpretation would destroy it entirely.

He proceeds, then, to the conjectural restoration of the 'Song of Joshua;' the existence of such a song having been proved by the 'facts' that there were in the Book of Jashar songs of Moses and Miriam, and of Deborah, and therefore must, undoubtedly, have been one of Joshua—one portion of a dream being thus alleged as proof of another.

But in order to its restoration, he argues thus: (we will quote his own words, in order that our readers may see that we have not overstated the irrationality of the arguments which Dr. Donaldson brings forward:)—

'Ad carminis nostri integrationem quod attinet conjectura opus est. Nam verba ipsa in narratione Masorethica inclusa teneri nemo crediderit qui Judic. c. iv. cum Deboræ cantico comparaverit. Ibi enim (Jud. iv. v. 14) Debora Baraquum eodem modo quo hic (v. 8) Jehova Josuam hortatur; nempe, hostes infesta acie oppugnandos esse; nam Deum eos in Israelitarum manus tradidisse. De quo tamen oraculo silet Deboræ epinicium. Filum habemus, quæ nos ad aliquam certe amissi thesauri partem quasi manu ducat. Nam vocem חֶסֶד, quæ *benignitatem* denotat, in illa Mosis ovatione ita usurpatam videmus (Exod. xv. 13), ut vi quadam sua significaret summum favorem quo Jehova Israelitas prosequeretur. Talem divinæ benignitatis significationem in Josuæ victoria præsto adfuisse, non poterat ignorare vates ille, qui istam victoriam celebrabat. Jam vero exstat Psalmus (cxxxvi), in quo singuli versus in eandem formulam desinunt: scilicet, utrum sensus præcedentis versiculi absolutus est, an imperfectus, illico subjicitur: כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ, "nam benignitas ejus (*i.e.* Jehovæ) est æterna." Ceteroqui iste Psalmus cum eo qui statim præcedit in collectione nostra tam in ordine sententiarum, quam in verborum atque imaginum delectu mirum in modum congruit. Concludimus igitur hos Psalmos a communi quodam fonte derivatos esse. Quæ sane opinio eo confirmatur, quod prior Psalmus frequens est locis aliunde desumptis. Nam ut taceam v. 1, 2, 6, 15 sqq. qui ex Psalm. cxxxiv. 1, 2; cxv. 3; cxv. 4 sqq.; totidem verbis repetuntur, v. 7, qui ad Jerem. x. 13; li. 16 referri potest; habemus in v. 14 citationem carminis Jasharani (Deut. xxxii. 36), et in Psalm. cxxxvi. 12, recurrit phrasis illa, quæ sæpius in Pentateucho usurpatur, ut in Deut. vii. 19. Jam vero, ut Dathius monet, convenientia argumenti probabile facit Psalmum cxxxvi. in fundatione

secundi templi adhibitum esse, quod nonnulli maxime ex Esr. iii. 11 colligunt, ubi narratur: *reduces alternis choris Jehovam laudasse, quod bonus sit æternaque in Israelitas benignitate;* quæ ipsa formula est, in qua singuli hujus Psalmi versus desinunt, qua respondebatur alteri choro, prius hemistichion accinenti. Quæ si ita sunt, si Levitæ hunc Psalmum decantabant ad celebrandam iteratam promissæ patribus terræ possessionem, quid verisimilius, quam eos quasi ultro respexisse ad illam Josuæ victoriam non longe ab Hierosolymis partam, qua prima certam sibi sedem vindicassent Israelitæ? Et quoniam tunc exstabat Jasharana illa ovatio, quid verisimilius, quam eos inde desumpsisse atque in suos usus convertisse quidquid ibi conveniens atque accommodatum invenirent? Ut mihi quidem videtur, illa victoriarum quæ Josuæ pugnam statim antecedebant commemoratio, quam in utroque Psalmo habemus (cxxxv. 10 sqq. cxxxvi. 17 sqq.), multo melius cum antiqua ovatione, quam cum iterata Templi consecratione conveniret. Et quæ de Sole et Luna inducuntur (cxxxvi. 7—9) optime quadrarent in ultima Jasharani carminis commata, ubi Josua ista lumina alloquitur. Quid quod fulgura commemorantur (cxxxv. 7 sqq.), quorum in victoria Josuæ tantæ erant partes? Hunc locum, qui apud Jeremiam (x. 13, li. 16) bis occurrit, eo probabilius a vetere carmine desumptum esse deducas, quod iste propheta frequens est in libro Jasharano citando (cf. supra p. 160). Ergo quantum conjectura assequi possumus, Jasharanum carmen, quod in libro Josuæ nominatim citatur, iterum resarciri potest, si quædam in narratione ipsa vestigia cum iis utriusque Psalmi versibus ita compinguntur, ut justum poema inde renascatur. Id quod speciminis gratia tentavi.'—Pp. 255—257.

We cannot but be pleased with the modesty of the concluding words, which scarcely has its parallel in the whole volume. The result of this conjectural restoration is—

'CHORUS.

Ps. cxxxvi. 1. 'I will praise the Lord, for He is good,
And His mercy endureth for ever.

'LEADER OF THE CHORUS.

Ps. cxxxv. 5. 'Of a truth I know that the Lord is great,
And that our Lord is above all gods.
[6.] For He hath done whatsoever pleased Him.
[7.] He bringeth forth the clouds from the ends of the earth,
Making the lightnings with the rain.
(Exod. ix. 24.) And hail mingled with fire,
Bringing the winds out of His treasures.
Ps. cxxxv. 7-9. He hath made great lights;
The sun to rule the day,
The moon and the stars to govern the night.
[11.] He led His people out of Egypt,
[16.] He led them through the wilderness,
[21.] And gave them the best of lands for a possession.
[17—20.] He smote great kings,
Yea, and slew mighty kings:
Sihon, king of the Amorites,
And Og, the king of Bashan,
Ps. cxxxv. 11. And all the kingdoms of Canaan.

'CHORUS.

Ps. cxxxvi. 1. 'I will praise the Lord, for He is good,
And His mercy endureth for ever.

'LEADER OF THE CHORUS.

Jos. x. 5—11. 'The kings of the Canaanites came,
Five kings came against Gibeon.
Then rose up Joshua and went from Gilgal,
Joshua, and the strongest of the Israelites with him;
He attacked the enemies unawares, routed, strawed ther
down;
The kings flee with their armies, they flee,
From Gibeon to Bethhoron, Azekah, and Makkedah.
And the Lord fought against them;
He sent down a shower of stones from heaven,
Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. And cast against them His burning arrows.
6. [12, 13.] The sword of the Israelites slew its thousands,
The arrows of the Lord slew tens of thousands.
Then Joshua spake unto the Lord,
And he prayed in the sight of Israel,
"Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, moon, upon the valley of Ajalon."
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemie
Exod. xv. 11. Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods?
Who is like Thee, glorious in holiness?
[13.] Thou in Thy mercy hast led forth the people whom Tho
redeemed.
Thou hast guided them in Thy strength unto Thy holy hab
tation.

'CHORUS.

Ps. cxxxvi. 1. 'I will praise the Lord, for He is good,
And His mercy endureth for ever.'

Had all Dr. Donaldson's work been as beautiful and as inno cent as this, had it all been modestly put forward as a mere con jecture, as a play of fancy, as an attempt at showing the brilliancy of his genius and the cleverness of his conjectural faculty, we should have been thankful. We regret that we cannot give our readers the Hebrew of the poem thus composed; it would stand in the place of an exercise—a pretty exercise—of Hebrew verse-making. It is just as one might give boys a fragment of an Euripidean strophe, and desire them to restore the chorus.

The next song is that of Deborah, which was the subject of a composition of the author, published seven years ago. He says of it:—

'Ad Deboræ hymnum triumphalem accedens gaudeo quod abhinc quinquennium hanc difficillimam fere totius Scripturæ pericopen ita tractavi vix ut quidquam mihi laboris ac molestiæ exantlandum supersit (Prælectio Philologica in scholis Cantabrigiensibus habita a. d. IV. Id. Octobr MDCCCXLVIII de Deboræ cantico triumphali. Cantabr. MDCCCXLVIII) Nec præter commentarios, quos tunc inspexeram, ullum frugi bonæ additamentum mihi quidem innotuit, nisi excipias ea quæ Johannes de Gumpach (Alttestamentl. Studien, Heidelberg 1852, pp. 1—140) diligentius quam peritius disseruit. Nam quum multas emendationes tentaverit, plura cor

rupit quam correxit, nec universum cantici sensum melius assecutus est, quam ii qui præcesserant).'[1]—P. 261.

This is a fair specimen of the tone of superciliousness and self-complacency which pervades the work. In a note at page 263, we read :—

'Sophistæ illi Oxonienses, qui, quum quater anno tot et tanta Christianismi præcepta violent, tamen *διεγείρειν ἐν ὑπομνήσει τὴν εἰλικρίνη διάνοιαν* profitentur, nescio cui vitio verterunt, quod hoc Jahelæ facinus improbaret. Perperam is sane sacram Scripturam interpretatur, qui mendacium, perfidiam, crudele dormientis hospitis homicidium, Deo ipsi placuisse existimat.' —*Note*, p. 263.

This, again, is a specimen of the bitterness against all sorts of persons, which is also very freely and largely expressed. Who are these Oxford sophists, and their quarterly acts of wickedness? Does Dr. Donaldson mean ourselves?

We are glad to give a more favourable specimen of Dr. Donaldson's composition, in the passage to which this note is annexed.

'Jam vero Jabinus noster, Chatzoris rex, idem nomen eandem dominationem habet, quam vetus ille Septentrionalium Canaanitarum signifer, quem Josua, si Masorethicos audis, multo ante devicerat. Illud quoque observatione dignum est, quod in hac historia Jabinus ille minor, si non idem fuerit, haudquaquam quasi actor appareat. Omnia per Sisram geruntur—Sisra ferreos currus in unum locum congregat—Sisra aciem instruit—Sisra devictus fugit—Sisræ mors, quæ bellum finiverat, Jahelæ male illam quidem conciliatam gloriam inchoat. Quid quæris? Sisra iste, non Jabinus, personam tyranni induit, et Jabinus vix aut ne vix quidem in scenam prodit. Qui criticam historiæ methodum experiendo tentaverit, is profecto non dubitabit, quin Jabinus, *i. e.* יָבִין, "prudens," "intelligens," generale esset nomen, sive patrium seu potius epitheton, omnium regionis Canaaniticæ regum. Eodem modo invenimus multos veterum Ægyptiorum *Pharaones*, Philistæorum *Abimelekos*, Græco-Ægyptiorum *Ptolemæos*, Babyloniorum *Labynnetos*, Cappadocum *Ariararathes*, Ponticorum *Mithradatas*, Syrorum *Ben-Hadados*. Et quum Jabinus ille summus quasi muta sit hujus historiæ persona, rationi consentaneum esset arbitrari, Sisram procuratorem fuisse vicarium, qui mixtorum hominum provinciam principis nomine administrabat, colligebat vectigalia, et pensa victo populo facienda imponebat.'—Pp. 262, 263.

This is followed by a full grammatical and critical commentary on the song.

We now come to the seventh and last part of the Book of Jashar,[2] consisting of Various Poems on the Kingdom of the

[1] 'Hominis esset valde otiosi omnia perlegere quæ de hoc Carmine conscripta sunt. Strictim quidem inspexi Poli et Rosenmuelleri farragines, quæ nullam fere ante editam commentationem illibatam reliquerunt: ad manum habui criticam Dathii versionem, atque interpretationes G. H. Hollmanni (Halæ, 1818) et H. H. Keminki (Traj. ad Rhen. 1840); neque mihi ignota erant, quæ commentatus est H. Ewald in libro cui titulus: Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes (Göttingæ, 1839, vol. i. p. 125). Sed frustra ubique quæsivi plenam ac veram hujus Capituli exegesin.'—*Note*, p. 261.

[2] Pp. 290—345.

Upright, and their prosperity during the reigns of David and Solomon.

In this part are put—

1. The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1—10), which is determined by Dr. Donaldson's criticism to be a hymn of triumph for David's victory over Goliath.

2. The Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19—27), which, if this be the true meaning of verse 18, is an actual extract from the Book of Jashar; only Dr. Donaldson annexes to it the Lament over Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34).

3. David's Song of Triumph and Thanksgiving, contained in Psalm xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.

4. David's celebration of his own victories over the Syrians, and those of Joab and Abishai over the Edomites, being Ps. lx.

5. David's prophecy of the kingdom of the coming Messiah, being the 'last words of David' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7).

6. The Epithalamium of Solomon (Ps. xlv.).

7. The entering into and dedication of Solomon's Temple (Ps. lxviii.).

These last two are divided, ingeniously but fancifully, into portions supposed to be sung by the chorus, the leader of the chorus, and semi-choruses of men and women.

With a commentary on these Psalms, the work is brought to a close.

We will cite the conclusion, in which Dr. Donaldson sums up what he has done, and sets forth his own views:—

'Atque ita ad finem perduxi laborem mihi saltim neque injucundum neque infructuosum. Quid tu censeas, lector benevole nescio. Mihi autem dum hæc scribo quasi pellicula quædam ex oculis decidere videtur. Non ut antea per nebulam, sed coram in aprica luce res gestas, litteras, relligionem Israelitarum Solomoneorum discerno. Non ut antea vocem non explanabilem et perturbatam et verborum inefficacem audio, sed ipsissima Nathanis, Solomonis, Davidis, quinetiam aliquoties sublimia Mosis effata, a divinis penetralibus recentia, mihi in aures veniunt. Neque hæc vetustarum litterarum redintegratio aut vi aut clam aut precario ex canonicis libris detorquetur. Sponte se offerunt fere omnia istius rei testimonia. Constat enim fuisse librum qui הַיָּשָׁר inscribebatur. Constat vocabulum יָשָׁר Dei ipsius probitatem designare, eam hominis conditionem significare, qua primitus est creatus, atque eos mores, eam indolem describere, quæ veros Israelitas (Joann. i. 47; cf. Rom. ix. 6) a reliquo mundo distinguebat. Constat hunc librum יָשָׁר tam epinicia vetusta, quam pœmata ad Davidis historiam pertinentia complexum esse. Constat multa esse in textu Masorethico tessellata carmina, quæ unamquamque vocis יָשָׁר vim atque significationem expleant. Verum enimvero quandoquidem tam in præmissis quam in universa conclusione rem non dubiam sed apertam atque manifestam habeam, enumeratio singulorum argumentorum non est necessaria. Dico ista carmina in unum corpus, suis membris exactum, ita demum redacta esse, ut omnia ibi congruentia agnoscas; et si quis mecum hac ratione contentus erit, nobis sane illam libri Jasharani diu defletam jacturam quadamtenus saltim resartam esse gaudentibus, exclamare licebit, populus

quod clamitabat, Osiri invento: εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν! Quæ redintegratio utrum omni ex parte rite sit effecta, criticorum erit, classica, ut vocatur, philologia imbutorum, atque universa grammatica probe eruditorum, quum unumquodque argumentum suo momento ponderaverint, ita demum discernere; et, quod jam antea significavi, non spero fore, ut omnibus omnia et singula persuasurus sim. Dico autem atque confirmo non aliam rationem in Sacris Libris tractandis adhibendam esse, quam qua profanorum scriptorum interpretatio tanta cepit incrementa. In hac materia jam per trecentos annos doctrinam suam, ingenium, acumen, subtilitatem, industriam, fatigarunt homines omni laude cumulatissimi; hic regnant illi; hinc facem aliis ministrant, qui quoscunque scientiæ campos collustrare cupiunt. Nam si philologia, ut Bœckhius autumat, nihil aliud est quam *cogniti cognitio*, una est ista scientia et ad materiam qualemcunque adhiberi potest. Hanc igitur rationem in scholis Hebraicis studiose amplectendam censeo. Quodsi philologo vel in sacro Textu examinando suum munus constabit, grammaticorum erit potius quam theologorum de hac tractatione judicium facere. Ad theologiam autem quod attinet, mihi quidem, qui Sacerdos sim et Doctor Anglicanus, satis esse debet, quod nulla in hoc libro vel opinio vel sententia ad Articulos nostros impugnandos quovis pacto conferat; quod legitimam interpretandi libertatem, ab Episcopo concessam, ab Academia confirmatam, nusquam migravi; quod salva hac argumentatione professionem meam in extenso iterare possum; immo etiam quod oppigneratum illud ordinis mei officium aliter præstare nequeo. At enimvero, quod multo majoris momenti est, quam canonica cujuspiam Ecclesiæ constitutio, aut ecclesiastici cujuspiam hominis integritas, in hoc opusculo demonstrare conatus sum non modo Vetus Testamentum Novo contrarium non esse, verum etiam omnia in utroque libro uno concentu decurrere; Jasharanam pietatem tam in primis Pentateuchi capitulis quam in epistolis Paulinis præceptam esse, ratam, exercitam; relligiosam antiquissimorum Israelitarum doctrinam eam esse quam ab ecclesia Christi edocemur, scilicet, naturæ nostræ dichotomiam in eo unice versari, quod etsi homo *caro* sit et mortalis, *spiritu* tamen vivescat, et eo quidem divino nec morti obnoxio, quippe quia a Deo emanet, qui universæ carni spiritum suum infuderit (Num. xvi. 22; cf. Jes. xxxi. 3) et spiritaliter fidos homines regenerare possit; neque aliam esse sacramentalem illam, quam perhibemus, Sacræ Scripturæ indolem, nempe augustos illos libros, qui visibiles sunt et corporei, spiritu tamen invisibili animatos esse. Denique, quum ad Fidei Christianæ patrocinium accedimus, advocationis nostræ interest, ut simulata illa subsidia et propugnacula, quæ primo hostium impetu perrumpentur, sedulo omittentes vel potius ultro dejicientes, in arcem inexpugnabilem confugiamus, quæ omnia ad necessitatem salutis pertinentia custodit, nec cupide tueamur eas hominum opiniones quæ defendi nequeunt, sed illorum exemplo admoniti qui casam cito ruituram in fluxis ac diffluentibus arenis ædificantes pietatis naufragium patiuntur, solidam ecclesiæ nostræ ædem sempiternis veræ doctrinæ fundamentis stabiliamus.'—Pp. 345—348.

If any one were to talk of refuting Dr. Donaldson, the first thing to be considered is, that Dr. Donaldson has proved nothing; that is, as to his general argument, on the character, date, composition, and contents of the Book of Jashar, he has absolutely proved nothing. We have to remind ourselves of this again and again. When we read page after page of the undoubted certainty of all that Dr. Donaldson imagines; when the characteristics of the book come to be assumed as known,

so far as to be the basis of entire courses of argument; when we hear the book spoken of as familiarly as if we had it in our hands—it requires a distinct effort of mind to throw off the impression, and to recollect that there really is no reason to suppose there ever was a Book of Jashar, such as Dr. Donaldson has depicted.

Persons tell lies till they believe them; and persons may hear them till they believe them, if they are only repeated sufficiently often, and with abundance of circumstance. And so it is with theories; with theories on all kinds of subjects. If you only go on arguing as if they were true, finding confirmations for them, drawing out their consequences, using language based upon them, you come to forget their baselessness, and believe them real. So with this Book of Jashar. The allowed citations from it, in the Books of Joshua and Samuel, do not suggest that the book was at all such as Dr. Donaldson has imagined. As to the argument from the name, our author is singular in his opinion about the meaning of the word, Book of Jashar; and even if he were correct on this point, which that singularity makes highly improbable, it affords no ground for more than the very faintest conjectures as to its contents. Lastly, there is not a shadow of ground for supposing that any parts of the book beyond these citations are contained in our Scriptures.

But, after all, this is not the important point. No reasonable person, we apprehend, will believe in the existence of such a 'Book of Jashar;' we can scarcely bring ourselves to think that Dr. Donaldson believes it himself. But the principles on which Dr. Donaldson bases his investigations are such as these: that there is no sacred character at all in the Old Testament Scriptures as we have them; accordingly, these books themselves are treated as foolish and fabulous compositions—put together at a late period, by persons who intended to deceive, and who did not understand the materials out of which they were making up their compilations, and so Dr. Donaldson does not hesitate to use the most contemptuous language respecting them, by way of contrast to his Book of Jashar.

Dr. Donaldson holds that they are to be treated on the same principles of criticism as profane writings; which is, in fact, assuming the very point at issue: and, accordingly, he throughout argues that the song of Jacob could not have been spoken by Jacob, because of his extreme weakness, or preserved, because it was not likely any one would write it down. He determines the date of a prophetical composition, on the view that it must have been written after the events to which it seems to refer. Thus the song of Hannah must have been written after the accession of Saul, because it refers to a King, to the Lord's

Anointed (the Messiah or Christ). This is one instance of the application of the principle, that the same rules of criticism apply to the Old Testament as to any other ancient book—though we have the distinct testimony of our Lord and His Apostles to the Divine character of the books, and specially that all the Prophets from Samuel and those that come after spoke of the days of the Messiah, which at once makes such arguments wholly out of place.

Yet Dr. Donaldson professes to defer to the authority of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles. What must be the unhappy self-deceit of one who can affirm that the only sanction which the Old Testament has from the New, is its general spirit, so far as that agrees with the Gospel; or that by the 'Law' the Book of Deuteronomy only is meant? It is certain, if anything can be certain, that our Lord (followed by His Apostles) set the seal of His Divine sanction on the Holy Scriptures, as they were received by the Jewish Church at that time. What He sanctioned as Divine, was not the general spirit of the Old Testament, but the books themselves. How they came to be what they are—supposing that their authors used, as indeed in many of the books it is allowed that they did use, preexisting materials out of which to construct their works—does not affect the issue. The books are divinely sanctioned. God is said to speak in them—His Holy Spirit to say what they say—with this qualification—that God spake at sundry times and in divers manners; and that according to the times and spiritual condition of His people, He adopted the mode of teaching most suited to their state. The people in their early days, and under the whole of the Old Dispensation, were as children, to whom the elements of truth only were communicated. They were hard of heart, and accordingly precepts were given to them, such as were best suited to their state. As our Lord communicated truth to His own disciples as they were able to hear it, so did Almighty God to His people. Truths were kept back from them: the full splendour of truth was veiled: and their actions were weighed, commended, and blamed with reference to this standard. We have in these principles, which pervade the New Testament from the Sermon on the Mount, where they are most explicitly set forth, through all our Lord's teaching and then through that of His apostles. Here is the true key to the reverence with which the Old Testament is to be viewed, and the authority which it ought to have among those who live under the Christian dispensation. The saints and writings of the Old Testament are to be judged of according to the light and advantages they had: *pro ratione temporum*. But the truth is never to be lost sight of that the

Holy Spirit of God was working among them; and that t
prophetic Spirit, through those ancient worthies, foretold thi
to come: that the writers were in such sense so inspired a
directed by God, as to put their works entirely on a differe
ground from all human compositions.

This we must hold, if we defer to the teaching of Christ.
He died and rose again, if He be a Divine Teacher, if t
Gospel be from God, the Old Testament must be regarded
Divine: to be devoutly studied by the light given through t
teaching of Christ, and on the principles on which it was studi
and is expounded by His apostles. He Himself opened th
understandings that they might understand the Scriptures, a
expounded to them in all these Scriptures the things concerni
Himself. Their expositions, then, are the Divine explanation
the Old Testament, and must be our key to the right mode
studying and interpreting them.

Then as to the view of the earlier books of the Old Testame
being compilations out of various ancient relics, we certainly e
pected, from Dr. Donaldson's reputation for philological learni
and acuteness, that something great would have been done; an
doubtless, those who may not read his book would be dispos
to give great weight to his theories from this circumstance.
this point, however, it will be found that he has done nothin
The attempts at arguments of this kind are few, unsystemati
and rash; grounded on positive but often incorrect assertion
and made without any consideration of facts opposed to, ar
incompatible with, his positions. Such is the argument fro
μάχαιρα, which is put forward as quite a certainty, and is foun
to be utterly valueless, being a mere conjecture that because tw
words in two languages are similar, they are the same; whe
there are many other ways of explaining the fact. On th
subject Dr. Donaldson has shown, we think, how little can b
done; and to one who carefully examines his book, *looks at th
passages referred to*, verifies his statements, weighs his argu
ments, and, above all, learns to estimate duly his assertions as t
the value of these arguments, and as to what he has proved—suc
an one, we conceive, will rise from the perusal of the work wit
a conviction that but little can be done in this way. For ex
ample: a few verses of the first, and parts of the second an
third chapters of Genesis, and of those that follow, are said t
be parts of the Book of Jashar, which were old relics put togethe
in the days of Solomon, and that the rest of the book wa
written after the Captivity. Well, if this were the case, surel
the philologist would be able to point out the difference of th
language in the composition of periods so widely separated, an

would ground on this—not on his theory of the meaning of the word Jashar—that the one part was more ancient, the other more recent. He does not even attempt to do this.

Indeed, his whole theory is put out with so much of rashness—he is so ready to assume any fact as probable which seems necessary for its defence—that he places himself out of the pale of argument, and it is difficult to know what he admits and what he denies; else one would have thought that the common arguments for the antiquity of the Pentateuch might have deserved consideration; such as its reception as a sacred book by the Samaritans, which would certainly seem to throw it back to a period when the people were one; the indications of the system set forth in it being established during the time of the historical books; the simplicity of its narrations, and their evidently belonging to such a state of society as existed in those ages; the adaptation of the provisions of the law to the condition of the people in their first settlement in the land, and its being difficult of use in later times. Read the provisions of the law of Moses; consider them in their connexion with the institutions of Egypt, and the settlement of the people in Canaan; and then think of Dr. Donaldson's theory that they were composed after the Captivity. They could only have been preserved by being written, and the whole character of the laws, as well as of the history, breathes the spirit of the earliest ages.

This, however, is not the time or the place for a full treatment of so extensive a subject. We can but hint at its topics. One thing, however, we may say, which may be of use to those who are likely to read our pages: that the greatest evils are likely to result from the neglect of an accurate, thoughtful, and devout study of the Old Testament. Such a result might be expected, in the ordinary course of God's dealings, from a neglect of that distinct instruction respecting the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, which is given us by S. Paul:—

'Καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ βρέφους τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας, τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν, διὰ πίστεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· Ἵνα ἄρτιος ᾖ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος.'

Such instruction as this cannot be neglected by Christian ministers or people without danger. This *use* of the Old Testament it is which would secure us against the assaults of such writers as those who are now before us. By it we should learn to trace the Divine characteristics which pervade the books—we should see the unity and reality of the characters depicted in them—we should know those ancient saints to be historical, not mythical personages. The Patriarchs, whom our Lord and His

Apostles put before us as models, we should recognise as r
persons. We should discern the incidental and undesign
coincidences which prove the reality and truth of their histo
which cannot be seen in a mere cursory perusal. The pers
and the events would come out as actual and real things, a
so lay hold of our convictions and our affections. And thou
the writings be simple, and belong to a simple age, we sho
derive spiritual benefit from them, because we should be stu
ing them in faith and with a docilè temper, as being in tr
the words of God, not of man. Those persons can kn
nothing of this who do not believe in the testimony of
Lord respecting the Old Testament, and look on its writings
nothing more than the compositions of ignorant men, and w
accordingly, imagine that they obtain more profit from
writings of pious Christians, which have no external authori
nor anything to commend them to our acceptance, beyo
their harmonizing with our own notions of what is good a
spiritual. Such persons forget that they would probably,
their own principles, learn more of what was good from
writings of Plato than from those of Solomon. Yet, for all t
it is to Moses and Solomon, and not to Plato, that S. P.
directs the studies of Timothy.

ART. VI.—1. *The Glories of Mary. Translated from the Italian of S. Alphonsus de' Liguori, Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. By* A FATHER OF THE SAME CONGREGATION. London: Wallwork. 1852.

2. *The Glories of Mary. Translated from the Italian of S. Alphonsus M. Liguori. By* A CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN. Dublin: Duffy. 1851.

3. *The Glories of Mary. Translated from the Italian of S. Alphonsus Liguori.* First American Edition. New York: Dunigan. 1854.

4. *El Mes de Maria, ó el mes de Mayo, consagrado á Maria Santisima.* Sevilla. 1850.

To men seriously desirous of learning the exact position which other bodies of men hold in relation to that body to which they themselves belong, nothing is more satisfactory than to receive from the hands of those bodies themselves an authorized exposition of their teaching or constitution. When this has been done the mind is at once relieved from the fear of doing unintentional wrong to the whole body, by attributing to it what may be the eccentricities of individuals, and it enjoys a sense of security from knowing that it has now the means of judging on grounds the fairness of which can be gainsaid by no one. This is the reason why we have thought the works of S. Alfonso de' Liguori so especially valuable. His works, together with every opinion in them, have been so fully approved by the Church of Rome, in the most formal manner possible, that there can be no risk and no unfairness in looking upon him as the special exponent of her morality and her doctrines in the present century. We will not repeat the proofs which show the complete identification of his teaching with her teaching. They will be found at length in the *Christian Remembrancer* for October, 1854. We will only add here, that these proofs might be multiplied indefinitely; for writers who have reproduced S. Alfonso's words or sentiments, such as Scavini and Gaume, naturally enough parade the amount of authority which they have at their disposal, and defy their opponents to disprove it. In vain does the Abbé Laborde writhe under the infliction. In vain does he cry out against 'the strange corruption which this Casuist spreads over all the duties of morality.'[1] In vain does he argue

[1] 'La Croyance à l'Immaculée Conception de la Sainte Vierge ne peut devenir dogme de foi,' p. 18.

that his canonization is void, 'because the theologians who exa-'mined his works were themselves full of the maxims of the 'corrupted and corrupting morality contained in his books.'[1] In vain he declares that 'it is a matter of perfect demonstration, 'that had they followed the necessary rules, Alfonso de' Liguori '*never could* have been canonized: that it is only because they 'were not followed that he has been; and consequently that 'his canonization has taken place contrary to the rules of the 'Holy See, which in this case are those of religion and reason' —that 'if his doctrine is holy and safe, then the strait way of the 'Gospel has been enlarged, or rather turned aside, and the 'broad and wide way which leads to perdition has been inaugu-'rated *dans la pratique*, and henceforth it is almost idle to look 'for the morals of Christians in Christendom.'[2] The voice of the Gallican may here and there be heard wailing over the loss of purity, holiness, and righteousness, but the Gallican is no representative of the modern Roman Catholic. His voice is silenced by a command from Rome; his publications are placed on the Index; he is commanded to retract his words; he is threatened with deprivation, disgrace, and want;[3] while his triumphant Ultramontane rival floats on with the stream, and dreams of the hat of a cardinal. The following passage, which we take from the preface of the Spanish translation of the Abbé Gaume's work, *El Libro de los Confesores*, represents the almost universal regard in which S. Alfonso is held by his co-religionists:—

'The works of Alfonso de' Liguori were examined according to the utmost rigour of these rules, before they proceeded to his beatification; and the examination was the more careful, because his doctrine was on many points a subject of dispute. And what was the result of the examination? The decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, confirmed by Pope Pius VII., will reply. It says that it has discovered *nothing* to be censured in all the different works of the servant of God. They contain no single proposition which is, I will not say, impious, heretical, schismatical, or scandalous, but even erroneous, harmful, or rash. The morals of this holy Bishop cannot be censured without setting up a censor of authority itself, without censuring the decision of the Holy See, which has declared their orthodoxy, and shown that there is in them nothing, absolutely nothing, which is reprehensible. Here we have seven Popes who have approved, eulogized, and recommended the Theology of the blessed Liguori; here is the Church, which places this holy Bishop upon her altars, and recognises his doctrine as having worked prodigies of salvation in souls,' &c.[4]

'What wonder,' cries the Abbé Laborde, 'that those who 'have destroyed the practice of the ancient Morality are occu-'pying themselves, by way of compensation, with the enterprise

[1] La Croyance, &c., p. 19. [2] Ibid. p. 21.

[3] This is what is occurring at the moment in which we are writing to the Abbé Prompsault, who has ventured publicly to maintain the principles of Bossuet.

[4] Prólogo, p. xxiv.

'of introducing a new Faith!'[1] What this new faith is, as it left the hands of S. Alfonso de' Liguori, we now proceed to investigate. The historical argument against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has been already discussed in our pages,[2] and we do not intend to reopen it. We repeat, our present purpose is to show what is the real doctrine of the Church of Rome with reference to devotion towards S. Mary, according to the testimony of her own authorized exponent, or rather what it was previous to the immense impulse given to it by the dogmatic declaration that she is exempt from the otherwise universal taint of original sin.

The book to which we are able to refer for this purpose, without fear of being either misled ourselves or misleading others, is the *Glorie di Maria*. The following passage from S. Alfonso's *Praxis Confessarii* will show the object with which it was written, and the cause of its immense popularity, and will likewise lead us to conjecture how enormous its influence must be throughout the Roman Catholic world:—

'The parish priest is to be specially watchful to render his sheep earnest in their devotion towards the Virgin Mary, by declaring how powerful and how pitiful this divine Mother is in helping those who are devout towards her. He is therefore to induce them to recite (*insinuet ut recitent*) five decades of the Rosary in common with their family every day, and he is to suggest to them to fast on Saturdays, and to celebrate Novenas on the festivals of our Lady; and these he must give out himself from the altar whenever they occur. It will be highly praiseworthy if he makes a little address every Saturday about the Blessed Virgin, in which he should always narrate some *Example*. And once a year he should celebrate a solemn Novena of our Lady, with a sermon and an exposition of the Holy Sacrament. And for this purpose he can use, among others, the little book called *Glories of Mary*, which I have published on this very account, and in which he will find plenty of materials and of Examples. Happy is that priest who makes his parishioners fervid in their devotion towards the most Blessed Virgin, for they will then lead a good life by her help, and he at his departure hence will have her for his faithful and powerful advocate! He is, moreover, to recommend them above all things to get into the habit of frequently commending themselves to God, by asking holy perseverance of Him, through the merits of Jesus and Mary.'—Cap. x. 216.

In the *Glorie di Maria*, therefore, we have the popular and approved pulpit teaching of Rome on the subject of S. Mary. We have ourselves heard it reproduced in foreign sermons, and it serves as the groundwork of numberless little devotional works, which are issued at the beginning of May each year. Nor is it repudiated in England and Ireland—witness the two following testimonies:—

'We entirely accept S. Alphonsus as a fair type of the prevalent and living spirit of Catholic devotion towards the Blessed Virgin. We adopt his

[1] La Croyance, &c., p. 22. [2] Vide *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1852.

language; we venerate his example; we circulate his writings; we deny that they are disliked by the rich or the educated, or the laity as such.' [1]

And, again, a Roman Catholic authority, a few months ago, gives us the following 'Outline of the Rev. H. Marshall's Sermon at Clapham, on the Feast of S. Alphonsus,' after the morning sermon had been preached by 'the Bishop of Southwark:'—

'Mr. Marshall's discourse was divided into three parts. In the first, he dwelt on the mercies of God, showing for what purposes saints were sent into the world, and that each had his own peculiar work allotted him. After panegyrising other great saints, he came to S. Alphonsus, who, he said, was emphatically *the Saint of modern times*. He spoke of him as the founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, and replied to the arguments of those who preferred the active to the contemplative orders. They know not (said the rev. preacher) from whence many of the graces we continually receive come to us; they think not of the pains in purgatory which are shortened by the prayers of these holy contemplatives, and by the indulgences which they obtain from the mercy of God. He showed how closely S. Alphonsus followed his Divine Master, by seeking out the sinner, and restoring him, by his preaching and his other charitable labours, to the grace which he had forfeited. Our Blessed Lord (said the preacher) shed one drop of His sacred blood upon His holy Mother when standing at the foot of His cross, and another upon the beloved disciple; but upon the sinner, the penitent Magdalene, He poured forth a deluge as she embraced His feet. In the second part of his discourse he spoke of the writings of S. Alphonsus—the sweet effusions in which he seemed to have poured forth his whole soul, and which embraced every subject of Christian meditation and practice. Thus we were instructed on the necessity of prayer and the Sacraments; on devotion to the Sacred Passion, the Holy Eucharist, and the Blessed Virgin, whose praises he preached and published during a long and laborious life, and who rewarded him with many wonderful favours. Your readers are probably aware that a new and much improved English edition of the works of S. Alphonsus is in course of publication by one of the Redemptorist Fathers—a work for which the Bishop of Southwark has obtained the especial blessing of the Holy See. A new translation of the "Glories of Mary" was lately published by Mgr. Weld. A beautiful Litany and Hymn (indulgenced by the Bishop of Southwark) in honour of S. Alphonsus were used on this feast, and the greatest devotion was manifested on the occasion. The Cardinal Archbishop has frequently preached at Clapham on this feast, and he observed on one occasion, *that there was not a confessional in England which was not, more or less, under the influence of the Saint's mild Theology*. The new translation of the "Glories of Mary" (which may be had of Mr. Wallwork, Great Marlborough-street, Regent-street) is put forth with the Archbishop's approbation, who strongly recommends it to Catholics.' [2]

It is this highly approved edition which we take as the groundwork of our present article. The book is divided into three parts. The first part consists of a commentary on the *Salve Regina*, ending with 'some devout prayers addressed by various saints to the Divine Mother.' The second consists of nine Discourses on her Immaculate Conception, her Birth, her

[1] Rambler, Nov., 1854. [2] Tablet, Aug. 11, 1855.

Presentation, Annunciation, Visitation, Purification, Assumption, and Dolours, together with Reflections on her Dolours and her Virtues, and an enumeration of various practices of devotion in her honour. The third part is composed of miscellaneous examples, meditations, sermons, novenas, rosaries, and prayers. Prefixed is the Translator's Preface, of which the following extract is a sufficient specimen:—

'The name of S. Alphonsus de' Liguori is dear to all Catholics; and the sweet odour of his virtues has been everywhere disseminated by his works, in which the blessed saint has planted them, as in a garden of delights. But in the midst of this garden, beloved reader, one bed of choicest flowers is seen, whose fragrance attracts the traveller from afar; and which, as he approaches, ravishes his soul. It is "love for Mary" which composes the flower-bed of which we speak; for though in this garden flowers of every kind abound, yet "love for Mary" is the rose whose scent has been wafted by the breeze on every side; it is "love for Mary" which more especially adorns the saint's eternal crown, and which has become in a manner identified with himself, so that the very mention of Alphonsus' name recals the love of Mary to each Christian heart. The cold North wind and the warm and balmy breezes of the South have alike blown through this garden of delights—the cold North wind, I say, which chills devotion in the Church of God, which would induce men to refuse to Mary that love and honour which God himself has given her, and which, under specious pretexts of reverence, would at length drive from amongst us her sweet name. Yes, indeed, this wind has blown through the beautiful bed of roses which is now presented to you. . . . . But the sweet zephyrs of the South have also blown through this garden, and friendly souls, the true children of Mary, have inhaled these delicious perfumes, and thereby have become as pillars of smoke of aromatical spices, and ascended to the throne of God. Oh, how many have been delivered from hell by this sweet devotion! How many have thus become illustrious in the Christian warfare, and at length have been placed on the altars of the Church! But enough! this sweet flower is now in the reach of all, so that each may, while perusing this little work, enjoy its delicious scent. I will, therefore, only premise a few remarks, which may help to increase the confidence of its readers in all that they will find advanced, as to the greatness and the power of this Mother of God, as also as to her love and tender mercy for us. In a Protestant country, and breathing a Protestant atmosphere, it is difficult to have those tender feelings of love and confidence which all true Catholics should entertain towards Mary; but as the difficulty is great, so also should our efforts be great to obtain and nourish in our souls that tender devotion towards her which is looked upon by the saints and spiritual writers as a pledge of eternal salvation.'—P. iv.

At the end of the Preface we find the usual sentence, which sounds as much like a threat as an assurance: 'Remember, that 'it has been strictly examined by the authority which is 'charged by God Himself to instruct you, and that that 'authority has declared that it contains NOTHING (*sic*) worthy 'of censure.' (P. xviii.) In spite, however, of its entirely unobjectionable nature, the Editor or Censor (Cardinal Wiseman) has thought it necessary to omit two of the Examples; though why others should have been allowed to pass, and these

alone struck out, it passes our comprehension to conceive. C
tainly, they are immoral and incredible, but they only sh
these characteristics with nine-tenths of the other examp
We quote them as they are given in Duffy's edition of
work—an edition which, although it does not omit these
cases, is, in other respects, far more cleverly cooked for
English market, as we shall presently have occasion
point out.

'Our advocate has shown her great mercy towards sinners, in favo
a religious called Beatrix, in the monastery of Fonte Eraldo.—Cæsa
1, 7, c. 35, P. Rho. in Ex. This unhappy religious devised a plan of fl
off from the convent. She went one day before an image of Mary, a
its feet deposited the keys of the monastery, for she was portress, and
the convent. Having reached a certain town, *she there lived in the mise
state of sin for a considerable time.*[1] She happened one day to meet the a
of the monastery, and believing that in consequence of her change of c
he would not recognise her, she asked him if he knew sister Beat
"I know her well," replied the agent; "she is a holy nun, and is at pre
mistress of novices." At this answer she was confounded and stunned,
knowing how she could be mistress of novices. To ascertain the truth,
put on another dress and went to the monastery. She sent for s
Beatrix; and behold the most holy Virgin appears in the form of
image before which sister Beatrix left the keys and her habit at her de
ture from the monastery. The Divine Mother then said, "Know tha
prevent your disgrace, I have taken your form, and have performed for
the duties of your office *since your flight from the monastery.*[2] My child, ret
do penance, my Son still waits for you; and endeavour, by a holy lif
preserve the good name which I have here acquired for you." After t
words the Virgin disappeared. Beatrix entered again into the monast
resumed the religious habit, and, grateful for Mary's great mercy, she l
a saint, and at death disclosed all, to the glory of this great queen
P. 284.

'Cæsarius relates (lib. 7, Dial. cap. 3) that a Cistercian monk, who
greatly devoted to the Blessed Virgin, desired a visit from his beloved l
and prayed for it continually. He went one night into the garden;
while he was looking up towards heaven, sending forth ardent sighs to
queen, through a desire of seeing her, behold! he sees a beautiful
luminous virgin descending from on high. She said to him, "Thou
would you wish to hear me sing?" "Certainly," replied the monk.
virgin sang so sweetly that the devout religious thought he was in Pa
dise. She disappeared, leaving to him a strong desire to know who she w
Another most beautiful virgin appears and begins to sing. He could
refrain from asking her name. The virgin answered: "The person you s
first was Catherine—I am Agnes; we are both martyrs of Jesus Christ,
have been sent by our Lady to console you. Thank Mary, and prepare
receive a greater favour." She then disappeared. The religious began
entertain greater hopes of seeing his queen. Nor was he disappoint
for soon after he beholds a great light, feels his heart filled with a new j
and in the midst of that light he sees the Mother of God, surrounded

[1] This is softened by Mr. Duffy. The American translation, approved by A
bishop Hughes, is, 'She led the miserable life of a prostitute *for fifteen years*
P. 224.

[2] Substituted in place of 'for the fifteen years that thou hast lived far fro
monastery and from God.'—American Edition, p. 225.

angels, and far surpassing in beauty the two virgins who had first appeared. She said to him, "My dear servant and child, I have accepted the service you have rendered to me, and have heard your prayers. You have desired to see me; I wish also to allow you to hear me sing." The most holy Virgin began to sing; and such was the melody and sweetness of her voice, that he lost his senses, and fell prostrate on the ground. The bell rang for matins, the monks assembled; but not seeing Thomas, they went to look for him in his cell, and in other parts of the convent; at length they found him in the garden—he appeared to be dead. The superior commanded him to tell what had happened to him; he instantly recovered his faculties, and through obedience related all the favours of the divine Mother.'—P. 345.

We will now extract some of the theological statements contained in the work before us, and point out the manner in which they are enforced. The first title given to S. Mary is that of

'Queen, Mother, and Spouse of the King: to her belongs dominion and power over all creatures.'—P. 12.

'She is Queen of Mercy, as Jesus Christ is King of Justice.'—P. 13.

'If Jesus is the Father of souls, Mary is also their Mother. On two occasions, *according to the holy Fathers*, Mary became our spiritual Mother. The first, according to blessed Albert the Great, was when she *merited* to conceive in her virginal womb the Son of God. This was revealed by our Lord to S. Gertrude, who was one day reading the above text, and was perplexed, and could not understand how Mary, being only the Mother of Jesus, could be said to have brought forth her first-born. God explained it to her, saying that Jesus was Mary's first-born according to the flesh, but that all mankind were her second-born according to the Spirit. . . . The second occasion on which Mary became our spiritual mother, and brought us forth to the life of grace, was when *she offered* to the Eternal Father the life of her beloved Son on Mount Calvary with such bitter sorrow and suffering.'—P. 23.

'Thus it is that in every engagement with the infernal powers we shall always certainly conquer by having recourse to the Mother of God, who is also our Mother, saying and repeating again and again: "We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God: we fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God!" Oh, how many victories have not the faithful gained over hell by having recourse to Mary with this short but most powerful prayer! Thus it was that that great servant of God, sister Mary, the crucified, of the Order of S. Benedict, always overcame the devils.'—P. 26.

'"Since the very tigers," says our most loving Mother Mary, "cannot forget their young, how can I forget to love you, my children?"'—P. 30.

'Our Blessed Lady herself revealed to sister Mary the crucified, that the fire of love with which she was inflamed towards God was such, that if the heavens and earth were placed in it, they would be instantly consumed; so that the ardours of the Seraphim, in comparison with it, were but as fresh breezes.'—P. 31.

'Let us love her like a S. Francis Solano, who, maddened as it were (but with holy madness) with love for Mary, would sing before her picture, and accompany himself on a musical instrument, saying that, like worldly lovers, he serenaded his most sweet Queen.'—P. 38.

'Let us love her as so many of her servants have loved her, and who never could do enough to show their love. Father Jerome of Texo, of the Society of Jesus, rejoiced in the name of slave of Mary; and, as a mark of servitude, went often to visit her in some church dedicated in her honour.

On reaching the church, he poured out abundant tears of tenderness and love for Mary; then prostrating, he licked and rubbed the pavement with his tongue and face, kissing it a thousand times, because it was the house of his beloved Lady.'—P. 38.

'Mary is the Mother of repentant sinners.'—P. 42.

'When Mary sees a sinner at her feet imploring her mercy, she does not consider the crimes with which he is loaded, but the intention with which he comes; and if this is good, even should he have committed all possible sins, the most loving Mother embraces him, and does not disdain to heal the wounds of his soul.'—P. 45.

'"My God," she says, "I had two sons—Jesus and man; man took the life of my Jesus on the cross, and now thy justice would condemn the guilty one. O Lord! my Jesus is already dead, have pity on me; and if I have lost the one, do not make me lose the other also!" And most certainly God will not condemn those sinners who have recourse to Mary, and for whom she prays, since He himself commended them to her as her children.'—P. 47.

These passages we have taken almost at random from the first chapter, which is a paraphrase of the words, *Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy!* They are very moderate as compared with what follow, but we have not passed them over, in order that our readers may see the general tone of the book, as well as certain specific statements contained in it. The manner adopted by S. Alfonso for especially enforcing the truth of his doctrines, is that of giving Examples which profess (like the two given above) to be real historical facts, illustrative of the principles which he has been laying down. The scene of this Example, which is to prove that Mary is the mother of repentant sinners, is laid in England.[1] There was, we are told, a young nobleman, named Ernest, who had a tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Twice she spoke to him: once from an altar, the second time from an image in a corridor; but as 'he cooled in his devotions towards Mary,' and 'neglected to recommend himself to her,' he fell into sin, fled from his monastery, and ended with being a highwayman and assassin. Just before he was taken by the officers of justice, a young nobleman, whom he was going to murder, was suddenly changed into a bleeding crucifix. Filled with confusion, he set off to his monastery to do penance; but being arrested on the way, he was condemned to be hung, without having even time given him for confession. The rest of the story we will give in S. Alfonso's own words:—

'He recommended himself to Mary, and was thrown from the ladder; but the Blessed Virgin preserved his life, and she herself loosened the rope,

[1] 'In an English city,' say the Redemptorist and Cardinal Wiseman. 'In a certain city in England,' says Mr. Duffy. 'In the city of Ridolf,' says a French edition, published by Gauthier, in Paris, in 1835. 'In Ridolio, a city of Engla say Mr. Dunigan and Archbishop Hughes. The reason why the Redemptoris Cardinal, and Mr. Duffy, omitted the name, is clear. Ridolio is not an E sounding name. But is this honest? In a French edition, published at 1 1835, and approved by the Archbishop of Paris, the whole story is left o

and then addressed him, saying, "Go, return to thy monastery, do penance, and when thou seest a paper in my hands announcing the pardon of thy sins, prepare for death." Ernest returned, related all to his abbot, and did great penance. After many years he saw the paper in the hands of Mary, which announced his pardon; he immediately prepared for death, and in a most holy manner breathed forth his soul.'—P.' 50.

The next chapter is a comment on the words *Our Life—our Sweetness*, as applied to S. Mary. It opens thus:—

'To understand why the holy Church makes us call Mary our Life, we must know that as the soul gives life to the body, so does Divine grace give life to the soul. . . . To have recourse to Mary is the same thing as to find the grace of God.'—P. 52.

'S. Bridget heard an angel say that the holy prophets rejoiced in knowing that God, *by the humility and purity of Mary*, was to be reconciled with sinners, and to raise those who had offended Him to favour.'—P. 56.

'Mary is our Life because she obtains us the pardon of our sins (p. 52), and also because she obtains us perseverance.'—P. 59.

'We shall obtain the greatest of all graces, perseverance, most certainly, if we always seek it through Mary.'—*Ibid.*

'Blessed Allan was one day assaulted by a violent temptation, and was on the point of yielding, *for he had not recommended himself to Mary;* when this most Blessed Virgin appeared to him, and in order that another time he might remember to invoke her aid, she gave him a blow, saying, "If thou hadst recommended thyself to me, thou wouldest not have run into such danger."'—P. 62.

'Bernardine de Busto relates that a bird was taught to say, *Hail, Mary!* A hawk was on the point of seizing it, when the bird cried out *Hail, Mary!* In an instant the hawk fell dead.'—P. 64.

'We, says S. Thomas of Villanova, need only, when tempted by the devil, imitate little chickens which, as soon as they perceive the approach of a bird of prey, run under the wings of their mother for protection. This is exactly what we should do whenever we are assaulted by temptation: we should not stay to reason with it, but immediately fly and place ourselves under the mantle of Mary.'—P. 65.

We may notice here how this metaphor, applied by our Lord to Himself, is transferred from Him to S. Mary.

'Mary renders death sweet to her clients.'—P. 68.

'If at the hour of our death we have only the protection of Mary, what need we fear the whole of our infernal enemies? David, fearing the horrors of death, encouraged himself by placing his reliance in the death of the coming Redeemer, *and in the intercession of the Virgin Mother.* "For though," he says, "I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me." Cardinal Hugo, explaining these words of the royal prophet, says that the staff signifies the cross, and the rod is the intercession of Mary; for she is the rod foretold by the prophet Isaias, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root." "This Divine Mother," says S. Peter Damian, "is that powerful rod with which this violence of the infernal enemies is conjured;" and therefore does S. Antoninus encourage us, saying, "*If Mary is for us, who shall be against us?*"'—P. 71.

The third chapter enlarges on the words *our Hope:*—

'—P. 79.

'S. Thomas of Villanova repeats the same thing, calling her *our on refuge, help, and asylum.*'—P. 81.

'In the book of Exodus we read that God commanded Moses to make mercy-seat of the purest gold, because it was thence that he would spea to him: "Thou shalt make also a propitiatory of the purest gold. There will I give orders and will speak to thee." S. Andrew of Crete says th "the whole world embraces Mary as being this propitiatory." And commen ing upon his words, a pious author exclaims, "Thou, O Mary, art the pr pitiatory of the whole world!"'—P. 81.

'Mary is the Hope of sinners.'—P. 88.

'In Judæa, in ancient times, there were cities of refuge in which crim nals, who fled there for protection, were exempt from the punishmen which they had deserved. Now-a-days, these cities are not so numerou there is *but one, and that is Mary*, of whom the Psalmist says, "Glorio things are said of thee, O city of God."'—P. 89.

'Blessed Albert the Great says that "God, before the birth of Mar complained by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel, that there was no one rise up and withhold him from chastising sinners; but that He could fi no one, *for this office was reserved for our Blessed Lady, who withholds his a until he is pacified.*"'—P. 93.

The following is the example which is specially illustrati of Mary being the hope of sinners:—

'Blessed John Herold, who out of humility called himself the Disci relates that there was a married man, who lived at enmity with God. H wife, who was a virtuous woman, being unable to engage him to give sin, begged him, in the wretched state in which he was, to practise at lea the devotion of saluting our Blessed Lady with a "Hail, Mary!" each tim that he might pass before her picture. He began to do so. One nig this wretched man *was on his way to commit a crime*, when he perceived light at a distance: he drew near to see what it was, and found that it w a lamp burning before a devout picture of Mary, holding the child Jesus her arms. He at once, *according to custom*, said the "Hail, Mary!" In th same moment he beheld the Divine infant covered with wounds, fro which fresh blood was streaming. Terrified, and at the same time move to compassion, at this sight, he reflected that it was he who, by his sin had thus wounded his Redeemer. He burst into tears, *but the Divine infa turned his back to him.* Filled with shame, he appealed to the most Blesse Virgin, saying:—"Mother of mercy, thy Son rejects me. I can find n advocate more compassionate and more powerful than thee, for thou ar his Mother; my Queen, do thou help me, and intercede for me." Th Divine Mother, speaking from the picture, replied, "You sinners call m Mother of Mercy, but, at the same time, you cease not to make me Mother of Sorrows, by crucifying my Son afresh, and renewing m sorrows." But, as Mary can never let any one leave her feet disconsolate she began to implore her Son to pardon this miserable wretch. *Jesu continued to show himself unwilling to do so.* The most Blessed Virgin, seein this, placed him in the niche, and, prostrating herself before him, said "My Son, I will not leave thy feet until thou hast pardoned this sinner." "My Mother," then said Jesus, "I can deny thee nothing; thou willes that he should be forgiven; for love of thee I pardon him; make him com and kiss my wounds." The sinner, sobbing and weeping, did so; and a he kissed them, the wounds were healed. Jesus then embraced him, as mark of forgiveness, and he changed his life, which, from that time, wa one of holiness; and he always preserved the most tender love and grati

tude towards this Blessed Virgin, who had obtained him so great a grace.'—P. 98.

We would beg our readers to observe, that the person here described merely practised an external devotion without being devout, and simply said his *Hail, Mary!* from custom, while determined on sin. Yet all these miracles—miracles far more startling than any mentioned in the New Testament—were vouchsafed him.

Next we come to a paraphrase on the words, 'To thee do we cry, poor banished children of Eve:'—

'Blessed is he who in the midst of these sorrows often turns to the *Comfortress of the world*, to the refuge of the unfortunate, to the great Mother of God, and devoutly calls upon her and invokes her.'—P. 100.

'S. Anselm, to increase our confidence, adds, that "when we have recourse to the Divine Mother, not only we may be sure of her protection, but that *often we shall be heard more quickly, and be thus preserved if we have recourse to Mary, and call on her holy name, than we should be if we called on the name of Jesus our Saviour;*" and the reason he gives for it is, "that to Jesus as *a Judge* it belongs also to punish, but mercy alone belongs to the Blessed Virgin as *a Patroness.*" '—P. 106.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that S. Anselm never said this. The words are taken from a spurious treatise, which every theologian knows that S. Anselm did not write.

'"Many things," says Nicephorus, "are asked from God, and are not granted: they are asked from Mary, and are obtained." '—P. 106.

Thus we see that prayer to God the Father and God the Son are alike superseded.

'Not only is the most Blessed Virgin Queen of Heaven and of all Saints, but she is also Queen of Hell and of all evil Spirits: for she overcame them valiantly *by her virtues*. From the very beginning God foretold the victory and empire that our Queen would one day obtain over the serpent, when he announced that a woman should one day come into the world to conquer him. "I will put enmities between thee and the woman—*she* shall crush thy head." And who could this woman, his enemy, be but Mary, who, *by her fair humility and holy life*, always conquered him and beat down his strength.'—P. 110.

'It is said in the Old Testament that God guided his people from Egypt to the land of promise: "by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire." This stupendous pillar, at times as a cloud, at others as fire, says Richard of S. Lawrence, was a figure of S. Mary, fulfilling the double office she constantly exercises for our good. As a cloud, she protects us from the ardour of Divine Justice; and as fire, she protects us from the devil.'—P. 115.

Our readers need not be reminded, that in the cloud the Doctors of the Church have seen the presence, not of Mary, but of the Holy Spirit.

'S. Bernard declares, that "in the name of Mary every knee bows: and that the devils not only fear, but tremble at the very sound of her name." '—P. 116.

S. Bernard was not guilty of thus travestying the words applied by S. Paul to our Lord. We may conclude that the words are spurious, as the Editor of S. Alfonso acknowledges that he cannot find them.

'Blessed Allan remarks, "At the very sound of these words *Hail, Mary!* Satan flies and Hell trembles." '—P. 117.

In the fifth chapter we come to some more startling assertions. It is headed thus, 'Of the Necessity of the Intercession of Mary for our Salvation.'

'S. Lawrence Justinian asks, "How can she be otherwise than full of grace who has been made the *Ladder to Paradise, the Gate of Heaven, the most true Mediatrix between God and Man?*" '—P. 121.

'That which we intend to prove here is that the intercession of Mary is now *necessary* to salvation: we say necessary—not absolutely, but morally. This necessity proceeds from the will itself of God that all graces that He dispenses should pass by the hands of Mary, according to the opinion of S. Bernard, and which we may now with safety call the general opinion of theologians and learned men. The author of *The Reign of Mary* positively asserts that such is the case. It is maintained by Vega, Mendoza, Pacciuchelli, Segnori, Poiré, Crasset, and by innumerable other learned authors.' —P. 122.

This doctrine, then, is nearly ripe for a dogmatic decree.

'We most readily admit that Jesus Christ is the only Mediator of Justice according to the distinction just made, and that by his merits He obtains us all grace and salvation; but we say that Mary is the Mediatrix of Grace; and that receiving all she obtains through Jesus Christ, and because she prays and asks for it in the name of Jesus Christ, yet all the same, whatever graces we receive, they come to us through her intercession.'—P. 124.

Our readers will recollect what marvels were wrought with the rod of *Distinguendum*, in S. Alfonso's *Theologia Moralis;* and they will remember who first invented 'those clever but wholly arbitrary distinctions,' which have been the main argumentative support of the Papal doctrine and discipline.

'In the office appointed to be said on the Feasts of Mary, the Holy Church applying the words of Ecclesiasticus to this Blessed Virgin, gives us to understand that in her we find *all hope:* "In me is all hope of life and virtue." In Mary is every grace: "In me is all grace of the Way and of the Truth." In Mary, finally, we shall find life and eternal salvation: "Who finds me, finds life, and draws salvation from the Lord." And elsewhere, "They that work by me, shall not sin: they that explain me, shall have everlasting life." '—P. 125.

'S. Bonaventure says, that Mary is called the Gate of Heaven, because *no one can enter that blessed kingdom without passing by her.*'—P. 127.

'S. Bernardine of Sienna says, "that all graces of the spiritual life that descend from Christ, their head, to the faithful who are his mystical body, are transmitted by the means of Mary." '—*Ibid.*

'S. Bernardine says, that for this reason "*all gifts, all virtues, all graces are dispensed by the hands of Mary, to whomsoever, when, and as she pleases.*" ' —P. 128.

'"Address yourselves to the Blessed Virgin," says the venerable Abbot of Celles, "for by her, and in her, and with her, and from her the world receives and is to receive every good." '—P. 128.

'It must be now evident to all, that when these Saints and authors tell us in such terms that all graces come to us through Mary, *they do not simply mean to say that* "*we received Jesus Christ, the source of every good, through Mary,*" as the before-named writer pretends; but that they assure us that God, who gave us Jesus Christ, wills that all graces that have been, that are, and will be dispensed to men, to the end of the world, through the merits of Christ, should be dispensed by the hands and through the intercession of Mary.'—P. 129.

This portion of the 'new faith' is enforced by the following Example:—

'Belluacencis and Cæsarius relate, that there was a certain noble youth who had reduced himself by his vices from a state of opulence, in which he had been left by his father, to one of such poverty, that he was obliged to beg his bread. He left his country, that he might be able to live with less shame in a place where he was unknown. On his road, he one day met a man who had formerly been his father's servant. This man, seeing him in such affliction, on account of the distress into which he had fallen, told him to be of good heart, for he would take him to a prince who was so liberal, that he would be provided with all he could desire. This abandoned wretch was a sorcerer; and one day he led the poor youth to a wood, near a lake, and began to address an invisible person. The youth asked him to whom he was speaking? He replied, "To the devil;" but seeing that the young man was alarmed, he encouraged him, and told him to fear nothing; and then continued to address the evil spirit, and said: "Master, this young man is reduced to the greatest poverty; he would wish to be reinstated in his possessions." "If he will obey me," replied the fiend, "I will make him richer than ever; but, *in the first place, he must renounce God.*" *This horrified the young man; but being incited to it by that cursed magician, he complied and renounced his God.* "*But that is not enough,*" *added the devil*; "he must *also* renounce Mary, for to her we are indebted for our greatest losses. Oh, how many does she not snatch from our hands and lead them back to God, *and save.*" "Oh no," answered the youth, "that I will never do; deny my Mother indeed! She is all my hope; rather would I go begging all my life long;" and, so saying, he left the spot. On his return, he passed by a church dedicated to Mary. The afflicted youth entered, and cast himself on his knees before her image, and began to weep and implore her to obtain him the pardon of his sins. He had scarcely done so, when Mary began to intercede with her Son for the poor wretch. Jesus at first replied: "But, Mother, this ungrateful soul has denied me." But on seeing that his Mother did not cease to pray, he said finally, "O Mother, I never denied thee anything; he is forgiven, since thou askest it." The person who had purchased all the property of the young spendthrift was concealed in the chapel, and heard all that passed, and witnessed the compassion of Mary towards this sinner. He had an only daughter, and determined to give her to the young man in marriage, and make him heir of all he possessed. And thus did this youth recover both the grace of God and his temporal possessions, by the means of Mary.'—P. 130.

We stated above, that Mr. Duffy's edition of the *Glories of Mary* was more cleverly cooked for the English taste than that of the Redemptorist Father, notwithstanding the omission by the latter of two of S. Alfonso's tales, as well as some other alterations. The word may have seemed harsh —we will now take occasion to justify it, remarking, by the way, that the Redemptorist's edition is as superior in its

cooking to the American edition, as Mr. Duffy's is to the Redemptorist's. In the story given above, it will be seen that S. Alfonso represents the young man as denying God, but starting back with horror at the thought of denying Mary. Mr. Duffy's is a controversial edition, full of notes, explaining and justifying the assertions made by the author. How, then, does he deal with this awkward statement? His course is to omit it. There was no other English translation of the book at that time in being; and as few were likely to look into the original, it was not probable that it would be found out. All the words which we have placed in italics are omitted: nor is he content with omissions. In place of the words '"Oh no," 'answered the youth, "that I will never do; deny my Mother 'indeed! She is all my hope,"' Mr. Duffy has substituted, 'The 'young man refused to comply, saying, "I cannot deny my 'Mother; she is my only hope *after God*."' And in order that the tampering might not be betrayed, he has been compelled to change 'But, Mother, this ungrateful soul *has denied me*,' into 'My Mother, this ungrateful sinner *has renounced my service*.' Mr. Duffy has played these tricks all through his edition. Thus in the very next page succeeding to the above Example, there is as usual, one of S. Alfonso's ordinary prayers to S. Mary. The words inserted by Mr. Duffy we will place in brackets.

'I know that it is thy sole goodness which has impelled thee [to *procure* for me so many benefits.—*Duffy.*] Ah! too little would it be in comparison with what I owe thee, did I shed my blood and give my life for thee; for thou hast delivered me from eternal death: thou hast enabled me, as I hope, to recover Divine grace: to thee, in fine, I owe all I have. [I acknowledge to have received all the good which has come to me *from God.—Duffy.*] My most amiable lady, I, a poor wretch that I am, can make thee no return but that of always loving and praising thee. Ah! do not disdain to accept the tender affection of a poor sinner who is inflamed with love for thy goodness! If my heart is unworthy to love thee because it is impure and filled with earthly affections, it is thou who must change it. Ah! change it then! [by thy prayers.—*Duffy.*]'—P. 132.

We shall point out a few more of Mr. Duffy's insertions and omissions as we go along, but shall not go out of our way for the purpose. The above will show what trust can be placed in the fidelity of his edition, and the conscientiousness of the editor.[1]

S. Alfonso returns with renewed vigour to his thesis, that the intercession of Mary is necessary for our salvation.

'Blessed Albert the Great calls Mary the "Helper of the Redemption," and the Blessed Virgin herself revealed to S. Bridget, that "as Adam and Eve sold the world for an apple, *so did she with her Son redeem it*, as it were, with one heart."'—P. 133.

[1] We use the phrase, 'Mr. Duffy's edition,' to indicate the edition published by him. The Editor has not given his name, but calls himself 'a Catholic Clergyman.'

'Mary is called the co-operator in our justification, for to her God has entrusted all graces intended for us.'—*Ibid.*

'Richard of S. Lawrence says, as often as we see ourselves in danger of perishing in the midst of temptations and contending passions of this life, let us have recourse to Mary, and cry out quickly, O Lady! help us, save us, if thou wilt not see us perish.'—P. 135.

Again, as usual, words which S. Peter addressed to our Lord are applied to S. Mary,—

'Shall we scruple to ask her to save us when "the way of salvation is open to none otherwise than through Mary," as a certain author remarks.' —P. 135.

'As Pharaoh said to Joseph, "The land of Egypt is in thy hands," and addressed all who came to him for food to Joseph, "Go to Joseph," so does God send us to Mary when we seek for grace: "*Go to Mary.*"'—P. 136.

'Cassian says, absolutely, "that the salvation of all depends on their being favoured and protected by Mary." He who is protected by Mary will be saved; he who is not will be lost.'—*Ibid.*

Towards the end of this chapter, S. Alfonso enters into a short dissertation, to show that it is probable that all the other saints do not intercede directly with God, but with Mary. 'What difficulty can there be in saying, that God in order to 'honour His mother, and having made her Queen of Saints, 'and willing that all grace shall be dispensed by her hands, 'should also will that the saints should address themselves to 'her to obtain favours for their clients?' Here we see the germ of a development which may end in transferring prayers from S. Mary to some other saint, such as S. Joseph, just as at present they are transferred from her Son to her.

The sixth chapter consists of three sections, which are respectively headed 'Mary is an Advocate who is able to save all,' (where Mr. Duffy substitutes, 'to obtain salvation for all through the merits of her Son,') 'Mary is so tender an Advo- 'cate that she does not refuse to defend the cause even of the 'most miserable,' and 'Mary is the Peace-maker between 'sinners and God.'

'S. Peter Damian addresses her in these words: "All power is given to thee in heaven and on earth, and nothing is impossible to thee, who canst raise those who are in despair to the hope of salvation."'—P. 145.

'"At the command of Mary all obey, even God." S. Bernardine fears not to utter this sentence, meaning, indeed, to say, that God grants the prayers of Mary as if they were commands.'[1] And hence, S. Anselm, [the treatise referred to is forged,] addressing Mary, says, "Our Lord, O most holy Virgin, has exalted thee to such a degree, that by His favour, all things that are possible to him should be possible to thee." "For thy protection is omnipotent, O Mary," says Cosmas of Jerusalem. "Yes,

[1] Translated in the American edition: 'S. Bernardine of Sienna does not hesitate to say, that all obey the commands of Mary, even God himself, signifying by these words, that God listens to her prayers as though they were commands.' The Latin is *Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur, etiam Deus.*

Mary is omnipotent," repeats Richard of S. Lawrence: "for the Queen, by every law, enjoys the same privileges as the King." "And as," he adds "the power of the Son and that of the mother is the same, a mother is made omnipotent by an omnipotent Son." "And thus," says S. Antoninus "God has placed the whole Church, not only under the patronage, but even under the dominion of Mary." '—P. 146.

'Blessed Albert the Great makes Mary say: "I have to be asked that I may will; for if I will a thing, it is necessarily done." '—P. 147.

'Mary has only to speak, and her Son executes all.'—P. 149.

'S. Antoninus says, that the prayers of the Blessed Virgin being the prayers of a mother, have in them something of *a command*, so that it is impossible that she should not obtain what she asks.'—P. 151.

'S. George, Abp. of Nicomedia, says that Jesus Christ, even as it were to satisfy an obligation under which He placed Himself towards His mother when she consented to give Him his human nature, grants all she asks "The son, as if paying a debt, grants all thy petitions." '—P. 152.

The ensuing example seems to be the last over again, with few alterations made in it. We shall again mark Mr. Duffy's insertions and omissions.

'Father Razzi, of the Camaldolese Order, relates that a young man the name of John, on the death of his father, was sent by his mother to the court of a prince. His mother, who had a tender devotion toward Mary, before bidding him farewell, made him promise that he would ever day say the "Hail, Mary!" adding at the end of it these words: "O my Blessed Virgin, help me at the hour of my death." After having been at court for a short time, he became so dissolute that his master was obliged to dismiss him. No longer knowing how to obtain a living, in despair he became a highway robber and murderer; but during this time even, he never neglected to recommend himself to our Blessed Lady, according to his promise. At length he was taken and condemned to death. When in prison, and the day before his death, reflecting on his own shame, on the grief of his mother, and on the death he was about to endure, he wept bitterly; and thus the devil seeing him disconsolate and filled with melancholy thoughts, appeared to him under the form of a handsome youth, and told him that he would deliver him from prison and death if only he would obey him. The culprit said, he was ready to do all he might ask. The youth then told him that he was the devil come to aid him. *In the first place, he required that he should deny Jesus Christ and the most holy sacrament. To this he consented.*[1] He then demanded that he should renounce the Blessed Virgin Mary and her protection. "Ah, that I will never do!" answered the young man; and, raising his heart to her, he repeated his accustomed prayer, "O Blessed Virgin, help me at the hour of my death." At these words the devil disappeared. The young man was immediately filled with the most bitter grief *for the crime he had committed in denying Jesus Christ*; but having recourse to the most Blessed Virgin, she obtained him true sorrow for all his sins, and he confessed them with great sighs and contrition. On leaving the jail to go to the scaffold, he passed on the road a statue of Mary, and saluted it with his ordinary prayer, "O most Blessed Virgin, help me at the hour of my death;" and the statue returned his salutation in the presence of all by bowing its head. Moved with tender-[2]ness, he begged leave to kiss the feet of the statue. The guard refused, but at length consented, on account of the acclamations of the p

[1] Omitted by Mr. Duffy.

[2] 'On account of his sins' is substituted by Mr. Duffy.

The youth stooped to kiss the feet, when Mary extended her arm, took him by the hand, and held him so tight that it was impossible to remove him. At the sight of such a prodigy all began to cry out, "Mercy, pardon, forgiveness;" and it was granted. The young man returned to his own country, and led a most exemplary life, and always filled with the most tender affection for Mary, *who had delivered him* from both temporal and eternal death.'—P. 153.

Thus the direct cause of the salvation of this youth and of the young nobleman before mentioned is, that they had a love for the creature which was greater than that which they had for God and for Jesus Christ.

'With good reason, then, does Denis the Carthusian call the Blessed Virgin the singular refuge of the lost, the hope of the most abandoned, and the advocate of all sinners who have recourse to her.'—P. 156.

'"Be comforted, then, O you who fear," will I say with S. Thomas of Villanova; "breathe freely and take courage, O wretched sinners. This great Virgin, who is the mother of your God and Judge, is also the advocate of the whole human race: fit for this office, for she can do what she wills with God; most wise, for she knows all the means of appeasing Him; universal, for she welcomes all, and refuses to defend no one." '—P. 161.

'O my own beloved Mother, if by thee I save my soul, as I hope to do, I shall no longer be ungrateful. I shall make up for my past ingratitude, and for the love thou hast shown me, by my everlasting praises and all the affections of my soul. Happy in heaven where thou reignest, and wilt reign for ever, I shall always sing thy mercies, and kiss for eternity those loving hands, which have delivered me from hell as often as I have deserved it by my sins. O Mary, my liberator, my hope, my queen, my advocate, my own sweet mother, I love thee, I desire thy glory, and I will love thee for ever. Amen, amen! Thus do I hope.'—P. 163.

Ten pages are devoted to showing that Mary is the Peace-maker between sinners and God. She is the Dove of Noah's Ark, the rainbow round the Throne of God, the Moon. Her 'chief office, on being placed in this world,' was 'to raise up souls that had fallen from Divine grace, and to reconcile them with God' (p. 167). Among a number of spurious passages from S. Chrysostom, S. Anselm, and others, occurs the following quotation from Cardinal Hugo, which is an average specimen of these ten pages:—

'"Mary is the great Peace-maker, who finds and obtains the reconciliation of enemies with God, salvation for those who are lost, pardon for sinners, and mercy for those who are in despair." '—P. 165.

Next we come to a paraphrase of the words, 'Turn thou thine eyes of mercy towards us.' We will give three passages, as specimens of the rest.

'It was revealed to S. Gertrude that when these words are addressed with de[vo]tion to the Blessed Virgin, "Turn thou, O most gracious

the name of her Son, he was delivered.'

Advocate, thine eyes of mercy towards us," Mary cannot do otherwise than yield to the demands of whoever thus invokes her.'—P. 178.

'The prophet Isaias foretold that, together with the great work of the redemption of the human race, a throne of Divine mercy was to be prepared for us poor creatures: "And a throne shall be prepared in mercy." What is this throne? S. Bonaventure answers, "*Mary is this throne*, at which all, just and sinners, find consolations of mercy." He then adds, "For as we have a most merciful Lord, so we have a most merciful Lady. Our Lord is plenteous in mercy to all who call upon Him, and our Lady is plenteous in mercy to all who call upon her." '—*Ibid.*

'The Abbot Guarric thus addresses the Mother in the name of Jesus Christ: "My Mother, in thee will I establish the seat of my government; through thee will I pronounce judgments, hear prayers, and grant the graces asked of me. Thou hast given me my human nature, and *I will give thee my Divine nature*, that is, Omnipotence, by which thou mayest be able to help to save all whomsoever thou pleasest." '—P. 179.

We add the Example:—

'In the chronicles of the Capuchin fathers it is related, that in Venice there was a famous lawyer, who, by fraudulent dealings and bad practices, became rich, so that he lived in a state of sin. The daily recitation of a particular prayer to the Blessed Virgin was probably the only good thing that he ever did. *And yet this slight devotion obtained him, through the mercy of Mary, deliverance from eternal death.* It was thus. He, happily for himself, took an affection for Father Mathew de Basso, and entreated him so often to come and dine at his house, that at length this good father complied with his request. When he got to the house, the lawyer said, "Now, father, I will show you a thing you never saw before. I have a most extraordinary monkey, who serves me as a valet, washes the glasses, lays the table, and opens the door for me." "Ah," replied the father, "take care: perhaps it is not a monkey, but something more, bring it here." They call again and again for the monkey, but no monkey appears; they seek for it everywhere, but it is not to be found. At length they discovered it concealed under a bed, in a lower part of the house; but no, the monkey would not come out. "Well, then," said the religious, "let us go to it;" and when the lawyer and he reached the place where it was, the father cried out, "Infernal beast, come forth, and on the part of God I command thee to say what thou art." The monkey replied, "that he was the devil, and *that he was only waiting for that sinner to omit for a single day his ordinary prayer to the Mother of God;* for, the first time he omitted it, he had permission from God to strangle him, and carry him to hell." On hearing this, the poor lawyer cast himself on his knees to ask for help from the servant of God, who encouraged him, and commanded the devil to leave the house without doing mischief. "Only," said he, "I permit thee to make a hole in the wall of the house, as a sign of thy departure." He had scarcely said the words than, with a tremendous noise, a hole was made in the wall, and which, though often closed with mortar and stone, God permitted should remain open for a long time, until at length the servant of God advised that it should be covered with a marble slab, with the figure of an angel on it. The lawyer was converted, and, as we hope, persevered until death in his change of life.'—P. 181.

As he advances, our author grows more bold and enthusiastic. The next chapter is divided into three sections, which are thus headed: 'Mary delivers her Clients from Hell—Mary suc-

'cours her Clients in Purgatory—Mary leads her Servants to 'Heaven.' It begins with the following sentence: 'It is impos-'sible for a client of Mary who is faithful in honouring and 'recommending himself to her, to be lost.' Having made this statement, S. Alfonso begs his readers to know that 'it is to be 'understood of those clients who, with a sincere desire to amend, 'are faithful in honouring and recommending themselves to the 'Mother of God.' On which we might ask—first, why this necessary condition of repentance is not stated at once? and next, why he has confirmed his original proposition with further statements and tales, in which there is no mention whatever of repentance, and which must lead simple, childlike minds to the belief that repentance is not necessary? To make out his point, S. Alfonso first declares that 'he will examine what other saints and learned men have said on the subject.' Accordingly he appeals—1st, to S. Anselm; the passage which he quotes is forged. 2d, to S. Antoninus, from whose words he concludes, 'consequently the clients of Mary will necessarily be saved.' 3d, to Blessed Albert, who says that 'all those who are not thy servants, O Mary, will perish.' 4th, to S. Bonaventure, who says, 'that not only those from whom Mary turns her face will not be saved, but that there will be no hope of their salvation.' He then claims S. Ignatius the Martyr and S. Chrysostom, in the following words:—

'Before him, S. Ignatius the Martyr said, "that it was impossible for any sinner to be saved without the help and favour of the most Blessed Virgin; because those who are not saved by the justice of God are, with infinite mercy, saved by the intercession of Mary." Some doubt as to whether this passage is truly of S. Ignatius; but, at all events, as Father Crasset remarks, it was adopted by S. John Chrysostom. It is also repeated by the venerable Raymond Jordano.'—P. 185.

Again, three pages lower:—

'"No," says S. Ignatius the Martyr, "he who is devout to the Virgin Mother will certainly never be lost."'—P. 188.

There is something very perplexing in this: not in finding such an authority for such doctrine, because none of our readers will require to be informed that the passages are forgeries, and are not found in any works of S. Ignatius or of S. Chrysostom, nor, to the best of our knowledge, in any writings attributed at any time by any person to S. Ignatius or S. Chrysostom, previous to the time of the Jesuit De Celada, in the appendix to whose commentary on Judith, written in the year 1537, after the waste of much labour, we at length found it. But it is perplexing to find that a man of devout mind, writing in behalf of religion, can so entirely divest his mind of the obligation of speaking the truth with regard to historical facts. Whether the venerable

Raymond Jordano has repeated it or not we do not know: this venerable abbot, who lived at the end of the fourteenth century, 'out of humility,' we are told, 'surnamed himself *The Idiot*' (p. 235).

The following is one of the methods by which Mary delivers her clients from Hell:—

'It is the opinion of many theologians, and of S. Thomas in particular, that for many who have died in mortal sin the Divine Mother has obtained from God a suspension of their sentence, and a return to life to do penance. Trustworthy authors give us many instances in which this has occurred. Amongst others, Flodoardus, who lived about the ninth century, relates in his Chronicles, that a certain deacon named Adelman, who was apparently dead and was being buried, returned to life and said, "that he had seen hell to which he was condemned, but that at the prayers of the Blessed Virgin he had been sent back to this world to do penance." '—P. 188.

'Pelbertus says that in his time, when the Emperor Sigismund was crossing the Alps with his army, a voice was heard coming from a skeleton, asking for a confession, and declaring that the Mother of God, for whom he had a tender devotion when a soldier, had obtained that he should thus live until he had been able to make his confession; and having done so, the soul departed.'—P. 189.

'Blessed Henry Suso used to say, "that he had placed his soul in the hands of Mary, and that if he was condemned, the sentence must pass through her hands;" being confident that if he was in such hands, this tender Virgin would certainly prevent its execution. The same do I hope for myself, O my own most holy Queen; and therefore I will always repeat the words of S. Bonaventure: "In thee, O Lady, [after Jesus *ins. Duffy.*] have I placed all my hopes; and thus I confidently trust that I shall never be lost, but praise and love thee for ever in heaven." '—P. 190.

Some, perhaps, among our readers, who remember their ministrations to dying penitents, will recollect that the language, or, if not the words, the feelings, of those who after an ungodly life have been turned by the blessing of God to better ways and penitential lives, are 'I am a great sinner; but if I perish, 'I perish at the foot of Christ's cross, where never sinner perished 'yet.' For this godly sorrow and self-distrusting hope, are we to substitute such thoughts as the teaching of Blessed H. Suso and S. Alfonso would suggest—'I have committed myself to 'Mary, I have placed my soul in her hands, and, with so 'merciful a mediatrix and protectress, I cannot but be saved?'

In the following Example we beg our readers to observe that there is not the smallest hint of the necessity of amendment or penitence. The two persons spoken of are equally criminal and sinful, but one is hurried to everlasting hell-fire because he did not, and the other is saved alive on earth because he did, recite some *Hail, Marys* 'without devotion and half asleep.'

'In the year 1604, in a city of Flanders, there were two young men, students, but who, instead of attending to their studies, gave themselves up to a life of debauchery. One night they were both in a house with an evil companion, when one of them, named Richard, returned home, leaving

his companion there. After he got home, and had begun to undress, he remembered he had not that day said some "Hail, Marys" that he was in the habit of reciting. Feeling very sleepy, he was loath to say them; he did himself violence, and repeated them, *though without devotion and half asleep.* He then laid down, and had fallen into a sound slumber, when he was suddenly roused by a violent knocking at the door, and without its opening, he saw his companion, deformed and hideous, standing before him. "Who art thou?" he cried out. "What! dost thou not know me?" "Ah! yes, but how thou art changed! Thou seemest to me a devil." "Truly," he exclaimed, "poor unfortunate creature that I am! I am damned; and how? When I was leaving that wicked house, a devil came and strangled me; my body is in the street, and my soul in hell;[1] and thou must know," added he, "that the same fate awaited thee *had not the blessed Virgin preserved thee in consideration of that little act of homage of the 'Hail, Mary.'* Fortunate art thou if only thou knowest how to take advantage of this warning sent thee by the Mother of God!" With these words he opened his mantle, and showing the flames and serpents by which he was tormented, he disappeared. Richard immediately burst into sobs and tears, and casting himself prostrate on the ground, he returned thanks to Mary, his protectress; and whilst thinking how to change his life, he heard the bell of the Franciscan Monastery ringing for matins. "Ah! it is there," says he, "that God calls me to do penance." He went straight off to the convent, and implored the fathers to admit him. But they were hardly willing to do so, knowing his wicked life; but he sobbing bitterly, told all that had taken place; and two fathers being sent to the street, and having found the strangled body, which was as black as a coal, they admitted him. From that time forward Richard led a most exemplary life, and at length went to preach the Gospel in the Indies, and thence to Japan, where he had the happiness of giving his life for Jesus Christ, being burnt alive for the faith.'—P. 191.

On the succour given by Mary to the souls in Purgatory, S. Alfonso does not give us so many particulars as Mr. F. Faber, who is adding several pious opinions on the subject to the stock of the general belief, such as that S. Mary is 'Empress' and S. Michael 'Prince of Purgatory and our Lady's Regent;'[2] but our author tells us a great deal.

'Mary not only consoles and relieves her clients in Purgatory, but she delivers them by her prayers. Gerson says, "that on the day of her assumption into heaven Purgatory was entirely emptied." Novarinus con-

[1] 'Look at the saint's story about those two young reprobates who went to the bad house; one of them goes home to bed, then the other comes to him, and what does he say? Why, he says, "My body is lying dead in the street," says he, "and my soul is away in hell," says he, "and here I am myself," says he. Now, your honour, who was he, or what was he at all? He wasn't his body, for that was in the street; he wasn't his soul, for that was in hell: and is there anything else in a man to make himself? so who was he at all?'—Letter of Pat Murray to the Catholic Layman, April, 1855. The learning and temper of this periodical are most commendable.

[2] 'All for Jesus,' pp. 8 and 376. The following passage, too, is remarkable: 'Some of our writers have said that our Lord will not help them (the souls in Purgatory) without our cooperation; and that our Blessed Lady cannot help them, except in indirect ways, because she is no longer able to make satisfaction, though I never like to hear of anything our dearest Mother cannot do,' p. 368. A little above (p. 350) Mr. Faber had spoken of Jesus' 'helplessness with regard to his dear spouses in Purgatory' as 'beautiful;' but he is shocked at the supposition of S. Mary being helpless.

firms this, saying, that "it is maintained by many grave authors, that when Mary was going to heaven, she asked, as a favour from her Son, to take all the souls then in Purgatory with her." "And from that time forward," says Gerson, "Mary had the privilege of delivering her servants." S. Bernardine of Sienna also positively asserts, "that the Blessed Virgin has the power of delivering souls from Purgatory, but particularly those of her clients, by her prayers, and *by applying her merits for them*. Novarinus says, that *by the merits of Mary*, not only are the pains of those souls lessened, but the time of their suffering is shortened through her intercession. She has only to ask, and all is done.'—P. 195.

The last words are a gloss upon *ope Virginis*. It is her merits, not her intercession, that the author is regarding. Intercession is, unfortunately, an ambiguous word, sometimes meaning prayer, sometimes intervention.

'The promise made by our Blessed Lady to Pope John XXII. is well known. She appeared to him and ordered him to make known to all, that *on the Saturday after their death she would deliver from Purgatory all who wore the Carmelite Scapular*. This, as Father Crasset relates, was proclaimed by the same Pontiff in a Bull, which was afterwards confirmed by Alexander V., Clement VII., Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Paul V.; and this latter, in a Bull of the year 1612, says "that Christian people may piously believe that the Blessed Virgin will help them after death by her continual intercession, her merits, and special protection; and that on Saturdays, the day consecrated by the Church to her, she will in a more particular manner help the souls of the brethren of the confraternity of our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, who have departed this life in a state of grace, provided they have worn the habit, observed the chastity of their state, and recited her office; or if they could not recite it, if they have observed the fasts of the Church, and abstained from meat on all Weduesdays, except Christmas Day."'—P. 196.

There is a great deal more about the advantages of this Scapular at a later part of the book. We extract one passage:—

'Modern heretics, as usual, ridicule this devotion; but the holy Church has approved it by many bulls and indulgences. Father Crasset and Lezana, speaking of the Scapular of Mount Carmel, relate that towards the year 1251 the Blessed Virgin appeared to S. Simon Stock, an Englishman, and giving him the Scapular, said, that all who should wear it would be saved from eternal damnation. She said, "Receive, my beloved son, this Scapular of thy order, the badge of my confraternity, a privilege granted to thee and to all Carmelites; *whoever dies clothed with it will not suffer eternal flames.*"—P. 485.

By way of example to others, S. Alfonso says that he wears himself the Scapular of Mount Carmel, the Scapular of Mary in sorrow, the Scapular of Mary of Mercy, and particularly the Scapular of the Conception. In this place Mr. Duffy has been more honest in his translation than the Redemptorist Father and Cardinal Wiseman; for the former tells us that 'the Indulgences granted to any religious order, pious place, or to any person, are annexed to the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception, which is blessed by the Theatines; and by reciting a

'*Pater, Ave,* and *Gloria* six times in honour of the most holy
'Trinity and Immaculate Mary, we can gain (*toties quoties*)
'each time all the Indulgences of Rome, of Portiuncula, of Jeru-
'salem, and Galitia' (p. 335), which the Redemptorist Father and Cardinal Wiseman pare down into 'very great Indulgences.' Mr. Duffy is, in turn, convicted by Mr. Dunigan of having omitted the number of these Indulgences; they are 'four hun-
'dred and thirty-three Plenary Indulgences, beside the temporal,
'which are innumerable' (p. 661).

The example given to exhibit the power of Mary over Purgatory would, perhaps, equally as well show her influence in saving her clients from hell. It tells how one Alexandra was killed while in mortal sin, and her head thrown into a well; how, some days afterwards, S. Dominic was passing by, and the head came to the edge of the well and begged him to hear its confession, which he accordingly did, and gave it the communion; after which it stayed for two days to be looked at, and declared that this was the Blessed Virgin's doing, because it had always said the rosary in her honour. Then it went to Purgatory, and a fortnight afterwards S. Dominic saw the happy soul go to heaven.

The manner in which we are taught that Mary leads her servants to heaven is more shocking to our minds than the power attributed to her over Hell and Purgatory. We do not refer to the false quotation from S. Ambrose, 'Open to us, O Mary, the gate of Paradise, since thou hast its keys;' or the equally false quotation from S. Anselm, 'It suffices, O Lady, that thou willest it, and our salvation is certain;' or the equally false quotation from S. Athanasius, 'And thou, O Lady, wast filled
'with grace that thou mightest be the way of our salvation,
'and the means of ascent to the heavenly kingdom;' or the daring parody of S. Bonaventure, 'Give ear, O ye nations; and al
'you who desire heaven, serve, honour Mary, and certainly you
'will find eternal life.' These are in no respect different from the rest of the book, but we call attention to the following story:—

'In the Franciscan Chronicles it is related, that brother Leo once saw a red ladder, on the summit of which was Jesus Christ; and a white one, on the top of which was his most holy Mother; and he saw some who tried to ascend the red ladder, and they mounted a few steps and fell; they tried again, and again fell. They were then advised to go and try the white ladder, and by that one they easily ascended, for our Blessed Lady stretched out her hands and helped them, and so they got safely to heaven.'—P. 201.

We shall add no comments to this vision. It embodies the teaching of the whole book, and we leave it to our readers to ponder over. We give the same story in its Spanish dress,

taken from the Spanish Month of Mary placed at the head of our article, a book in tenor and form very similar to that of S. Alfonso.

'One of the most intimate and familiar companions of S. Francis, brother Leo by name, beheld the following vision. (*Auriem.* t. ii. p. 289.) He saw in an extensive plain a representation of the last Judgment: there was an innumerable assemblage of persons, and others were continually coming at the blast of a terrible trumpet, which called them to judgment. Two ladders were placed, one red and the other white, which reached from earth to heaven. At the top of the first stood Jesus Christ, and near him the seraphic Father, who, with a loving countenance, exhorted his children to ascend by it; they began to do so, but before reaching the top they fell some from the third step, some from the fourth, some from the tenth. Then the Holy Father, in great affliction, began to cry out to them that they should ascend by the other ladder, where the Most Holy Virgin was: the monks ran to it, that most pitying Mother gave them her hand, and they entered heaven. Wretched are we, if we have not recourse to this Supreme Lady, by whose means they that choose to climb the ladder, and to walk in the strait way of righteousness, will obtain salvation.'—*El Mes de Maria*, p. 47.

We shall not linger over the two last chapters of the Paraphrases of the *Salve Regina*, which continue in the same fashion to illustrate the words, 'O clement, O pious, O sweet Virgin Mary.' Two or three passages will suffice.

'"How is it," asks a writer, "that the Lord, who, under the old dispensation, was so rigorous in his punishment, now shows such mercy to persons guilty of far greater crimes?" And he answers, "That it is all *for the love of Mary, and on account of her merits.*" "Oh, how long since," exclaims S. Fulgentius, "would the world have been destroyed had not Mary sustained it by her powerful intercession!"'—P. 214.

This quotation from Fulgentius is one which S. Alfonso's editor has been unable to discover.

'"Mary," says S. Antoninus, "is that throne of grace to which the Apostle S. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, exhorts us to fly with confidence that we may obtain the Divine mercy, and all the help we need for our salvation."' (Heb. iv. 16.)—P. 215.

'Father Charles Bovius relates, that in the principality of Dombes, in France, there was a married man, whose wife was jealous of another woman, and did nothing but call down both on her husband and the woman the judgments of God; and this she did especially one day that she came before an altar of the Blessed Virgin to pray for justice against this woman. The woman, however, was in the habit of going every day to recite "Hail Mary!" before the same image. One night the Divine Mother appeared in a dream to the wife, who, on seeing her, began as usual to exclaim, "Justice, O Mother of God, justice!" But our Blessed Lady replied, "*Justice! Chastisements! dost thou seek them of me? No, go to others, for I will not grant what thou askest; for know,*" she added, "*that that sinner recites every day a salutation in my honour, and by whomsoever it is recited, it deprives me of the power of allowing her to suffer, or to be chastised for her sins.*" In the morning the wife went to hear mass in the above-named church of our Blessed Lady, and on returning home met this woman, and immediately began to abuse her, and then declared that she was a witch, and

that she had succeeded even in enchanting the Blessed Virgin herself. The people who were present told her to hold her tongue. "Be silent! indeed I will not, for what I say is true; for last night our Blessed Lady appeared to me, and when I demanded justice, she told me that she could not grant it, on account of a salutation offered her every day by this wretch." The woman was then asked what salutation it was that she offered every day to the Mother of God, and she replied that it was the "Hail, Mary!" On hearing that for that trifling devotion the Blessed Virgin had shown her such mercy, she went and cast herself before the holy image, and there, in the presence of all, she asked pardon for the scandal she had given, and made a vow of perpetual chastity. She then clothed herself with the habit of a nun, built herself a little room near the church, and there remained until her death, leading a life of continual mortification and penance.'—P. 216.

We shall refer to the moral tendency of this story by and by. The sweetness of Mary's name is thus exhibited:—

'It is narrated in the life of the Rev. Father Juvenal Ancina, Bishop of Saluzzo, that in pronouncing the name of Mary, he tasted so great and sensible a sweetness, that, after doing so, he licked his lips. We read also, that a lady at Cologne told the Bishop Marsilius, that, as often as she uttered the name of Mary, she experienced a taste far sweeter than honey. The Bishop imitated her, and experienced the same thing.'—P. 220.

'One day, in the hearing of S. Bridget, Jesus Christ promised his most holy Mother, that he would grant three special graces to those who invoke that holy name (Mary) with confidence: first, that he would grant them perfect sorrow for their sins; second, that their crimes should be atoned for; and, thirdly, strength to attain perfection; and at length the glory of Paradise.'—P. 226.

In two of the previous Examples we have seen how sinners were willing to deny God and Jesus Christ, but were saved by refusing to deny their beloved mother, Mary: in the following case we see how much more dear is the name of Mary than the sign of the Cross. There was a young woman, we are told, who was sent to market, and desired to sleep at her aunt's house in the town; but her aunt not giving her a bed, she was not able to get home while daylight continued:—

'Night came on whilst she was on the road, and in a great passion she called on the Devil with a loud voice, to assist her. She had scarcely done so, when he appeared to her under the form of a man, and promised to help her, provided she would do one thing. "I will do anything," replied the unfortunate creature. "All that I require," said the enemy, "is, that you should no longer make the sign of the Cross, and that you should change your name." "As to the sign of the Cross," said the girl, "I will no more make it, but my name of Mary is too dear to me; I will never change it." "Then I will not help you," said the Devil. At length, after much disputing, it was agreed that she should be called by the first letter of the name of Mary; that is, M. On this arrangement, they started for Antwerp: and there the poor wretch remained with this wicked companion for seven years, leading a most shameful life, and a scandal to all.'—P. 229.

The conclusion of course is, that she is converted by 'having still preserved a spark of devotion towards the mother of God,'

and so became 'transformed into a happy slave of her be factress.' Mr. Duffy, as usual, omits the readiness to give the sign of the Cross, and he also makes the time spent with Devil at Antwerp, *six* instead of *seven* years. The Americ edition explains the bearing of the story thus, 'A girl resc from the Devil by one letter of the name of Mary' (p. 792).

There is a tenderness about the following prayer which mi be very beautiful:—

'O great Mother of God and my Mother Mary, it is true that I unworthy to name thee: but thou who lovest me, and desirest my salvat must, notwithstanding the impurity of my tongue, grant that I may alw invoke thy most holy and powerful name in my aid, for thy name is the cour of the living and the salvation of the dying. Ah! most pure Mary, m sweet Mary, grant that from henceforth thy name may be the breath of life. O Lady, delay not to aid me when I invoke thee, for in all the tem tions which assail me, and in all my wants, I will never cease calling u thee, and repeating again and again, Mary! Mary! Thus it is that I hop act during my life and more particularly at death, that after the struggle, I may eternally praise thy beloved name in heaven, O clem O pious, O sweet Virgin Mary! Ah, Mary! most amiable Mary! what consolation, what sweetness, what confidence, what tenderness, is soul penetrated in only naming, in only thinking of thee!' &c. &c.—P.

We have thus patiently led our readers through the F Part of the Glories of Mary—the Church of Rome's authori manual, as it may be called, on the subject of the worship S. Mary—and now we will pause for a few moments and l back on what we have learnt. There are several ways which we might consider it. We might examine it theologica Is it true? Or we might deal with it as a moral and religi question: Is it good? The first course would lead us to inqu Is this really and indeed the Christian religion? The second this teaching such as would produce holy lives and godly af tions in those who are subject to it?

We will first make a short investigation into the truth these statements. Are they part of the Christian faith, or they that *nouvelle foi* which the Abbé Laborde exclaims agai in the bitterness of his soul? This may be examined into sim as a matter of fact.

[1] We are far from using this word in an offensive sense. No Roman Cath can feel hurt at the use of a word adopted by the Pope. In the decree of Dec. 1854, Pius IX. urges all Catholics *colere, invocare, exorare beatissimam Dei geni cem*, translated as follows by the *Tablet* (Jan. 27th): 'Let all the children of 'Catholic Church most dear to us, hear these our words; and, with a most ard 'zeal of piety and love, *proceed to worship, invoke, and pray to* the most Bles 'Virgin Mary, Mother of God, conceived without original sin.' The head of Roman Catholic Church, therefore, now urges on his subjects a *greater* zeal ardour in the worship of S. Mary than that which S. Alfonso has displayed in above passages. In the same decree he states that 'the true object of this devoti is S. Mary's 'Conception.' How that act can be an object of devotion, it pa our comprehension to imagine.

Our simple and natural course would be to compare Liguori's teaching with that of Scripture; but we are met on the threshold by the insurmountable difficulty that there is nothing in Scripture which we can take for the purpose of constituting our comparison—nothing positive, we mean, for we find numberless passages which directly and indirectly negative his doctrines. We learn from Liguori that S. Mary is Queen of Mercy (p. 13); that she is the Mother of all mankind (p. 23); that she offered her Son to the Father on Mount Calvary (p. 23); that she is especially the Mother of repentant sinners (p. 42); that she is our Life (p. 52); that God was reconciled with sinners by the humility and purity of Mary (p. 56); that she obtains us perseverance (p. 59); that she renders death sweet to her clients (p. 68); that she is our Protectress at the hour of death (p. 71); that she is the Hope of all (p. 79); that she is our only Refuge, Help, and Asylum (p. 81); that she is the Propitiatory of the whole world (p. 81); that she is the one City of Refuge (p. 89); that it is her office to withhold God's arm from chastising sinners until He is pacified (p. 93); that she is the Comfortress of the world, the Refuge of the unfortunate (p. 100); that we shall be heard more quickly if we call on the Name of Mary than if we call on the Name of Jesus (p. 106); that she is our Patroness (p. 106); that she is Queen of Heaven and Hell, of all saints, and all evil spirits, because she conquered the latter by her virtues, and the devil by her fair humility and holy life (p. 110); that she protects us from the Divine Justice and from the devil (p. 115); that at the name of Mary every knee bows and hell trembles (p. 116); that she is the Ladder of Paradise, the Gate of Heaven, the most true Mediatrix between God and man (p. 121); that her intercession is necessary for salvation (p. 122); that she is the Mediatrix of Grace (p. 124); that in her is all hope of life and virtue, all grace of the Way and Truth (p. 125); that in her we find eternal salvation (p. 125); that no one can enter heaven except by her (p. 127); that all graces of the spiritual life are transmitted by Mary (p. 127); that all gifts, virtues, graces are dispensed by her, to whomsoever, when, and as she pleases (p. 128); that from her the world receives every good (p. 128); that she is the Helper of the Redemption (p. 133); that she and her Son redeemed the world (p. 133); that she is the Co-operator in our Justification (p. 133); that the way of salvation is open to none otherwise than through Mary (p. 135); that God says, 'Go to Mary,' when we seek for grace from Him (p. 136); that the salvation of all depends on the favour and protection of Mary (p. 136); that the other saints intercede with her (p. 138); that she is a tender Advocate; that all power is given unto her in

heaven and earth (p. 145); that God obeys the command Mary (p. 146); that Mary is omnipotent (p. 146); that t whole Church is under the dominion of Mary (p. 146); t what she wills is necessarily done (p. 147); that her pray have something of a command in them (p. 151); that Je Christ is under an obligation to her to grant all she a (p. 152); that she is the singular Refuge of the lost (p. 156); t she is the Advocate of the whole human race (p. 161); that chief office in the world is to reconcile fallen souls with G (p. 167); that she is the great Peace-maker who obtains rec ciliation, salvation, pardon, and mercy (p. 165); that she is Throne prepared in mercy (p. 165); that in her is establis the seat of God's government (p. 179); that she delivers clients from hell (p. 183); that her clients will necessarily saved (p. 184); that she has sent back many from hell to ea who have died in mortal sins (p. 188); that she consoles, relie and succours her clients in Purgatory (p. 195); that she deli her clients from Purgatory by applying her merits (p. 195); t she carries away from Purgatory all who wear the Carme Scapular on the Saturday after they die, provided they have b chaste and have said her office (p. 196); that she does not su those who die clothed in the Scapular to go to hell (p. 485); t Mary leads her servants to heaven (p. 198); that she has key of the Gate of Paradise (p. 199); that she is the Wa our salvation (p. 200); that it is for love of Mary and on acc of her merits that God is more merciful under the New t under the Old Dispensation (p. 214); that her powerful inter sion sustains the world (p. 214); that she is the Throne of g to which S. Paul bids us fly (p. 215); that Christ has prom that all who invoke the holy Name of Mary with confid shall have perfect sorrow for their sins, atonement for t crimes, strength to attain perfection, and shall reach the g of Paradise (p. 226).

These statements, it will be seen, are taken just as t come, and no attempt has been made to increase their force anything like artistic arrangement. They are scarcely, if at more than average specimens of all the rest of the book. I now what have we in Holy Scripture to compare with the Comparison, as distinct from contrast, requires the existenc some similitude; but take any passage in which S. Mary mentioned, from the salutation down to the period after Ascension, and there is nothing in any way similar. It o remains, therefore, to contrast instead of comparing. But readers are as well acquainted with Holy Writ as ourselves, we remit that task to them, only begging them to remem these four things:—1. That S. Mary is represented as she

and not otherwise, in the Gospels. 2. That she is not mentioned at all in the Acts after the first chapter, or in the Epistles, although S. Paul has entered so minutely into the economy of the Christian scheme of salvation. 3. That Liguori transfers all that prophet and apostle has said of our Lord to S. Mary. 4. That all those passages which speak of the one Mediator between God and man not only ignore, but exclude the modern doctrine.

After Holy Scripture, we look to the testimony of the early Church. Do we find similar statements and a similar tone in the writings of the Fathers of the Church? Are we able to compare, or only to contrast? We will see. The expressions of the Catholic creeds, we need only remind our readers, are similar to those in Holy Scripture. We proceed to the Fathers of the first century. They are S. Clement, S. Ignatius, and S. Polycarp, and, we may add, Barnabas and Hermas, though the writings attributed to the latter are not their own. S. Clement makes no mention of S. Mary at all, but he does speak of prayers addressed to Jesus Christ, and to God through Jesus Christ.[1] S. Ignatius says nothing of S. Mary, except that there is 'one Physician born from Mary and from God,'[2] that 'the virginity of Mary' and the birth of her Son were mysteries concealed from Satan,[3] that Christ was 'born of Mary.'[4] He speaks of her in no more exalted terms than these, and his whole doctrine is that there is but one God, one Mediator, and one Comforter. S. Polycarp makes no mention of S. Mary. Barnabas makes no mention of S. Mary. Hermas makes no mention of S. Mary. During the first century and a half, then, there is not a trace of any prayer or invocation to S. Mary, or of any belief that she is our mediatrix and intercessor.

The second century supplies us with the testimony of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, S. Irenæus, S. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian. Justin mentions S. Mary three times: 'Mary drew her origin from Abraham;'[5] 'Mary the Virgin having received faith and joy, answered, "Be it unto me according to thy word;"'[6] 'Joseph taking Him, together with Mary, went into Egypt.'[7] By his pupil Tatian, by Athenagoras the philosopher, and by Theophilus, her name is not mentioned. In the Latin translation of S. Irenæus, we find the first passage (forgeries apart) which is attempted to be wrested to the support of the modern system. We give it in a

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[1] Cap. xxi. and xxxvi. Pp. 88 and 124. Ed. Jacobson.
[2] Ep. ad Eph. c. vii. p. 274. [3] Ibid. c. xix. p. 290. [4] Ep. ad Trall. c. ix. p. 336.
[5] Trypho, sect. 100, p. 195. [6] Ibid. [7] Sect. 102, p. 196.

note below.[1] He never speaks of her in higher terms th
'Mary,' or the 'Virgin Mary.' Clement of Alexandria spe
not a word in her honour. Tertullian represents her as guil
of unbelief.[2]

The third century gives us the names of Origen, Greg
Thaumaturgus, S. Cyprian, S. Firmilian, Methodius, and L
tantius. Origen never speaks of S. Mary in any higher ter
than those which are applied to her by the English Churc
but he does say that we must pray to God alone, and that t
sword which pierced Mary's heart was that of her own unbeli
for 'if all have sinned and want the glory of God, being justifi
'by His grace and redeemed, surely Mary, too, was offended
'that time.'[3] Gregory Thaumaturgus says nothing in h
honour. S. Cyprian, much as he has written on prayer, s
not a word in her reverence. S. Firmilian as little. Methodi
(spurious works apart) says nothing. Lactantius uses no te
of reverence beyond that of a 'holy Virgin.'[4]

In the fourth century we meet with Eusebius, S. Athanasi
S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Hilary, Macarius, S. Epiphani
S. Basil, S. Gregory of Nazianzum, S. Ephraim Syrus, S. G
gory of Nyssa, S. Ambrose. Eusebius uses no terms of re
rence towards S. Mary; neither do the Apostolical Cano
which are probably of about this date. S. Athanasius (forge
apart) speaks of her no otherwise than as 'the holy Virgin w
bare God;' but he writes, in arguing for the Godhead of Chr
from the fact of prayer being addressed to Him, 'No one wo
'pray to receive anything from God *and* the holy angels, *or a*
'*other created being.*'[5] And thus we have reached and pas
the date of the great Council of Nicæa. S. Cyril of Jerusal
must have given an account of her worship, had it existed,
his Catechetical Lectures. There is not a word. He calls h
'the pure and holy Virgin Mary,' 'who gave birth to God:'
says, 'By a virgin Eve came death; it was fitting that by a virg
or rather of a virgin, life should appear:' he says that 'the Ho

[1] 'Etsi ea inobedierat Deo, sed hæc suas a est obedire Deo, uti Virginis E
virgo Maria fieret advocata, et quemadmodum astrictum est morti genus human
per virginem, *solvatur* per virginem æquâ lance disposita virginalis inobedien
per virginalem obedientiam.' In order to make this applicable, the *Dublin Rev*
(June 1844) writes '*salvatur* per Virginem, æquâ,' &c. It is only the change
one letter and a comma. It should be said that this change was first suggest
by Grabe in 1702. Bellarmin leaves out the words *Virginis Evæ*, and decla
that S. Irenæus represents S. Mary as an Advocate. In this untruth he is follow
by the Rev. J. B. Pagani, in a book called 'The End of the World,' which he h
just published. S. Iren. adv. Her. lib. v. c. 19, p. 429. London, 1702.

[2] Adv. Marc. iv. 19, p. 433. Paris, 1695.

[3] Cont. Cels. sect. 8, c. xxvi. vol. i. p. 761; and Hom. in Luc. xvii. vol. iii. 952. Ed. Delarue.

[4] Vol. i. p. 299. Ed. Dufresnoy. 1748.

[5] Vol. i. p. 561. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1698.

'Spirit made Mary holy that she might have power to receive 'Him by whom all things were made.'[1] Nothing else. S. Hilary has not a word in favour of religious reverence being paid to her; but he writes, 'Since that Virgin who conceived God is to come 'into the severity of the final judgment, who will dare to be 'judged of God?'[2] Macarius speaks of her in no other terms than the Creed. S. Epiphanius considers it a heresy to say that S. Mary had children by S. Joseph. The Church of England also regards her as ever-Virgin. But besides this, S. Epiphanius denies her Immaculate Conception, for he says that she was 'not born in any way differently from the nature of men;' he denies the story of her Assumption, for he says that 'her end is not known;' and writing on the Collyridian heresy, he expresses the orthodox doctrine as follows. Short extracts are probably known to our readers, and we therefore give the passages at some length.[3]

'"Nay," (some will reply,) "but the body of Mary is holy!" Yes, but not a deity. "Nay, but the Virgin is a virgin, and honoured!" *Yes, yet not given for us to worship*[4], but herself worshipping Him who was born of her in the flesh. For this reason the Gospel confirms us, saying (in the words of our Lord), "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Lest any should think that the Holy Virgin was a being of superior excellence, He calls her "woman," as if He prophesied, on account of those divisions and heresies which were to take place on the earth, in order that no one, by admiring the Holy Virgin in excess, might fall into this folly of heresy. The whole story' (he continues) 'is full of absurdity. For what Scripture speaks of it? Which of the prophets ever suffered a man to be worshipped, not to say a woman? She is a chosen vessel, but she is a woman, and not at all changed in nature, though as to her mind and sense she is held in honour, as the bodies of the saints, or whatever else in point of honour I might mention more excellent; as Elijah, a virgin from his birth, and continuing so throughout, and being taken up, did not see death; as John, who lay upon the bosom of our Lord, whom Jesus loved; as the holy Thecla; and as Mary, honoured above her, because of the dispensation of which she was deemed worthy. But neither is Elijah, though among the living, an object of worship; nor is John an object of worship, though by his own prayer, or, rather, by receiving grace from God, he made his death wonderful; nor is Thecla, nor any one of the saints, an object of worship. For the old error shall not lord it over us, that we should leave the Living One, and worship things made by Him. "For they served and worshipped the creature more than the Creator." For if He willeth not that the angels be worshipped, how much more is He unwilling that worship should be paid to her who was born of Anna, and was given to Anna from Joachim, given to the father and mother by promise, but nevertheless not born differently from the nature of man.'—P. 1061. Paris, 1622; *Tyler*, p. 217.

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[1] Cat. xii. c. 15; and Cat. xvii. c. 6.

[2] In Ps. 119, p. 262. Ed. Ben. Paris, 1693.

[3] We have adopted the translation given by the late Rev. J. Endell Tyler, in his valuable and calmly-written book on the 'Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary.'

[4] Compare the *colere, invocare, exorare* of Dec. 8, 1854.

Again: --

'God the Word, as a Creator, and of authority over the thing fas Himself from the Virgin, as from the earth, having clothed Himself w flesh from the holy Virgin; but, nevertheless, not a virgin to be worship nor that He might make her a deity, not that we might offer in her na not that so many generations of women should become priestesses. G willed not this to take place in Salome, nor in Mary herself. He forbi her not to administer baptism, nor to bless the disciples; He did not co mission her to rule upon earth; but only appointed this, that she should a holy thing, and be deemed worthy of his kingdom. Whence, then, is coiling serpent? Whence are his crooked counsels renewed? *Let Mary in honour; but let the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be worshipped. no one worship Mary.* The mystery (that sacred thing, religious worsh is assigned, I do not say to no woman, but not even to any man; i assigned to God. Neither do angels receive that ascription of glory (t doxology). Let these errors, written in the hearts of the deceived, wiped away. Let the evil generated at the tree be obliterated from sight. Let no one eat of the error which has arisen by means of h Mary; for though the tree be beautiful, yet it is not given for food; though Mary be most beautiful, and holy, and honoured, yet she is intended to be worshipped. . . . And how many more things might be s for these silly women offer to her the cake, as either worshipping M herself, or they take upon themselves to offer this rotten fruit in her beh *The whole thing is foolish and strange, and is a device and deceit of the d But, not to extend my discourse further, what I have already said will su Let Mary be in honour. Let the Lord be worshipped.*'—P. 1066; *Tyler*, p. 1

In the writings of S. Basil the Great there is not one w of religious veneration of S. Mary, but he regards the sw which pierced her soul to have been the doubt and unbelief i which she fell at the time of the Passion.[1] The genuine writi of Gregory of Nazianzum are equally free from any exp sion of religious respect. There is a tragedy called 'Ch Suffering,' containing such expressions in abundance, fi which Cardinal Wiseman quotes freely, as though it w genuine;[2] but it is acknowledged as spurious by Tillem Dupin, Baillet, Baronius, Rivet, Vossius, Bellarmin, Lab Ceillier, Caillau, as well as Cave. There is also an orat attributed to Gregory, (Calderon has made use of it, and Shel has translated the drama,) which represents S. Cyprian, whe young man, alluring a young lady, with whom he was enamour into his power by magical arts, in which the following wo occur: 'Justina, discarding all others, flies for refuge to G 'who had protected Susanna and Thecla, and takes her o 'bridegroom for her champion against hateful lust. . . . Me 'tating on these, and more instances than these, (*and beseech 'the Virgin Mary to assist a virgin in peril,*) she throws bef 'her the charm of fasting and mortification,' &c. The Ben dictine Editors retain this Oration amongst Gregory's worl

[1] Vol. iii. Ep. 260, p. 400. Paris, 1721.

[2] Remarks on a Letter from the Rev. W. Palmer, by N. Wiseman, D.D. Bis of Melipotamus. London, 1841.

and declare that 'nowhere else is the protection and assistance 'of the Blessed Virgin Mary so clearly and explicitly com- 'mended in the fourth century.' This, we think, must be considered to be the strongest testimony against the similarity of the teaching of the fourth century and of the nineteenth, as exhibited in the works of S. Alfonso. That this Oration is likewise spurious, is satisfactorily proved by Mr. Endell Tyler.[1]

The works attributed to S. Ephraim Syrus, like those of the last writer, may be classed under three heads. Some are acknowledged to be spurious, some are doubtful, and some genuine. The first of these classes we will refer to presently; in the last there is not a shadow of religious respect paid to S. Mary; in the doubtful class there occurs this passage, descriptive of the cries of the damned: 'Farewell, ye holy and 'just, from whom we are separated:—friends and relations, 'fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, apostles, prophets and 'martyrs of the Lord! Farewell, Lady, who didst give birth to 'God! Thou indeed didst labour much, exhorting us to save 'ourselves, but we would not repent and be saved. Farewell 'thou, too, honoured and life-giving Cross! farewell, thou para- 'dise of delight which the Lord planted! farewell, Jerusalem, 'who art above, the mother of the first-born! farewell, kingdom 'of heaven that hast no end! fare ye all well! We shall never 'see you again. We are going to judgment, which hath no end 'or rest.'[2]

We repeat, it is more than doubtful whether this passage is genuine; but suppose it is: the writer speaks elsewhere of 'our 'Mother Jerusalem which is above, calling upon us with love 'and desire to come to her,' just as here he represents S. Mary as anxious for our salvation. Eastern poetry *is* poetry.

In the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, there is not a trace of invocation or of religious regard. S. Ambrose writes as Bishop Pearson has written, except that the latter has expressed himself more strongly in honour of S. Mary than the former. He distinctly anticipates and rejects the doctrine, that S. Mary assisted in the Redemption at the time of the Passion.[3] With S. Ambrose we reach the end of four hundred years of the Church's life.

We will examine the teaching of one more century. During the fifth century we meet with the great names of S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome, of Basil of Seleucia, Orosius, Sedulius, Vincentius Lirinensis, S. Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, Theodoret, Prosper, S. Leo, Hilarius, Simplicius, Felix, Gelasius, Anastasius Symmachus. In S. Chrysostom's

[1] Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Appendix C, p. 402.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 220; Tyler, p. 260. [3] Vol. ii. p. 260. Ed. Bened. 1636.

works, there is not anything approaching to an invocation of Mary, nor any expression of confidence in her intercession merits. On the contrary, he considers her character to h been imperfect, and declares that it was 'excessive ambiti 'foolish arrogance,' and 'vain glory,' that made her 'st without and desire to speak with Him.'[1] S. Augustine wri of her throughout in the same terms as members of the Engl Church employ, and in no others. Far the strongest pass which is found in his works is the following, in which declines, 'for the honour of the Lord,' to say whether or she was personally sinful:—

'Except, therefore, the Holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, for honour of the Lord, I wish not any question at all to be discussed wl the subject is on sins—for how can we tell whether a greater portion grace was not given to her to enable her to conquer sin altogether, w was thought worthy to conceive and bring forth Him, who, it is certa had no sin?—except this Virgin only, if we could collect all the h men and holy women who ever lived here, would they not confess, we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves?"'[2]—Vol. x. p. 144.

In S. Jerome's works, there is not a word which can brought forward in support of the modern system. He regar her as ever-virgin, and as an example to virgins;[3] he speaks death having come by Eve, and life by Mary;[4] he consid the branch in Isaiah xi. 1. to be 'the mother of our Lo 'simple, pure, sincere, with no external germ, and, after t 'likeness of God, fruitful in herself alone,' and 'the flower the branch' to be 'Christ;'[5] he says that 'the clear light 'Mary hides the little fires of other holy women, such as An 'and Elizabeth.'[6] But he says no more, and he adds, 'W 'worship not nor adore, I do not say, the relics of martyrs, b 'neither the sun, nor the moon, nor angels, nor archangels, n 'cherubim, nor seraphim, nor any name that is named in t 'present world, or in the world to come, lest we serve t 'creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever;'[7] a he translates and so adopts the homily of Origen, in which t latter speaks of S. Mary as having been scandalized at the tim of the Passion.[8]

All the passages which have been quoted from the works Basil of Seleucia are spurious. Orosius says nothing of Mary. Sedulius, in one of his poems, speaks of her as th woman through whom alone the way of life was effected

[1] Vol. vii. p. 467. Paris, 1718.

[2] That this means actual, not original, sin, is shown by his expressly stating th she was conceived and born in sin.—Vol. iv. p. 241; vol. x. p. 654; vol. ii part i. p. 268. Paris, 1709.

[3] Ep. 107, p. 679. Ed. Bened. Veronæ, 1734. [4] Ep. 22, vol. i. p. 120.

[5] Vol. i. p. 101. [6] Vol. vi. p. 671. [7] Ep. 109, vol. i. p. 720.

[8] Hom. xvii. in Luc. vol. vii. p. 300. [9] Bib. Vet. Pat. Venetiis. 1778, tom. i:

The well-known Vincentius Lirinensis bids no one 'attempt to 'defraud the Holy Mary of the privileges and special glory of 'divine grace; for by the singular gift of our Lord and God, 'her Son, she must be most truly and blessedly confessed to 'be Theotocos.'[1] He knew no other privilege which she has, except that of bearing Him who was God. S. Cyril of Alexandria (in his genuine writings) speaks in the same strain, and no other. She is 'Theotocos' and 'the Holy Virgin.'[2] Like Tertullian, Origen, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, S. Gregory of Nazianzum, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and other Fathers, he tells us that she had imperfections, and that her faith failed at the time of the Crucifixion, and he gives that as the reason why our Lord entrusted her to S. John, because he, being versed in divine mysteries, could enlighten her ignorance;[3] and he tells us 'not 'to wonder at all if the Virgin was ignorant on a point on 'which even the Holy Apostles themselves were of little faith.'[4] Isidore of Pelusium speaks of her in no other way than as the Mother of our Lord. Theodoret argues that the titles of Theotocos and Anthropotocos ought to belong to S. Mary, because Christ was God and man—nothing more. Prosper simply speaks of her as an unspotted virgin, from whom Christ was born. In the genuine writings of Pope Leo, the great assertor of the true doctrine of the Incarnation, not a word of religious respect to S. Mary is found. Popes Hilarus, Simplicius, and Felix are alike free from any such expressions. Pope Gelasius calls her the most Holy Virgin Mary, and elsewhere he says 'that it *belongs alone* to the immaculate Lamb to 'have no sin at all; otherwise that might seem not to be imputed 'to Him alone if *any holy one besides* should be thought free from 'sin.'[5] In the remains of Popes Anastasius and Symmachus there is nothing to the purpose; and this brings us beyond the boundary of the first five centuries of the Church's history.

In this review of the writers of the first five hundred years, we have not knowingly omitted a single passage expressive of religious respect for S. Mary, which is found either in *their genuine* or in *their doubtful* works. By comparing them, therefore, on the one

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[1] Vinc. Lirin. Common.

[2] There is a homily attributed to S. Cyril, known under the name of *When the Seven*, which is to be found in Mansi, vol. iv. p. 1254; and another version of the same homily given in Aubert's edition of Cyril's works, called, 'An Encomium upon Holy Mary the Theotocos,' in which stronger expressions are to be found; but we cannot regard them as even doubtful. They are certainly spurious; but, unhappily, we have not the authority of the Benedictines to appeal to, as they have not edited S. Cyril. It is quoted by Cardinal Wiseman as genuine (Remarks, p. 25), and it should be said that Basnage (Hist. Egl., tom. ii. p. 1214) admits it. Tyler proves it to be spurious. Appendix, p. 408.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 1064. Paris, 1638. [4] Vol. vi. p. 391. [5] Sacr. Conc. p. 1240. Paris, 1621.

hand, with the statements of S. Alfonso de' Liguori, and on the other with those of Bishop Pearson, whose words we have unhappily not space to quote,[1] our readers will be able to judge for themselves which of the two Churches, whose sentiments are expounded by these two writers, holds the ancient Catholic faith, and which that *nouvelle foi* of which the Abbé Laborde complains. We cannot do better than sum up this portion of our subject in the words of the Rev. E. Tyler, to whose conscientious labours we have been so much indebted :—

'We have examined to the utmost of our ability and means the remains of Christian antiquity. Especially have we searched into the writings of those whose works (A.D. 492) received the approbation of the Pope and his council at Rome; we have also diligently sought for evidence in the records of the early Councils; and we find all the genuine and unsuspected works of Christian writers—not for a few years, or in a portion of Christendom, but to the end of the first five hundred years and more, and in every country in the Eastern and the Western empire, in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia—testifying as with one voice that the writers and their contemporaries knew of no belief in the present power of the Virgin, and her influence with God; no practice, in public or private, of prayer to God through her mediation, or of invoking her for her good offices of intercession, and advocacy, and patronage; no offering of thanks and praise made to her; no ascription of divine honour and glory to her name. On the contrary, all the writers through those ages testify that to the early Christians God was the only object of prayer; and Christ, the only heavenly Mediator and Intercessor in whom they put their trust.'—P. 390.

But besides the genuine works of the early Fathers, and besides those which it is doubtful whether they wrote or not, there is a third class of writings which we must unfortunately likewise refer to. These are such as are acknowledged to be spurious or forged. S. Alfonso, in quoting 'devout prayers addressed by various Saints to the Divine Mother,' tells his reader that 'the following prayers are put here, not only that 'they may be used, but also that they may show the high idea 'that the Saints had of the power and mercy of Mary, and the 'great confidence they had in her patronage' (p. 232). Thus he declares that he is bringing forward historical evidence in proof of the doctrine which he is enforcing. With this profession in his mouth, how jealous ought he not to be, to be sure that the quotations which he makes are genuine, and to quote them correctly! We cannot conceive a more certain test of a truthful mind or a perverted conscience, than is supplied by the manner in which such a task as this is performed. How, then, does our author bear this trial? Does he cite what he does cite with accuracy? Does he cite the true writings of the ... whose authority he is appealing? The first of these ...

[1] Vide Pearson's 'Exposition of the Creed'

is answered by a witness whose testimony is unimpeachable. The *Rambler*, in recommending its friends not to use the book which we are reviewing in controversy, says, 'To name but one 'and that not the chief cause of this unfitness, it is only necessary 'to mention that *S. Alphonsus did not scruple to make most im-* '*portant additions to the passages which he quoted from the Fathers;* 'and this, though perfectly allowable in a book of meditations,' [we do not here pause to examine the morality of this doctrine,] 'of course destroys its value as a work of authority in matters 'of controversy.' We need therefore say no more as to the accuracy of the passages cited. We must linger for a moment to show that he, and not only he, has scrupled as little to cite acknowledged forgeries as genuine.

The first false citations which we meet with (reckoning chronologically) are those which we have transcribed from pp. 185 and 188. The Apostolic Father S. Ignatius is there quoted; and the translation being given in the text, his supposed words are added in the note. They are as follows:—*Impossibile est aliquem salvari peccatorem nisi per tuum, O Virgo, auxilium et favorem. Quia quos non salvat Dei justitia salvat sua intercessione Maria, misericordia infinita. Ap. Celada in Jud. Fig.* § 10. And again, *Numquid peribit, qui genitrici Virgini devotus sedulusque extiterit.* S. Alfonso admits that some doubt whether S. Ignatius did write the first of these passages, but he declares that it has been adopted by S. Chrysostom, or as it is given in the Lyons translation of 1835 (p. 261), '*S. Jean Chrysostôme le lui attribue.*' We have already shown that it is untrue that S. Ignatius wrote one passage or the other, and equally untrue that S. Chrysostom adopted or attributed either of them to him.

The next author falsely cited as a witness to the worship of S. Mary is Origen. This, however, is not done by S. Alfonso, but by Cardinal Wiseman. There is a work called the 'Lament of Origen,' which was declared spurious by Pope Gelasius and his council. It is quoted as genuine by Cardinal Wiseman: Lectures, vol. ii. p. 107; 1836. 'It is wonderful,' says Huet, Bishop of Avranches, 'that these works should be sometimes 'cited in evidence by some theologians, *without any note of their* '*being forgeries.*'

The next spurious documents made use of to support the modern system on the point which we are examining, are three sermons attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus by Vossius, who first published them as Gregory's; they really belong to the seventh or eighth century. Bellarmin quotes one of them as a homily of S. Athanasius. Methodius comes next. S. Alfonso quotes him frequently, and, in a long prayer to S. Mary attributed to him, makes him say, 'We are all God's debtors, but

He is debtor to thee!' (P. 236.) Cardinal Wiseman[1] also quotes a homily attributed to him, to the same effect. The spuriousness of this work is declared by the Benedictine Editors of S. Jerome,[2] and by Baronius.[3]

From a supposed homily of S. Athanasius, S. Alfonso (p. 238), Bellarmin,[4] and Cardinal Wiseman,[5] quote a lengthy prayer of Invocation. The Benedictine Editors declare 'that there is 'no learned man who does not now adjudge this discourse to be 'spurious;'[6] and Baronius says that it cannot have been written previous to the Monothelite controversy.[7] With S. Epiphanius' works, a spurious panegyric on the Mother of God is published.[8] Next we come to Gregory of Nazianzum. We have already shown that the drama called 'Christ Suffering' has been quoted as genuine by Cardinal Wiseman, and has been declared spurious by Tillemont,[9] Dupin,[10] Baillet,[11] Baronius,[12] Rivet,[13] Vossius,[14] Bellarmin,[15] Labbé,[16] Ceillier,[17] Caillau,[18] Tyler.[19] The homily which represents S. Cyprian as attempting to bring about his lustful purposes by magical arts, we have called doubtful, in compliment to the Benedictine Editors; but it is proved by Mr. Tyler to be spurious, if external proof were wanted.[20]

From S. Ephraim Syrus we have a long prayer in S. Alfonso, in which S. Mary is addressed as 'the only Advocate of sinners, and 'the Mediatress between God and man' (p. 232). The prayer is spurious. Cardinal Wiseman likewise twice refers to S. Ephraim, and quotes him at length.[21] The passages cited by Cardinal Wiseman as S. Ephraim's were not written by him, and have never been attributed to him by any one; they were first bound up in the same volume with S. Ephraim's works, in an edition published at Rome in 1732, and were printed from a Vatican MS., which does not pretend to contain the works of S. Ephraim. Another passage is quoted by Cardinal Wiseman as S. Ephraim's, from a sermon called the 'Eulogy of the Holy Virgin.' This is likewise spurious. Tillemont says that it has nothing of S. Ephraim about it, and is probably the production of a Jerusalem monk.

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[1] Remarks, &c.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 910.
[3] In Feb. 2, p. 57. Paris, 1607.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 515. 1721.
[5] Lectures, vol. ii. p. 108. 1836.
[6] Vol. ii. p. 332. Padua, 1777.
[7] Letter to Stapleton. 1592.
[8] See Fabricius, vol. viii. p. 275.
[9] Tom. ix. p. 559.
[10] Tom. ii. p. 372.
[11] Tom. iv. part ii. p. 457.
[12] Tom. i. ad. anno. 34, p. 157.
[13] Crit. Sacr. p. 343.
[14] Inst. Poet. lib. ii. c. 14, p. 72.
[15] De Script. Eccles.
[16] De Script. Eccles.
[17] Hist. des Aut. Sacr. Tom. vii. p. 176.
[18] Op. Greg. Theol. vol. ii. p. 1205. Paris, 1840. Edited by M. Caillau, Priest of the Society of Mercy, called 'The Blessed Mary Immaculate in her Conception.'
[19] Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, p. 399.
[20] Ibid. p. 402.
[21] Lectures, vol. ii. p. 109. Remarks, p. 20.

The 'Book of Meditations,' in which prayer is addressed to S. Mary, was once attributed to S. Augustine. This is quoted as genuine by Kirk and Berrington (p. 445); and Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps[1] cites the 'glorious S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo,' in his third discourse to the Catechumens on the Creed, 'as referring the vision of S. John in the Apocalypse to our 'Blessed Lady.' Both of these publications are excluded from S. Augustine's works by the Benedictine Editors. Spurious passages are cited as S. Augustine's by Liguori, in pp. 326, 343, &c. Basil of Seleucia is quoted by S. Alfonso as calling S. Mary the Peace-maker and Umpire between God and man (p. 245). The supposed works of his, in which such expressions occur, were first published by Dausqueius, a Jesuit, in 1661; they were sent to him, he says, by his brother-Jesuit Schottus, having been just drawn out of their hiding-place. Fortunately, Photius has left us an account of the writings of Basil, and they are not those which the two Jesuits extracted from their hiding-place.

Two sermons supposed to have been delivered by S. Leo, on the feast of the Annunciation, are suppositious. The idle tale of S. Mary of Egypt, which Cardinal Wiseman calls 'a remarkable monument of most confident supplication to the Blessed Virgin,'[2] and which he supposes to have been written about A. D. 500, was probably composed about the close of the seventh century. S. Alfonso gives us the story (p. 66), but in so softened a form, that had it not been for 'the lion who came and made her grave with his claws,' we should scarcely have recognised it.

We have thus, as we believe, gone through all the genuine and doubtful passages, and all the more important spurious passages, found amongst the works of the writers of the first five centuries, which have a bearing on the devotion to S. Mary. By a reference to them, and to the quotations made from the 'Glories of Mary,' it will appear that there are mainly two foundations on which S. Alfonso and Cardinal Wiseman rest their system. One is that of forged documents; the other that of special revelations to individual saints. With regard to the first, our readers will form their own judgment; with regard to the last, we will say one word, to remind them that it entirely alters the standard or rule of the Christian faith. That Rule of Faith is no longer, according to the Anglican theory, Holy Scripture, as interpreted, where interpretation is needed, by the witness of the Church, exhibited in the annals of her history—it is no longer Holy Scripture and tradition, according to the Tridentine theory. It is Holy Scripture, tradition, and modern revelations—not a

[1] Manual of Devotion, p. 98. 1843. [2] Remarks, p. 26.

single, nor a double, but a triple standard, which may v
from day to day. The *amount* to which false quotations
made use of by S. Alfonso may be learnt from the follo
passage:—

'Hence the Divine Mother, on account of the great merit she acq
by this great sacrifice which she made to God for the salvation o
world, was justly called by S. Augustine, "The Repairer of the h
race;" by S. Epiphanius, "The Redeemer of captives;" by S. An
"The Repairer of a lost world;" by S. Germanus, "Our Liberator
our calamities;" by S. Ambrose, "The Mother of all the faithful;
S. Augustine, "The Mother of the living;" and by S. Andrew of C
"The Mother of life." For Arnold of Chartres says, "The wills of C
and of Mary were then united, so that both offered the same holocaus
thereby producing with Him the one effect,—the salvation of the w
At the death of Jesus, Mary united her will to that of her Son, so muc
that both offered one and the same sacrifice; and therefore the holy A
says, that both the Son and the Mother effected the human redemption
obtained salvation for men,—Jesus by satisfying for our sins, Ma
obtaining the application of this satisfaction to us. Hence, Denis the
thusian also asserts, "that the Divine Mother can be called the Sa
of the world, since by the pain she endured in commiserating he
(willingly sacrificed by her to Divine justice), she merited that throug
prayers the merits of the Passion of the Redeemer should be communi
to men."'—P. 343.

Whether S. Germanus, S. Andrew of Crete, Arnol
Chartres, and Denis the Carthusian, wrote the words
attributed to them, we neither know nor are we careful to k
but the first quotation from S. Augustine is spurious, the quot
from S. Epiphanius is spurious, the quotation from S. An
is spurious, the quotation from S. Ambrose is spurious, and
second quotation from S. Augustine is spurious. In the
manner, in p. 417, there are three quotations from S. Jer
from S. Chrysostom, and S. Augustine—all of them are spur

We have still to consider the moral and religious tenden
this teaching. We have seen that it is not the ancient doc
of the Christian Church; but although it is not true, is it n
theless such as to produce godly life and chastened affecti
Before examining this question, we will make a few ext
from the two latter portions of the book, though we have
space to do so with the same copiousness as we did from
first part.

'I will say, in the words of S. Philip Neri, "Immaculate Virgin,
hast to save me." Grant that I may always remember thee; and the
thou never forget me! The happy day, when I shall go to behold
beauty in Paradise, seems a thousand years off. So much do I lon
praise and love thee more than I can now do, my Mother! my Qu
my beloved, most beautiful, most sweet, most pure, Immaculate M
Amen!'—P. 269.

'It is well known with what unanimity theologians and holy Fat

(*the* holy Fathers *Duffy*—the very holy Fathers *Dunigan*) give Mary this title of Mediatress, on account of her having obtained salvation for all, by her powerful intercession and merit so called of congruity, thereby procuring the great benefit of redemption for the lost world. *By her merit of congruity*, I say, for Jesus Christ alone is our Mediator by way of justice, and *by merit de condigno*, to use the school term, He having offered his merits to the Eternal Father, who accepted them for our salvation. Mary, on the other hand, is a Mediatress of grace by way of simple intercession and merit of congruity, she having offered to God, as theologians say with S. Bonaventure, her merits for the salvation of all men, and God, as a favour, accepted them with the merits of Jesus Christ.'—P. 275.

The difference, then, between the Redemption as wrought by Jesus and as wrought by Mary would be this. Both redeemed mankind by their merits: but God was bound, as a matter of justice, to accept the merits of Christ, and he accepted the merits of Mary as a matter of grace or favour.

'Mary, then, was the Mediatress of men; it may be asked, but how can she be called also the Mediatress of angels? Many theologians maintain that Jesus Christ merited the grace of Perseverance for the angels also; so that as Jesus was their Mediator *de condigno*, so also Mary is said to be the Mediatress even of angels *de congruo*, she having hastened the coming of the Redeemer by her prayers. At least meriting *de congruo* to become the Mother of the Messiah, she merited for the angels that the thrones lost by the devils should be filled up. Now, she at least merited this accidental glory for them; and therefore Richard of S. Victor says: "By her every creature is repaired; by her the ruin of the angels is remedied; and by her human nature is reconciled." And before him S. Anselm said: "All things are recalled and reinstated in their primitive state by this Blessed Virgin." '—P. 278.

The quotation from S. Anselm is spurious.

'From the first moment that this heavenly child was sanctified in her mother's womb, which was the instant of her Immaculate Conception, she received the perfect use of reason *that she might begin to merit*. This is in accordance with the general opinion of theologians, and with that of Father Suarez in particular, who says that as the most perfect way in which God sanctifies a soul is by its own merit, as S. Thomas also teaches, it is thus we must believe that the Blessed Virgin was sanctified. "*To be sanctified by one's own act, is the more perfect way. Therefore it is to be believed that the Blessed Virgin was thus sanctified.*" '—P. 288.

Does it not follow from hence, that if the Immaculate Conception be true, S. Mary must have merited to have been immaculately conceived before she was conceived, and therefore that she must have enjoyed a previous state of existence? This would be a thing to be decreed by another dogma.

'Supposing she had 1,000 degrees of grace in the first instant (of her conception), in the second she had 2,000, in the third 4,000, in the fourth 8,000, in the fifth 16,000, in the sixth 32,000. And we are as yet only at the sixth instant; but multiplied thus for an entire day, multiplied for nine months, consider what treasures of grace, merit, and sanctity Mary had already acquired at the moment of her birth.'—P. 281.

Mr. F. W. Faber adopts this 'arithmetic of Suarez' in a

book published a month or two ago, called 'The Bless ment.' He writes:—

'We remember the various splendours of the angelic kingdo remember how, in the one first moment of her Immaculate Con imperial Mother of God was adorned with greater graces, and greater merits, than all the angels put together, were they t merits into one for a million of years. *If we do the sum of he merits by the arithmetic of Suarez, for which that saintly theologian by Mary herself,* how far beyond the expression of our figures h advanced, when fifteen years of moments, each moment with th reason, each moment even of slumber, meriting on a gigantic fully accomplished! To our eyes she is almost lost in the ligh We can hardly make a picture of what she was like as a Jewish royal birth.'—P. 440.

Most true: the reality is eclipsed by the imaginary i few pages lower he says: 'She is so like Him, that describe her it sounds as if we were describing Him.' That is true likewise.

'The Father crowned her by imparting his power to her; t wisdom; the Holy Ghost his love. And the three Divine Persor her throne at the right of that of Jesus, declared her Sovereign and earth, and commanded the angels and all creatures to acknow as their Queen, and as such to serve and obey her.'—P. 370.

Accordingly the following doxology is occasionally i Spain at the end of sermons:—

'Gloria al Padre.
'Gloria al Hijo.
'Gloria al Espìritu Santo.
'Gloria à la Sacratisima Virgen.'

'Let us dedicate ourselves to the service of this Queen, to ho love her as much as we can.'—P. 375.

'O great, exalted, and most glorious Lady, prostrate at the foo throne, we adore thee from this valley of tears. . . On this day, o thou wast made Queen of the universe, we also consecrate ourselv service. O Lady, change us from sinners into saints: work this which will redound more to thy honour than if thou didst restore a thousand blind persons, or didst raise a thousand from the dead.'-

We have seen that a very common Patristic explan the sword which was to pierce S. Mary's bosom, is th which she felt on the failure of her faith at the time crucifixion. As to the soundness of such an expositi express no opinion one way or another, but we notice th trast of S. Alfonso's interpretation. Having spoken of Si prophecy, he continues:—

'Whence the holy Abbot Arnold of Chartres says, "that whosoe been present on Mount Calvary, to witness the great sacrifice of maculate Lamb, would there have beheld two great altars, the on

body of Jesus, the other in the heart of Mary; for, on that mount, at the same time that the Son sacrificed his body by death, Mary sacrificed her soul by compassion."'—P. 383.

'Richard on the words of St. Paul, "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife," also says, that "Mary is the believing woman, by whose faith the unbelieving Adam and all his posterity are saved."'—P. 451.

'Tenth devotion in honour of Mary, To say or to hear Mass, or to have Mass said in honour of the Blessed Virgin.'—P. 492.

Mr. Faber goes far beyond this: he teaches that it is 'in accordance with sound theology, and the principles of the faith,' to maintain that in every consecrated host there is the Blessed Virgin's flesh and blood, viz.: that part which our Lord took on his Conception.[1]

We will conclude our extracts from the second part of 'the Glories,' by three Examples which are given to teach respectively 'devotion to the dolours of Mary,' and the advantages of wearing the Scapular of her dolours. The first of these, on the testimony of S. Bridget's Revelations, gives an account of a prince who 'had given himself by an express compact as a 'slave to the devil, and for sixty successive years had served him, 'leading such a life as may be imagined.' S. Bridget, by revelation, sent her confessor to him as he was on his death-bed, and after some time he died contrite and resigned. 'After his death 'Jesus Christ again spoke to S. Bridget, and told him that the 'sinner was saved; that he was then in purgatory; and that he 'owed his salvation to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin 'His Mother; for the deceased, although he had led so wicked a 'life, had, nevertheless, always preserved devotion to her dolours, 'and whenever he thought of them pitied her' (p. 392). This revelation of S. Bridget is introduced in proof of a revelation of S. Elizabeth, by which the latter made known, that after her Assumption, S. Mary appeared with her Son to S. John the Evangelist while he was still on earth.

'The saint (S. John) then heard Mary ask her Son to grant some special grace to all those who are devoted to her dolours. Jesus promised her four principal ones:—1st. That those who before death invoke the Divine Mother in the name of her Saviour, *should obtain true repentance of all their sins.* 2d. That He would protect all who have this devotion in their tribulations, and that He would protect them especially at the hour of death. 3d. That He would impress upon their minds the remembrance of His passion, and that they should have their reward for it in heaven. 4th. That He would commit such devout clients to the hands of Mary, with the power to dispose of them in whatever manner she might please, and to obtain for them all the graces she might desire.'—P. 391.

[1] The Blessed Sacrament, p. 515.

S. John has failed to recount this interview in the Book of Revelation, nor was any one aware of it, until it was narr by Pelbertus as a revelation made to S. Elizabeth. The Examples illustrating the efficacy of the Scapular are follows:—

'A young man in Perugia promised the devil that if he would enable to attain a sinful object he had in view, he would give him his soul; *a gave him a written contract to this effect, signed in his own blood.* Whe crime had been committed, the devil demanded the performance o promise; and for this purpose led him to the brink of a well, at the time threatening that if he did not throw himself in, he would drag body and soul, to hell. The wretched youth, thinking that it woul impossible to escape from his hands, got on the little parapet to cast self in; but terrified at the idea of death, he told the devil that he ha courage to take the leap, but that, if he was determined on his deat must push him in. The young man wore a Scapular of the dolours of M the devil, therefore, said, "Take off that Scapular, and then I will push in." But the youth, discovering in the Scapular the protection still v sated to him by the Divine Mother, refused to do so; and at length, much altercation, the devil, filled with confusion, departed; and the s grateful to his sorrowful Mother, went to thank her, and, penitent fo sins, presented as a votive offering to her altar, in the church of S Maria la Nuova, in Perugia, a picture of what had taken place.'—P. 4

The other Example happened to a friend of S. Alfonso. was engaged in hearing confession, when a young foreigne noble birth came and confessed as follows:—

'Besides the other innumerable shameful crimes and murders he committed, he said, that having entirely despaired of salvation, he mitted sins no longer from inclination, but expressly to outrage God of the hatred he bore Him. He said, amongst other things, that he w crucifix, and that he beat it out of disrespect, and that that very mor only a short time before, he had communicated sacrilegiously; and for purpose? It was, that he might trample the sacred particle under his And he had, indeed, already received it, and had only been prevented executing his horrible design by the people who would have seen him. then consigned the sacred particle, in a piece of paper, to the confe Having done this, he said, that passing before the church he had felt self strongly impelled to enter it; that, unable to resist, he had don After entering, he was seized with great remorse of conscience, and a same time a sort of confused and irresolute desire to confess his sins: hence the reason for which he stood before the confessional; but v standing there his confusion and diffidence were so great that he endeavo to go away, but it seemed to him as if some one held him there by t "In the meantime," he said, "father, you called me, and now I am making my confession, and I know not how." The father then asked if he ever practised any devotion during the time; *meaning, toward Blessed Virgin; for such conversions only come through the powerful hands of* "None, father—devotions indeed! I looked on myself as damned." reflect again," said the father. "Father, I did nothing," he repeated. putting his hand to his breast to uncover it, he remembered that he wor Scapular of Mary's dolours. "Ah, my son," said the confessor, "dost not see it is our Blessed Lady who has obtained thee so extraordinary a gr And know," he added, "that to her this church is dedicated." '—P. 34

The Third Part is altogether omitted in Mr. Duffy's edition. Why, we do not know. It is just like the other parts in its tone. Two or three specimens shall suffice:—

'When S. Dominic was preaching at Carcassone, in France, an Albigensian heretic, who for having publicly ridiculed the devotion of the rosary was possessed by devils, was brought to him. The saint then obliged the evil spirits to declare whether the things which he said about the most holy rosary were true. Howling, they replied: "Listen, Christians; all that this enemy of ours has said of Mary and of the most holy rosary is true." They, moreover, added that they had no power against the servants of Mary, and that many by invoking in death the name of Mary were saved, *contrary to their deserts.* They concluded, saying: "We are forced to declare that no one is lost who perseveres in devotion to Mary, and in that of the most holy rosary; for Mary obtains for those who are sinners true repentance before they die." S. Dominic then made the people recite the rosary; and, oh, prodigy! at every *Hail Mary*, evil spirits left the body of the possessed man, *under the form of red-hot coals*, so that when the rosary was finished, he was entirely freed. On this occasion many heretics were converted.'—P. 502.

'Blessed Father Patrizi, who had the greatest devotion to the *Hail Mary*, used to recite 500 a-day. Mary announced the hour of his death to him, and he died as a saint. After forty years a beautiful lily grew out of his mouth, and on each of the leaves was written the *Hail Mary*, in letters of gold. This lily was afterwards taken to France.'—P. 508.

So, too, there was a Cistercian lay-brother, who knew no other prayer except the *Hail Mary*, which he repeated continually; and after his death a tree grew from his grave, with *Hail Mary, full of grace*, on its leaves. References are gravely given for these two stories to 'Bolland, xv. Maii,' and 'Ap. Crass. tom. ii. tr. 6, p. 1;' but the editor has been obliged to confess that he could not find them. We should have referred to Ovid, who tells the tale more prettily, perhaps, than any one else.

'A devout servant of Mary went one day, without telling her husband, to visit a church of our Blessed Lady, and was prevented by a storm from returning home at night. She was greatly alarmed lest her husband should be angry at it; she, however, recommended herself to Mary, and returned home, when she found her husband very kind to her, and quite in a good humour. By her inquiries she learnt that the night before the Divine Mother had taken her form, and attended to all the duties of the household as a servant. She then related all that had taken place to her husband, and they both ever afterwards had the greatest devotion to the Blessed Virgin.'—P. 515.

'A devout virgin was in prayer, when she saw Jesus on a throne, in the act of sending a sinner to hell; but his most Holy Mother said that at one time he had honoured her, and obtained him thirty days in which to repent.'—P. 516.

'A great sinner was once in prayer at the feet of a crucifix, earnestly entreating that he might receive a sign of pardon; but not receiving it, he addressed himself to Mary in sorrow, who then appeared to him. He saw her present his tears to her Son, saying, Son, shall these tears be lost? He then understood that Christ had already pardoned him, and thenceforward led a holy life.'—P. 517.

through thee was graciously pleased to become a partaker in our infirmity and misery, may also, through thy intercession, make us partakers in His happiness and glory.

'In thee from my whole heart I have placed my hope.

'It is not possible, O Lady, that thou shouldst abandon him who has placed his hopes in thee.

'Thou hast only to will our salvation, and then it is not possible that we should not obtain it.

'Hail, Daughter of God the Father! Hail, Mother of God the Son! Hail, Spouse of God the Holy Ghost!

'O Virgin! how lovely thou art!
Mother of my God, my poor heart
Is filled with affection for thee.

'Thanks be to God and to Mary.

'May all things be to the eternal glory of the most Holy Trinity, and of Immaculate Mary!

'Live always, Jesus our love, and Mary our hope, with Saint Joseph and Saint Teresa, our advocates!'—P. 619.

In contrast with this rhapsody, we transcribe the sober and reverential words of one among ourselves, leaving our readers to draw the comparison, and the conclusions which result from that comparison, for themselves:—

'We honour the Virgin Mary, we love her memory, we would, by God's grace, follow her example in faith and humility, meekness and obedience; we bless God for the wonderful work of salvation, in effecting which she was a chosen vessel; we call her a blessed saint and a holy Virgin; we cannot doubt of her eternal happiness through the merits of Him who was "God of the substance of his Father before the world, and man of the substance of his mother born in the world." But we cannot address religious praises to her; we cannot trust in her merits, or intercession, or advocacy, for our acceptance with God; we cannot invoke her for any blessing, temporal or spiritual; we cannot pray to God through her intercession, or for it. This in us would be sin. We pray to God alone; we offer religious praise, our spiritual sacrifices, to God alone; we trust in God alone; we need no other mediator, we apply to no other mediator, intercessor, or advocate, in the unseen world, but Jesus Christ alone, the Son of God and the Son of Man. In this faith, we implore God alone, for the sake only of his Son, to keep us steadfast unto death; and in the full assurance of the belief that this faith is founded on the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone, we will endeavour, by the blessing of the Eternal Shepherd and Bishop of souls, to preserve the same faith, as our Church now professes it, whole and undefiled, and to deliver it down, without spot or stain of superstition, to our children's children, as their best inheritance for ever.'—*Tyler*, p. 391.

We have now to consider the morality of this teaching. That S. Alfonso was personally a devout man, we do not doubt; that his desire was to make others likewise devout, we as little question. Yet the tendency of his teaching is Antinomian in the extreme. We do not now refer to his Moral Theology,—'the saint's *mild morality*,' which, as Cardinal Wiseman congratulates us, now 'influences every confessional in England,'—but to the book with which we are at present dealing. The prac-

hardened, and so repentance at length next to impossible. But, according to this system, no such dread need be entertained by the sinner. Witness the promise made by our Lord in the hearing of S. John the Evangelist, that all 'who before death 'invoked the Divine Mother in the name of her sorrows, should 'obtain true repentance of all their sins' (p. 391); and the Example of the man who had been serving the devil as his slave by express compact for sixty years, and yet was moved to contrition, and saved at the intercession of S. Mary, because, 'although he had led so wicked a life, he had nevertheless 'always preserved devotion to her dolours, and whenever he 'thought of them pitied her' (p. 392). Again, experience and Christianity alike teach that a man may be cut off in the midst of deadly sin, and no time given him for repentance. No such dread has to be entertained by the sinner who offers an external form of devotion to S. Mary. Such an one is either kept alive on earth, that he may have the means of repenting—witness the example of the two students in Flanders, both equally guilty, but one saved alive because he said some Hail Marys without devotion and half asleep; the other damned because he did not (p. 190)—or, supposing that he is hurried away by death, still he is saved from hell; S. Mary sends him back again to earth, like the deacon Adelman (p. 188), or a canon, who was drowned in the Seine, but sent back from hell because, though he was in mortal sin, he nevertheless was praising Mary when he fell into the river (p. 519). Or, if not sent back for years like the canon, 'to propagate devotion to the Immaculate Conception,' still his soul is kept out of hell on earth, like the skeleton mentioned by Pelbertus (p. 189), or Alexandra's head (p. 197); or a robber's head in Normandy (p. 506). This, then, is the second step in making easy that which God has not made easy.

There is still a third step. Hitherto it has only been proved that those who are devout to S. Mary, or who keep up a form of devotion in her honour, are sure of final salvation, however sinful their lives may be; but suppose that people will not be devout even to S. Mary, and are too careless to keep up even a mechanical habit of saying *Hail Mary* each day, is there no other way still easier for them? There is: they must put on the Scapular of Mary's dolours: then they are quite safe from the devil in this life, though they have sold their souls to him and signed the contract in their own blood, as proved by the Example of the young man in Perugia (p. 421); they will receive the gift of repentance—witness the young nobleman who carried about the crucifix in order to beat it (p. 346); they are quite safe from the devil in the next life, for S. Mary promised S. Simon Stock, that 'whoever died clothed with it should not

children, which hides bitter but wholesome drugs under some sweet confection :—

> 'Succhi amari ingannato ei beve
> E dall' inganno suo vita riceve.'

For here poison is carried to the lips under an exterior the most attractive. The practical upshot, though I cannot believe it to be, even in the extremest case, the conscious intention, of the whole is a tendency infinitely various in degree, but sometimes direct and absolute, to extrude our Saviour, in the view of the believer, from many or even all of His redeeming functions, and to leave him only in the stern unapproachable character of a Judge. To her will, by some strange process, the effectuation of His coming is referred, as if it had been not an instrument merely, but a cause. The habitual communion with Him into whose Body we have been incorporated by Baptism, and who, through the medium of that Body, becomes the sustenance of our daily life, is made to pass through the intervention of her person. The constant application of His blood and merits, whereby alone we can for a moment stand in the place of sons, and realize the spirit of adoption, is exhibited as dependent on her prayers, to which we are to resort for habitual aid. In short, she is practically exhibited as the Way, and He as the Truth and the Life, mainly or even alone approachable by that way. Hence it is, that common devotion seems to revert naturally to her in a thousand secondary forms, where to us it would seem that the privileges of the covenant, as well as the necessities of our condition, carry us directly to our Redeemer . . . . As though all human sympathy were not absolute deadness in comparison with the exquisite sensibility of Him, whom in all things it behoved to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High-priest, touched with the feeling of our infirmities, in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. As though all human love were not shallowness itself in comparison with the unexplored profoundness of those yearnings of affection, which, with more power than superstition ever ascribed to magic charms, did draw down the sun of heaven from its throne, did clothe the Very and Eternal Word with the form of a servant, with the likeness of men, so that He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. As if the Maker of woman did not possess in inexhaustible abundance those treasures of tenderness from and out of whose overflow it is that He has adorned the loveliest of His works.'—*Church Principles*, vii. 34, 35.

'It must be borne in mind that when these services first received, in the sixteenth century, the shape in which for the most part we still possess them, no explanation was put forth of the design of the several parts, or of the relation which they bear to each other; nor any statement made of the great principles upon which the use of such services is based, and their structure regulated. The revisers of the Offices doubtless took it for granted that these things were understood, and needed not to be recapitulated by them; more especially as the old services would stand that generation in the stead of exponents, to a great degree, of the revised Ritual. All that they did, therefore, was to prefix a very brief and general account of the grounds there were for a Revision, and of the objects chiefly aimed at in it.'—Pp. 1, 2.

And, as he goes on to remark,—

'It is indeed probable that they had themselves but an imperfect perception of the entire nature of the forms which, after thus revising them to the best of their power, they handed down.'—P. 2.

Thus the revised Prayer-book was launched with a merely traditionary key to its signification, and before the age of scholiasts had grown up, the usual result had occurred, that the scholiast became at once more necessary and less serviceable, from the decaying of those oral illustrations which might, if embodied, have furnished the best scholia, while their very loss it was that led industrious scholars to strive to supply their place by formal comments. Our age, of course, to follow the parallel pattern, is to be reckoned the dawn of critical editions. If Comber and Sparrow were the Didymus and the Eustathius of the Prayer-book, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Freeman assume the position of a Budæus or a Stephens.

In the particular instance of the English Prayer-book, the Puritan conflict was, it is evident, peculiarly pernicious, both in the days of its earlier struggles, when it called away the best energies of those who would otherwise have been engaged upon constructive studies to the more immediate needs of controversial strategy, and in the latter phase of its material success, when physical means of destruction were superadded to intellectual vexation. Situated too, as the Church of England was, during the earlier decades of her reformed life, between two fires, and the Puritan one that from which, after the defeat of the Armada, the real material danger lay, the defenders of the Prayer-book had to 'economise,' as the term is, in their line of defence. To have paraded the truth that the impugned book was a *rifacimento* of the older services, with their corruptions only eliminated, would have been to throw away the remaining hope of saving it; in days before it had, in its new aspect, acquired that traditionary *vis inertiæ* which now attaches to it, and which we are apt rather forgetfully to attribute to it when the battle was raging over every line in its pages It was saved, thanks to Almighty good-

peccant passages came down from the days of Austin and Gregory, or were the orthodox composition of learned Caroline divines.

Mr. Freeman points out, later in his book, the vast quiet influence which the continual use of the Prayer-book must have had in forming the English character,—an influence which has probably been the greater from being unperceived, but which now and then crops out spontaneously in the warm manner in which well-disposed localities accept, as if by instinct, (unless some external disturbing force is brought to bear,) the correct performance of the services newly revived, as responsive to that innate sense of what the Prayer-book really means, which was all along in them, although they never had known its latent existence.

It was the natural result of all these predisposing causes that our best men, generally speaking, were not the specific illustrators of our ritual during the great days of Anglican theology. Hooker, Andrews, and Cosin, each wrote a little on the Prayer-book, but their writings on other topics compose the overpowering bulk of their compositions, and the illustration of the English services, accordingly rested with Sparrow, L'Estrange, Comber, Wheatley and Nicholls, and not with Bramhall, Hammond, Pearson, Thorndike, Taylor, Beveridge, and Bull. This fact is not to be overlooked in the comparative estimate of the older with the new school of ritualists.

Mr. Freeman's estimate of Hooker's services in the Fifth Book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in defence of the Prayer-book, may be gathered from the following extract, forming the commencement of a longer passage:—

> 'Hooker especially has searched deep into the principles upon which many of the great elements of Divine Service and Worship, contained in our Offices, are based; and thus vindicated their general character, as well as many details of arrangement and expression. And these profound searchings and eloquent vindications will never be equalled or superseded on their own ground, and as far as they go. But the range of Hooker's comments was greatly narrowed by his controversial position. Where his opponents objected, he defended; but beyond this the nature of his work did not call upon him to enter into the matter or order of Services. And again, the effectiveness of his championship, even on such points as he has occasion to treat of, is greatly impaired by one very material defect in the appliances which he had at command for dealing with the subject. With the older Offices of the English Church there is little or no appearance of his having been acquainted; whereas these, as must be evident from what has been already said, were likely in many points to be the best if not the only clue to the real character of the existing Services.'—Pp. 4, 5.

We think that Mr. Freeman hardly indicates sufficient appreciation of the curious collection of Variorum notes to the Prayer-book by Bishops Andrews and Cosin, attached to Nicholls' edition, of which he only notices those by the former prelate.

'Fortuitously preserved' they were, and necessarily 'fragmentary.' But in them we think we can discern more clearly than in other contemporary illustrators, the perception of the origin of our services, and of a feeling of the way in which their performance should symbolise their nature. This was to have been expected from the character and other actions of those prelates, and we can but regret that their writings upon the Prayer-book should not have been more full and systematic.

Indeed, we are inclined to believe that the school of the seventeenth century rather did itself injustice than otherwise, in the mere *literary* aspect of ritualism, from its having, while hampered, as we have above seen, in the illustration of the Prayer-book, devoted its prime energies to the, after all, main thing,—the performance of the services therein contained. No student of ecclesiology is ignorant how zealously these same writers, who seem in their books so careless of the anti-reformational descent of the Prayer-book, laboured in their church arrangements to make that descent apparent,—in their preservation or restoration of stately altars for the Eucharist, stalled and screened chancels for the lesser services, and so on. All these considerations lead us to imagine, that while the practical appearances are as Mr. Freeman faithfully pictures, this literary disregard of our *origines* by our earlier divines down to Cosin and Sparrow, may have been the result (partly, at all events) of policy, tempered also by an amount of traditional taking-for-granted, which we have lost, and not of mere neglect or ignorance. Unhappily, the tempest of the Civil War swept away the material work on which they had spent so much heart; and it so happened that the second school of the great seventeenth-century divines, persons who were young men at the Restoration, while giants in dogmatic learning, were either ignorant or careless of those ecclesiological proprieties which had engaged the intellect of an Andrews and a Cosin; and also, what is as likely, were frightened away from taking up their study, from a belief that it was these external manifestations, and not the unlucky political leaven of excessive prerogative notions, which had hurried on the crash out of which the Church was just emerging.

Accordingly, with the exeeption of some isolated facts, like Bishop Beveridge's defence of chancel screens, the later school has not contributed much towards the ecclesiological illustration of the signification of the Prayer-book. To these writers, then, Mr. Freeman's charge may be held to attach in its fulness.

It is curious, as we shall have occasion to point out more at length in a later part of this article, how much Mr. Freeman has thrown himself into the opposite extreme, and while he brings every store of ritual antiquity and literature to bear upon his

subject, he has almost entirely ignored the wide field of ecclesiological illustration, a deficiency the more remarkable because he is himself, as is well known, neither averse from nor unversed in such studies.

Mr. Freeman's estimate of the 'school of Sparrow and L'Estrange,' and 'their successors, Comber, Nicholls, Wheatley, Bennet, Bisse, and others,' is thus expressed:—

'It is true, these learned writers were not altogether unacquainted with the older Offices of the Western Church; and they occasionally, though comparatively seldom, refer to them. But their line of comment, as all who are acquainted with them are aware, runs almost exclusively in the direction of the writings of the Fathers, the Councils, and the Holy Scriptures; or, again, in that of the successive alterations of detail which have taken place in the Services since the original revision in 1549. . . .

'The truth is, that these writers entertained so strong a distaste, and with it so entire a contempt, for whatever had been done or used in the middle ages of the Church, that the last thing likely to enter their minds, was to seek counsel or guidance of Services belonging to that period, however much they might take warning by them. They assumed, as a matter of course, and without much inquiry, that the changes made in 1549 amounted to nothing less than the composition of an entirely new set of Services out of the materials of the old, selected and recombined at pleasure on altogether a different plan and principle. The former structure was deemed by them to have been absolutely pulled down before the new one was erected. Whereas nothing is more remarkable in the original Preface to the revised Services, already referred to, than the utter unconsciousness which it manifests on the part of the revisers, *of having done anything more than revise.* Certain things taken away,—a certain fusing and consolidation of parts or elements heretofore disjointed and broken up,—certain provisions for securing that the Psalms and Lessons should be really and thoroughly *used*, and not skipped for the most part as in time past,—and the turning of the whole into English;—this was their entire idea of what they had done. They expected the people and Church of the day to accept the Services as essentially, and for all practical purposes, the same Services, revised;—and, what is more, as such the Church and people manifestly did accept them. So clear were the revisers on this point, that Cranmer (as Jeremy Taylor has recorded) offered to prove that "the order of the Church of England, set out by authority by Edward the Sixth, was *the same that had been used in the Church for fifteen hundred years past.*" . . . .

'Our commentators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, persist, as has been said, in viewing the men of the sixteenth as "composers" and "compilers" in the largest sense. Thus Wheatley (to name an author whose work embodies all the preceding ones, and exercises, in many respects not undeservedly, a very wide influence on the prevailing conceptions of our Offices) was indeed professedly not unaware of the real state of the case. Yet, after once admitting it, he ignores it throughout the rest of his book. Indeed, the account which he gives of the old Offices is so singular, as to lead to a suspicion that he had never even looked into the Daily Services: with the Communion Office he appears to have had a better acquaintance.'—Pp. 7—10.

The next step across the Sirbonian bog of the eighteenth, and part of the nineteenth century, leads us straight to our contemporaries, Messrs. Palmer, Maskell, Procter, and the careful trans-

lator of the Sarum Psalter, whose preface is signed 'J. D. C. ritualists of another stamp, and possessed with a juster idea the exigencies of the case.' Upon the 'Origines Liturgicæ' of t first-named of these writers Mr. Freeman justly observes,—

'Attention has at length been forcibly and not unsuccessfully dra towards the one quarter which had so long and so unaccountably been l unexplored, and from which alone a true idea of them can be obtain The publication of the "Origines Liturgicæ" of Mr. Palmer is likely this account to prove an epoch in the ritual literature of the Engli Church, only second in importance to that which was marked by the a pearance of the Fifth Book of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. Nor is possible to speak of that work without rendering a deserved testimony the perfect mastery which it exhibits over the vast range of ritual learni embraced by it, and to the clearness with which the results of the autho observation are set forth. . . . .

'It might not unreasonably be supposed that these works, Mr. Palme more especially, must have exhausted the subject, and left little, if anythi to be done by others. But though Mr. Palmer, while leaving hardly a field of antiquarian investigation untrodden, has also paid especial attenti to this one in particular, it must be confessed that the principal thing t needed to be done with reference to it is exactly that which he has l untouched. He has, indeed, carefully specified throughout, as has be said, the place which the successive features of our Services occupied in t older forms; and where any change or substitution has been made, h justified the arrangement—on the whole, felicitously—by precedents dra from the ritual of other Churches. The entire collection, so to say, ritual specimens embodied in our Offices has thus been labelled a registered; and its place in our own or other ancient collections can easily ascertained. And this is a great gain, and one for which the stud of our Services cannot be too grateful.

'Wherein then, it will be asked, is this work deficient as an expositi of those Services? I answer, first, in that it nowhere sets forth as a whe in a lucid and connected view, in what degree, and with what modificatio or developments, the old order and contents have been preserved in t remodelled Offices. From its failing to exhibit such a general *conspectus* this, the work is not nearly so satisfactory or convincing as it might ha been made. We do not rise from it with the impression that the parents of our present Services, taken as a whole, can be successfully and legi mately traced to those which preceded them. When some particular featu or portion is noted as having been retained from the old forms, the circu stance has rather the air of a satisfactory incident, than of guarantee any real identity between the old and the new. The impression which fact makes upon us is further weakened by its generally coming hand hand with a variety of accidental correspondences,—for such, for the m part, they necessarily are,—fetched from remote sources, such as the Ap tolical Constitutions, or the ancient Liturgies of Syria or of Armenia. .

'But this is not the only or the chief thing which Mr. Palmer's work l left still to be done. It was no part of his design to elicit *the spirit meaning* either of the old Offices or of the New. More especially he l made no attempt to *penetrate and to state the true nature and character of d Offices*, but has contented himself with a very brief and general accou their contents. It does not seem to have occurred to him that t er all, was the great thing to be done in the matter. It is satisfacto course, to know that we use to a great extent the same substance a der of Services as our fathers did; but it would be a further and a m

important boon, if we could ascertain what *was the mind of those Services.*'—Pp. 11—15.

In extracting these criticisms of our author upon his predecessors in his own peculiar studies, we have inferentially shown the bent of his own mind and prepossessions. The remainder of his Introductory Chapter is mostly a recapitulatory anticipation of the subsequent treatise; and we shall therefore at once proceed to the body of the work, merely observing by the way, that the writer's earnest attachment to, and faith in the English Communion, is emphatically attested in the course of his remarks.

The first chapter of the first part is entitled 'On the Early and Primitive Form of Daily Service,' a consideration which Mr. Freeman rightly assumes to be indispensable towards appreciating what it was which S. Augustine introduced into England, which, as Mr. Freeman shows—

'was not, strictly speaking, the Roman Daily Offices at all, but only a kindred though very closely allied member of the family or stock of offices to which the Roman belonged.'—P. 41.

The first starting-point of our author is the disproof of a notion, which, strange to say, has gained more favour among English than Roman Catholic writers; several of the former assuming it without much study, while the latter, as well as Bingham, have by investigation been led to abandon it. This is the view, that in primitive times the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was daily. The second principal theme of our writer, is the proof that the daily service was of primitive, probably apostolic, antiquity, and not, as it has been sometimes taken for granted, the mere *detritus* of dropped Eucharists.

Mr. Freeman explains the comparative silence shown in the writings of the early Fathers upon religious assemblies, other than those for the celebration of the Eucharist:—

'And there seems to have been a peculiarity in the customs of the Church of the first two or three centuries (arising from the fewness of numbers in a diocese), which had the effect of giving a singular and overwhelming prominence to the Eucharistic service. It was this,—that the Bishop was commonly the celebrant at the Holy Communion; the priests, deacons, and laity—in a word, the whole body of the faithful within the diocese—being present. This is evidently the idea of Eucharistic celebration which S. Ignatius, writing in the beginning of the second century, has before his eyes in various passages of his Epistles. Thus, too, Clemens Romanus, in the first century, assumes the celebration to be a general gathering of this kind . . . . . Now all this, while it exactly agrees with Justin Martyr's account in other respects, goes far to explain why he says nothing, in his Apology, of that secondary kind of service, which, being conducted probably for the most part by single presbyters, ministering to small bodies of the faithful, exhibited in altogether an inferior degree the great features of the Christian polity and worship.'—P. 44.

In the second section of the same chapter he resumes and amplifies this consideration:—

'Nothing can at first sight be much more dissimilar than the earli
the latest phases which the ordinary services of the Church at larg
assumed;—beginning with the simple and, though doubtless orde
apparently free and unconfined devotions of the Upper Cham
Jerusalem, of which we obtain glimpses through the Apostolic wr
and ending with the complex and minutely regulated Offices whic
now prevailed for many hundred years alike in the East and in the
And these Eastern and Western Offices, again, differ so materiall
each other, that it has been concluded, and that by no mean judge
there is absolutely no connexion between them; that "the Oriental
of ordinary service are, as to their derivation, "perfectly distinct fro
of the Latin Churches." The truth is, however, first, that the o
and non-eucharistic worship of the Church was, as it should seem, f
organized, even in Apostolic days, than we are apt to suppos
secondly, that the Offices of the East and West are both alike develop
though on different principles, and with characteristic variations
structure and contents, of the earlier and simpler form of the Easte
—Pp. 46, 47.

The actual Eastern offices have, of course, like ever
else Oriental, retained with a remarkable fidelity their
blance to the earliest recorded services of the third, fourt
fifth centuries; from which again Mr. Freeman looks to
struct the still more primæval methods of worship, the pr
whose existence, according to his interpretation, he find
catena of references to them traceable in the earliest Ch
writers; while in the next section he carries his investi
still further, and follows up analogies and more than pr
sources of inspiration in the prayers and worship of the J
Church anterior to the Christian dispensation. The rem
four sections of this important chapter pursue the analy
the principal morning and evening services of the E
Church, comprising Matins, Lauds, and Vespers (the long ev
office corresponding to Compline being left for a later ch
and points out the probable antiquity of each portion.
doing this, Mr. Freeman at the same time indicates the p
by which the corresponding Latin services were moulded
them. The resemblances are very close, and the Greek
have all the appearance in their internal structure (othe
siderations apart) of being the older. We wish we coul
an abstract of this most interesting dissertation, but the at
would involve us in an amount of writing for which neith
ourselves nor, are we certain, our readers would be pre
And so we rather leave those students who are interested
subject to Mr. Freeman's own pages. Our author, we s
observe, does justice to the singular erudition of Mr. N
introduction to his History of the Eastern Church, as the
which had made the knowledge of Eastern worship gen
accessible to readers of our own day.

The general impression left upon the mind by this examin

is, that although the Church services latterly became, in theory at least, sevenfold, yet that in fact they did usually group themselves, as ours do formally, into the morning and evening division, with this peculiarity, that the *night* service, called in later days of the Western Church 'Matins,' and partially represented in our own Morning Service, or 'Mattins,' for a long time fluctuated, while still performed at the strict hour of midnight, between being dealt with as a very late evening or a very early morning service. For instance, we find it (as Mr. Freeman elsewhere points out) at S. Benedict's epoch sometimes called by the name of Vigiliæ, the Lauds being styled Matura, or Matutinæ. The strange modern Roman custom of anticipation, which throws Matins back to three o'clock of the day before, is a sort of return, involuntary, nay grotesque, to this method of viewing it, with the absurdity of making the actual Vespers and Compline of the current day into a morning office. Our Church in Ireland, on the contrary, true to the love of extremes for which that island is famous, begins morning service in the majority of its parish churches at noon on Sunday. Upon week-days we have not exactly traced the prevalent hour.

Mr. Freeman, in a subsequent chapter, proves the much later, more private, and historic origin of the day hours, both in East and West, compared with those great services of mysterious and unknown antiquity.

It is a curious peculiarity of the Greek Offices, that the lections from Scripture and ecclesiastical writings, which form so prominent and so laudable an element of the Western Matins, and from which our own lessons are directly and acknowledgedly derived, should be entirely absent from them. Certain groups of short '*Odes*' are, however, sung in the Eastern Church as an accompaniment of the canticles, which are used at the 'Early Morning Service,' or Lauds, a service longer in that branch of the Church than the nocturnal one, and many of whose features have in fact been reproduced in the West, not at the analogous services, but in the Nocturns. These odes are generally *nine* in number, and divided into three triads, and from these Mr. Freeman very ingeniously traces the parentage of the Western lections, the odes (short compositions, as Eastern hymnology always is) being actually represented by the responsories; and the portions of Scripture to which the responsories reply, being an addition due to the practical mind of Western Christendom.

Again, in the East the Eucharistic Collect does not exist, although there are numerous short hymns of the nature of a collect, and the *prokeiménon*, or anticipation of the next ensuing epistle used in the Vesper service, [illegible] it to mind. To the West, however, was left the f[illegible]eiving a prayer

which should *collect* the teaching of the week's Gospel
Epistle, and by its joint use at both Eucharist and lesser servi
serve as a bond of connexion between the two.

With this minute comparison of Eastern and Western Off
closes the first chapter. The second is general in its applicati
and deals with higher topics, no less than the theory of wors
viewed in its double form, as connected with and to be explai
by the whole Christian scheme, the Incarnation and the Pri
hood of our Blessed Lord, and the Sacramental system regar
in direct connexion with Him. Interesting as was the preced
chapter, full of most valuable information and patient in
tigation, this is far superior to it in the clearness and force
which its subject-matter is handled, for Mr. Freeman's s
lends itself with greater freedom and vigour to synthesis tha
analysis; a less friendly critic might call it desultory.

After some preliminary remarks, he starts with these q
tions:—

'Thus, then, our present inquiry assumes the phase of a comparison
discrimination between the lower and higher forms of Christian se
and worship. The point for our consideration is, how comes this ki
service to be superadded to, and to co-exist with, the one principal
supreme act of Christian Ritual solemnly instituted by Christ Him
Is it independent of the Eucharistic Rite, or supplementary to it? Do
on the one hand, occupy a distinct ground of its own, a departmen
spiritual need altogether unprovided for in the Eucharist? And yet
can we conceive that that great act of Service, divinely ordained for
dedication and refection of man's nature, leaves any department of his b
really undedicated or unprovided for? Or is this lower kind of service
the other hand, purely ancillary to the higher; a branch proceeding
it; a tributary falling into it; and to be conceived of as always, and stri
in subordination to it? This view, again, rigidly accepted, is by no m
free from difficulty. Nor, I conceive, is it possible to attain to a s
factory solution of the question before us, without taking a wider
more comprehensive view than might at first sight seem necessary, of
whole subject of the nature of Christian worship.'—Pp. 165, 166.

These inquiries lead to an exposition, thoughtful and striki
of the different aspect which our Lord's life and ministrati
have, if regarded merely in the aspect of the Incarnation, o
that likewise of His continual Priesthood, upon which basis
relation respectively of the two Sacraments to these diffe
aspects is pointed out:—

'Now these considerations account for a very peculiar feature, for su
is, in the economy of our salvation: I mean the *duality*, and not the du
merely, but wide diversity, of the Christian Sacraments; the distribu
into two several and very different gifts, the Baptismal and the Euchari
of the estate which we have in Christ. Such a distribution, and s
diversity, is a natural result of the twofold aspect which the saving acti
of Christ themselves possess. Those actions being, under one asp
purely re-creative, or restorative; under another, sacrificial and oblationa
are imparted (as to the virtue of them) to the one purpose in one Sa

ment, and to the other in the other. The Sacraments, the instruments of salvation, are fitted, in number and nature, to the twofold aspect of the one series of saving actions to which they owe their grace. Holy Baptism is so fashioned and empowered as to be the type and the instrument of simple re-creation and restoration; of the ethical readjustment which needed to be made, in order "to repair man that fell." The Holy Eucharist, again, is so fashioned and empowered as to be the type and the instrument of those sacrificial functions, both of oblation and participation, which form the crowning stage of man's exaltation in Christ. Renewal, in short, is but half the Christian's privilege; there is added the yet more marvellous and inscrutable mystery of his acceptable oblation of himself as a priest to God, and effectual participation, in the same character, of God. Baptism is the compendium and the instrument of the one privilege, the Eucharist of the other.'—Pp. 174, 175.

This view is resumed and carried on in the second section:—

'The views stated in the preceding section, besides their bearing upon our present subject, furnish an answer to several inquiries which can hardly fail to force themselves upon thoughtful minds in reference to the Holy Sacraments. Such, for instance, as the question how there should be in both Sacraments an entire union to Christ, and yet the effects of the two Sacraments be different. For it might well seem, on a first view, that entire union to the same Person would always produce the same effects. And again, as to the real nature of the difference between the two Sacraments, and of the great preeminence, in point of awfulness and mysteriousness, universally accorded from the earliest times to the second Sacrament. It appears, from what has been said, that the difference is partly one of *degree* only, but that there is also a most important difference in *kind*. The Eucharist, under one point of view, and that its simpler and less transcendent one, is the making good and carrying on, by fresh supplies of the same kind of grace, of the renewal imparted in Baptism. Such is the account Hooker gives of the relation of the Sacraments to each other:—

'"The grace which we have by the Holy Eucharist doth not begin but continue life. . . . . Life being therefore proposed unto all men as their end, they which by Baptism have laid the foundation and attained the first beginning of a new life, have here their nourishment and food prescribed for *continuance of life* in them."

'Now even under this aspect the Eucharist may, *in a certain sense*, be said to transcend Baptism; so immense is the spiritual advancement which it is capable of imparting; so much so, indeed, that the analogy of food can hardly be said to represent the fact adequately. Food is by no means such a plenary gift to the body as the Eucharist is to the spiritual being. Perhaps the nearest analogy which the natural life presents is that of *growth*, more especially that degree of it which transforms infancy into manhood. This is so real a *multiplication*, so immense an exaltation, in all its parts and powers, of the infantile life as at first imparted, as not altogether inadequately to typify the vast accessions to the first-imparted baptismal life, which the Eucharist is capable of bestowing.'—Pp. 179, 180.

And further,—

'Whence, then, that peculiar character of profoundest and most reverential awe, with which the Church from the earliest ages has invested the mystery of the Holy Eucharist? Or whence,—if participation in order to growth is, as so many suppose, the whole purport of the Eucharistic act,—whence the very large proportion in which all ancient Eucharistic Offices are directed to those other great topics of Oblation or Dedication, and

Pleading! The view which represents the Eucharist as merely a means of making accessions, by way of growth, to the baptismal estate of grace, yields no account whatever of these great features in the ancient idea of the Eucharist. And yet some grounds there must be for this comparative estimate of the two Sacraments, which accords to the second a vast and unqualified preeminence over the first, both in point of solemnity, and also as an occasion for the discharge of certain spiritual functions of a Christian!

'For though Baptism was held of old, as was fitting, in exceeding reverence; though it rightly enjoyed the lofty titles of "New Creation," the "Anointing," the "Gift," "Illumination," "Consecration," and the like, yet the language applied to it is still as nothing, compared with what is said of the Eucharist. This is spoken of in very early days, as "the awful, the tremendous, the unspeakable mysteries," "the hallowed celestial, ineffable, stainless, terrible, tremendous, divine gifts." The Eucharistic Presence of Christ, throughout the ancient Liturgies, or Communion Offices, is ever represented as something more awful and intimate than His Baptismal Presence; and warnings of proportionate solemnity have in all ages, after the example set by S. Paul, been used to deter men from partaking it unworthily.'—Pp. 181—183.

'If Baptism possesses, as it does, "the shadow" of Christ's Priesthood, the Eucharist has "the very image" of it. If Baptism makes us in power and *de jure*, "priests unto God," the Eucharist constitutes and exhibits us such *de facto*, and in action. If Baptism makes us to be the spiritual Israel, God's children and sons, supernaturally gathered into one Body, and sustained by various lower effluxes of the priestly and sacrificial work of the Aaron of the heavenly sanctuary; the Eucharist introduces us to the inner privileges of priestly action and participation, the antitypes in some sort of those by which Aaron's seed was brought into a peculiar nearness to God, and partook of that bread of presence, and of those more eminent sacrifices which were withheld from the rest. So much more intimate is the Eucharistic than baptismal Presence, Eucharistic than baptismal Participation, of Christ; even as the Israelitish priests stood in a more awful nearness to the presence of God than the people, and as eating, *e.g.* of the sin-offering was a more solemn and privileged act than eating of the ordinary peace offerings.'—P. 184.

The application of these considerations to the question of the need of some less awful service than the Eucharist for daily use is thus pressed:—

'Now, in the first place, our observing that the Holy Eucharist, if we include all aspects of it, is of so sublime and transcendent a character makes it reasonable or likely that there would be provided within the Church lower and simpler means of Divine worship and intercommunion. In proportion as the Eucharist is excellent and awful, admitting man to the very inner mysteries of his Christian estate, and so calls for the most intense concentration of his entire powers upon the discharge of his part in it; in that proportion is it unfitted to be the ordinary and continual applied, still less the exclusive instrument of spiritual intercourse between God and man.'—P. 186.

Mr. Freeman's views upon the frequency of the celebration of the Holy Communion, to which we shall more particularly allude in the latter part of this article, are as follows:—

'Now looking to those lessons, and that history, I venture to affirm 1st, that the Holy Eucharist is *in its proper nature* a festival thing; by which

I mean a high, occasional, and solemn one, not every-day or common; and 2dly, that in the very earliest, and surely the wisest and holiest age, celebration, though never less than weekly, was rarely more frequent than that; *never*, that we know of for certain, (though at high seasons it may possibly have been so,) *daily;*—and that in these considerations, not in any *à priori* arguments as to the excellence of the rite, is to be laid the basis of a right estimate as to the frequency of celebration which is either to be expected or desired. *Sunday and festival celebration*, in a word,—a designation which leaves ample verge for diversity within certain intelligible limits,—may safely be affirmed to be, as a general rule, the prescript for the Church, and to exhibit with the greatest fidelity the true character and purpose of the Holy Eucharist. That the clergy may have occasion to celebrate much more frequently than this, publicly or privately, as a part of their ministrations to the people, is of course undeniable. And that this measure may be in different degrees exceeded by clergy and laity alike, even to the degree of daily celebration at particular times, is conceded also. But that whensoever and wheresoever this is the case, it is the bringing in a Festival, *i.e.* a high and solemn idea and character, into the common and average tenor of the life of Christians,—that it is the elevation of the Christian life into an uncommon condition of privilege, and one not designed for them as a general rule,—this I would affirm no less.'—Pp. 187, 188.

The third section starts with the obvious 'corollary,' or rather with a more stringent repetition of the argument, that the 'existence of some kind of ordinary service' is 'necessary,' from the 'comparative infrequency' of the Eucharist:—

'Thus, then, Public Worship, as discharged by the Ordinary Offices of the Church, is far indeed from being, as some have imagined, an act of merely natural piety. Neither is it, as others perhaps conceive it, a Christian function indeed, yet an isolated thing, having no particular relation to the Sacraments, or occupying ground for which no provision is made, compendiously or otherwise, in these ordinances. The account to be given of Christian Public Worship—of the existence of such a thing at all—is, that it is strictly complementary to the Sacraments in the sense above explained. Complementary to them, I say, as filling up their idea; not supplementary, as if adding anything to it. To refer to the never-failing archetypal analogy of the Body of Christ: as "it pleaseth Him in mercy to account Himself incomplete and maimed without us," the Church being the necessary "filling up" or "complement" of Him "Who filleth all in all;" so is the Christian life in general, but Public Worship in particular, and in an especial degree, the "filling up" of the scheme or idea of the Sacraments. And of both Sacraments: not, as a third opinion would make it, of one only, that of Baptism; a view which is often more or less explicitly put forth, even in the improved theological teaching of the present day. That it is the acting out of that Sacrament, and may at all times be most properly used as such, has been fully admitted, and is to be most earnestly maintained. But its aspect towards the other Sacrament must be no less clearly held and contended for. To disallow a close connexion as capable of existing between ordinary worship and the Eucharist, must appear on the slightest reflection most unsatisfactory. Of the two, indeed, it stands in more obvious connexion with this than with Baptism; the work of prayer, praise, and of receiving knowledge of divine mysteries, being more strikingly akin to the Eucharistic action of conscious and active oblation and participation, than to that more passive and often unconscious process renewal, of which Baptism is the instrument.

'The Ordinary Worship of the Church, then, to state briefly the con sion from our premises, is an eminent means of discharging the obligati and functions imposed, and of receiving the benefits guaranteed, in b the Sacraments. But its peculiar character is, that it is an exercise, i lower way, of that Christian priesthood which we have in Christ, whic given to us in a measure in Baptism, but only bestowed in its fulness exercised in its highest form, in the celebration of the Eucharist.'— 202, 203.

This 'adjustment between the Church's greater and lesser s of worship' seems, as Mr. Freeman observes, the 'proper an 'dote to a tendency which has begun to appear here and th 'amongst us, to depreciate the Church's ordinary worship, if 'to desire even the partial abolition of it.' Persons there who, 'rightly impressed with the transcendent excellence of Eucharistic rite,' in their consequent zeal for its more frequ celebration, 'look at the Church's ordinary offices with tolerat at best.' Mr. Freeman, doubtfully supposing the existence of, then passing over unanswered those amongst this class would even advocate the extreme and Roman view of general communicate attendance, replies to those who 'would de 'the substitution of a daily and genuine congregational Eucha 'for an ordinary office of Morning Prayer:'—

'This view, as expressing a zeal for the one act of worship institute our Lord Himself, is naturally engaging to devout and reverent minds. it leaves out of sight, on the one hand, certain limiting and restrai facts adduced above, which render it likely—nay, which prove with force of a moral demonstration—that daily Eucharistic celebration wa the intended rule for the Church's observance; such as the absenc knowledged by all learned men who have examined the subject, of frequency during apostolic aud early times; the declension of Christi under the condition of daily celebration; and the high festival charact the rite itself. And again, on the other hand, this expression of zea the Eucharist ignores the position, dignity, and powers of the Ordi Worship of the Church.'—P. 206.

However, as Mr. Freeman most truly states, the 'danger 'perhaps the vast proportion of the English Church, both and clerical, lies in the opposite direction;' the 'acquiescenc infrequent celebration of the Holy Communion,' under w word '*infrequent*,' as we are glad to find by other portions of book, *monthly* celebrations are included and implied:—

'This subject will be treated of hereafter; I will only point out here, reference alike to Sunday and week-day Ordinary Offices, that in Apos times, the idea of their standing alone, or superseding the weekly E rist, was absolutely unknown.'—P. 207.

These views, our author considers, might lead the wa 'something like an agreement' upon 'an important theolog difference in the present day:'—

'The assertion of certain real priestly functions as peculiar to the cl and specially of a commission to consecrate and administer the

Eucharist, is the distinguishing note of one large and influential school within the English Church. The assertion, again, of a Christian priesthood as appertaining to the laity, has been taken up as an antagonistic truth in other quarters.'—P. 207.

The priesthood of the laity is thus vindicated against those who are unmindful of it:—

'The one, in maintaining the power, undoubtedly pertaining to the clergy, to consecrate and administer the Holy Eucharist, have perhaps been too little careful to represent them as, (1) essentially and entirely ministerial under the Great High-Priest, whose Hand, as it were, they are and as also, (2) needing the concurrent action of the people; *not without whom*, as necessary consentients and coadjutors, they perform that sacred function. Such is unquestionably the view of the early Church as expressed in her Liturgies. "Be present, be present, O Jesu, Thou good High-Priest, in the midst of us, as Thou wert in the midst of Thy disciples," (*i.e.* at the original institution,) "and sanctify this Oblation, that we may by the hands of Thy holy Angel receive that which is sanctified," are the words of one very ancient Communion Office, and correctly represent the mind of all. And again, it is priest and people united that make the solemn oblation of the Elements, call down the grace of the Holy Spirit upon them, and plead the merits of the One all-prevailing Sacrifice. It is in the plural number, in the congregational form, that these great transactions between heaven and earth take place. Above all, it is in the presentation, yet more by themselves than by the clergy, of an acceptable people,—acceptable in Christ, and as the Body of Christ,—that the glory of that great Offering consists. The holocaust that flames on the altar, "the sweet savour acceptable to the Lord," is "themselves, their souls and bodies, a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice." In the power thus concurrently with the clergy to offer and plead, and finally to participate, the Christian priesthood of the people formally and essentially consists.'—Pp. 208, 209.

Of course this view is not only compatible with, but the necessary complement of the fullest acceptance of, what is currently called the Apostolical succession; but

'Those, on the other hand, who are so earnest in maintaining the existence and the rights of Christian priesthood as pertaining to the people, are in general very far from entertaining any just or adequate conception of what priesthood is. For this they must have recourse to the ancient teaching of the Church, embodied in her Communion Offices, and thoroughly confirmed by Scripture. They must in their turn be willing to learn much on this point from those whom they now look upon as enthusiasts or upholders of priestcraft. Let them accept and realize, first, the verity of the PRIESTHOOD of CHRIST, and especially its intimate connexion with the original institution of the Eucharist; next, the continuation of that priestly operation of His on earth by the hands of His ministers, as in heaven by His own; and lastly, the priestly character of even the people's part in that most exalted function of humanity, the great Eucharistic Transaction. Then, but not till then, they will believe in a "lay priesthood" worth upholding. At present, it must be plainly said, their view is for the most part a purely rationalistic one; a mere negation of the gifts and powers of the Gospel; a casting down of the ladder between heaven and earth, with all its array of ascending and descending ministries, in order to substitute for it the efforts of all but unaided natural piety. Those who entertain this view, while professedly looking to the grace of God, do in reality seek

Gallican, with which, from his being in later life an abbot at Marseilles, he was peculiarly connected. This Gallican ritual Mr. Freeman concludes to have been the origin of the English services, which were thus a sister, not a daughter, ritual of the Roman, other Western rituals being, so to speak, cousins. Our readers will remember that Venerable Bede preserves the letter of S. Gregory the Great to S. Augustine, directing him not necessarily to follow the Roman usages as such, but to select whatever he found best anywhere. Now, S. Augustine spent some time at Marseilles (Cassian's own residence, a little more than a century and a half previously) on his journey, while, between his two visits to England, he went to Arles, and was there consecrated; therefore his having adopted the Gallican ritual in accordance with his patron's advice is most probable. We remember that in one of his earlier works Mr. Pugin, a Roman Catholic, draws the same inference as to the *αὐταρκεία* of the English services from the same letter of S. Gregory. To this Gallic descent from Cassian, Mr. Freeman traces the greater resemblance of the old English services to the Oriental than he can find in the Roman forms. Cassian in compiling the latter, he argues, was hampered by the preexisting customs of the Patriarchal City, while in Gaul his Eastern prepossessions would be unfettered.

Mr. Freeman here introduces a defence of our Church's right to have altered her services at the Reformation, founded upon these early precedents, which we think it was hardly necessary to have brought, as few of the readers for whom this book is intended would specifically require it. The argument is not systematic enough for Roman Catholics, and no Anglican can need it, except in some more technical form, to use in self-defence. We all know, indeed, that the various French dioceses changed their breviaries in the seventeenth and last centuries. The Roman *lis* with us is not as to the bare fact of our having made changes, but as to the reason why, and the manner in which we did so, and what the result was. The adroit controversialist of that Church would deal with this portion of Mr. Freeman's book, not by denying his facts, but by observing that the then Popes, of course, sanctioned what was done, just as they have in all ages sanctioned diversities of breviaries in different countries, or among different monastic bodies. At present, the feeling among Ultramontanes is strongly in favour of iron conformity to the Roman Breviary, and hence the distinctive uses in mostly all the various French dioceses have, within the last fifteen years, been replaced by the model book of Rome—a change the less to be wondered at, from the fact that the abrogated forms were, however well intentioned as simplifications, neither valuable for

after which the next rubric permits to be said or sung (or not said or sung, at the clergyman's discretion) either the '*Gloria Patri*' or the '*Gloria in excelsis*,' which is permitted, across the Atlantic, to be used alternatively with the simpler form, the use of one or other being obligatory at the conclusion of the last of the daily psalms. The American Church, moreover, provides special invitatories for the other days besides Easter, on which special psalms are appointed, the use of which is contingent on one of the permissive 'Selection' being used instead of the Proper Psalms.

The third section contains a sort of recapitulation of the argument as far as it has gone. We wish we had space to extract a very felicitous comparison of the practical character of the Prime Service, compared with the merely meditative Matins, and Lauds which occupy the intermediate position. We quote, however, its concluding passage, which is, indeed, marked off as a special τόπος, and which describes, with considerable breadth and pregnancy, the distinctive characters of the East and West, as shown in their respective services:—

'It will not be uninteresting to endeavour briefly to discriminate in this place the genius of the East and of the West, as exhibited in their respective forms of ordinary worship which we have now passed under review, more especially as our present Offices combine, in a measure, the temper and characteristics of both.

'The East, then, if we leave out of the account those enrichments which her ordinary Offices derive from the Eucharist on Sundays and Festivals, and take her, so to speak, in her every-day dress, is more uniform and unchanging; the West more multiform and variable. Witness the single, changeless Invitatory and Benediction of the one Church, and their endless varieties in the other. While the West rings countless changes, according to the season, on the same essential idea, the East prolongs it in one unvaried and majestic toll, from the beginning to the end of the year. The East, again, is more rapt, the West more intellectual. The East loves rather to meditate on God as He is, and on the facts of Christian doctrine as they stand in the Creed; the West contemplates more practically the great phenomena of Christian psychology, and the relations of man to God. The East has had its Athanasius, and its Andrew of Crete; the West its Augustine and Leo. Hence psalms and hymns in more profuse abundance characterise the Eastern; larger use and more elaborate adaptations of Scripture, the Western Offices. The East, by making the Psalms all her meditation, seems to declare her mind that praise is the only way to knowledge; the West, by her combined Psalm and lection system, that knowledge is the proper fuel of praise. While the East, again, soars to God in exclamations of angelic self-forgetfulness, the West comprehends all the spiritual needs of man in Collects of matchless profundity; reminding us of the alleged distinction between the Seraphim who love most, and the Cherubim who know most. Thus the East praises, the West pleads; the one has fixed her eye more intently on the Glory-Throne of Christ, the other on His Cross. Both alike have been dazzled and led astray by the wondrous accidents of the Incarnation. Finally, the East has been more inquisitive and inventive in the departments both of knowledge and praise; the West, more constructive, has wrought up, out of scattered Eastern

the most advanced section of Romanists. The study, therefore, of the Western scheme of Offices in its old form, is the study of a dead language. The inquiry into it is strictly an antiquarian one. Regarded as a public Service of the Church, there is, it may be said, no such thing anywhere now. Let this be distinctly realized: it is of the utmost moment, in its influence upon the spirit in which we approach the subject of the present chapter. Let it be clearly apprehended that the Churches, the congregations of Christian men and women, who use these ancient and grand services, nowhere exist. *Sundays or week-days*, no such tide of psalmody as we have been contemplating flows to the glory of God; no such adoring meditation on Holy Scripture occupies the hours whether of night or day; no Te Deum sums up the meditation or the praise; no Lauds salute the return of day with mixed notes of penitence and joy, or awaken resurrection memories or hopes; no Prime pleads for pardon, or prays for guidance; no Creed is uttered as with one voice and heart; no Collect gathers into it the Eucharistic association of the passing week or season. The curious and exquisite devices of ever-varying Invitatory, Antiphon, and Responsory; the several doctrinal associations beating as pulses through the different offices,—these no longer quicken or guide the devotions of any. All this was done once, we hardly know when: all we do know is that it is not done now. In one country alone, in one form alone, does the ancient Western Office really survive. Psalmody, Scripture, responsive Canticles, Preces, Collects, the media of Europe's ancient worship, banished from all other lands, have taken refuge in the Churches of the English Communion. The English Church is in this matter the heir of the world. She may have diminished her inheritance; but all other Western Churches have thrown it away. The question is really between these ordinary offices and none:—

> '"Quod quærimus, hic est,
> Aut nusquam."'—Pp. 275—279.

There is, of course, a certain amount of rhetorical amplification in this. We have, for example, ourselves been present when the shorter offices were said by accumulation, at S. Geneviève in Paris, (a church in which attention has been paid to a certain reform,) at an hour, (9 A.M.), and in a tone of voice admitting of the cooperation of such lay folk as knew Latin (not that we observed on this occasion any one who did follow them). Vespers also on Sundays and Festivals, seem, although attacked, to live on, at least in the northern Roman Catholic countries. And we should be sorry to predicate that, in despite of the Oratorian movement, the revival of zeal which has certainly permeated the Roman communion, may not have also tended to make Vespers better attended by the laity than they were in the last century, when all earnestness seemed at its last gasp. Still, however, with these limitations, which justice compels us to point out, we believe that Mr. Freeman's trenchant statement broadly represents the approximate fact as it concerns the general millions of lay Christians of the Western communion. In confirmation of this view, he quotes a passage from the recently published pamphlet upon 'Divine Service,' by Mr. Perceval Ward, a very intelligent writer, enabled by a lengthened sojourn in Italy to speak authoritatively upon the state of matters there. The pre-

and in what comparative sequence; for from these our 'Mattins' (to borrow the alternative designation, curiously not once alluded to by our writer, though given in our Prayer-book in the Calendars, and for which we are not ashamed to own a predilection) are compiled, the concluding benediction alone being referable to Tierce, of which it forms the *capitulum*. A similar table connects 'Evening Prayer,' or 'Evensong,' with the old Vespers and Compline.

A curious illustration of the 'process by which our present form may have evolved itself' is drawn from the series of Primers for Private Devotion from 1545 down to 1575, in which year, deep in Elizabeth's reign, appeared the last edition, still retaining the old divisions of Matins, Lauds, &c. 'But, meanwhile, (viz. 'in 1564,) appeared a highly modified form of it in Latin, ex-'pressly reducing the services to two, under the titles of *Preces* '*Matutinæ* and *Vespertinæ*.' This volume, though in the main proceeding on the same principles of revision as those characterising the public Prayer-book, was 'markedly independent in many points, and, as it were, belonged to an earlier stage of evolution'—*e. g.* it has a marked break at, and commencement of, Lauds. Antiphons are retained, though only one to each group of Psalms, which are, like those of the older services, fixed not rotatory, and hymns occur in the old places. In a combination of this system with the actual Prayer-book, Mr. Freeman sees the theoretic (for, as we shall observe, his practical policy is *quieta non movere*) 'simplicity of the means required for bring-'ing about a greatly increased resemblance between' the actual and the older services—*i.e.* by 'introducing, immediately after 'the Te Deum or Benedicite, a small group of Laud and Prime 'Psalms'—and, of course, letting the congregation deal with the modified service in the same spirit of division, by either attending both portions, or by going out and coming in at either, as they preferred. A similar scheme would mark out Vespers and Compline.

The second section treats of the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution. We cannot, we own, go with Mr. Freeman in his admiration for the Exhortation. It is, no doubt, most excellent in its tone and statements, and Eastern precedent can be found for it. But our bustling countrymen, and the dreamy meditative Orientals, require different handling. We do not either say that at the first translation of the services into the vernacular, something of the sort may not have been requisite to clear the way for a more than lip use of the confession, as if it were the hurried 'confiteor' of other days. But as things now are, knowing this exhortation as we all do by heart, we fear that its chief practical result is either to import a tedium into the service, or to be considered (a light in which we fancy many even of

falls short the other way. That, however, this shortening was not in the *mind* in the Reformation, is self-evident by the above referred-to series of Primers, extending over so many years of our reformed existence; while Bishop Cosin's Devotions for the Canonical Hours take up the chain at a later date. The truth is, we suppose, that the Primer, legally speaking, though obsolete, is in no way abrogated, but may still be considered as, in a sense, a book having authority. However, its private use would be cumbersome, inasmuch as it travels over the same ground of Mattins and Evensong as the Prayer-book, which must, as a practical fact, be accepted wholly to stand for the earliest and later worship, while the supplementary forms come in for intermediate times. After all, with a good will, and an Episcopate alive to the need, the deficiency can be met without any interference which would necessitate the meddling of Parliament, through the Act of Uniformity being touched, Convocational sanction being quite another matter. The supplementary hours would be always for the use, mainly, of communities, theological or other colleges, hospitals, penitentiaries, and so on; and the adaptation of oratories to these buildings, to be employed for their own private worship, is daily becoming more recognised, more visibly assimilated to the actual Church system. As, then, it does become thus recognised, and as our Bishops admit—and, in admitting, supervise—such oratories and hour services, so will the risk of those dangers be avoided, which seemed likely to attend the novelty when their establishment was a matter of private, and, in some cases, almost secret venture, and when the services used in them wore the aspect of being antagonistic, rather than ancillary, to the recognised use of the English communion. Rigid uniformity of use in these forms of devotion throughout the Church is, of course, unattainable without the formal sanction of the Church authorities acting corporately. But neither is it necessary – not even, perhaps, desirable. There is a uniform public use of Mattins and Evensong, confirmed by the most stringent enactments of Church and State. This is the main thing. Freedom may surely be allowed in the private and supplementary devotions of smaller communities, and of their exceptional congregations, even to the extent, it might be, of each adapting its form to its own specific needs. If, on the whole, these various compilations correspond generally with the type of ancient devotions inherited by the whole Church, this is all we ought to be careful about. Pressing more tightly would be to deflect from that principle of freedom and moderation, which we claim as the distinguishing characteristic of the English Reformation. In the restriction of such offices to oratories, and the retention of the church for the regular services, we have our

they are, through any other expedient than the allowable one of the separate use of the litany, to find we have only succeeded in dissipating our Catholic heritage, without having gained the compensating advantage of bringing our millions within the Church doors upon the working days.

As might be inferred from what we have just said, Mr. Freeman's views upon the much-vexed question of the day—the *status in quo*, or the reverse of our existing services—can best be designated as Liberal-Conservative. That is, while he is, as all ritualists must be, fully alive to many points upon which our services might have been, without injury to their intrinsic simplicity and practical use, more diversified, he is yet satisfied that the best and wisest course, in the present condition of matters all around, is to leave them as they are, relying upon the elasticity which they already possess within the four corners of the Act of Unformity, rightly comprehended, to meet the newly-evoked craving after less stiff, pompous, and lengthy worship than our churches have hitherto too much offered to their congregations. This elasticity, true to his proposition, he seeks in the historical elements out of which the present services grew up. For example, the call is for shorter and more frequent occasions of worship. Mr. Freeman sympathises with this demand, but remarks that our Morning Prayer down to the close of the Te Deum broadly represents the older Matins; while from the Second Lesson commences a fusion of Lauds and Prime. Why not then make, he asks, a substantive pause, ring the bell, if it may be, after the First Lesson, and let one congregation go out, and another come in, if it so list; while those whose time or whose zeal prompts them to stop for both offices are, of course, recommended so to do? So, in the evening, a similar break would designate Vespers and Compline. The Rubric and the Act of Uniformity combine to sanction this, for neither of them has one word in reference to the length of breathing time between the different portions of the service. Or, again, the still simpler expedient, and which we rather lean to, would be to make the chief break after the Third Collect, when the majority of the congregation would often retire; those who could not compass the commencement having quietly dropped in and remained to the end, together with the more devout and leisurely class who are expected to remain from first to last. Then, too, that right of ordering the separate use of the Litany, which the rubric has for three centuries ascribed to the Ordinary, and of which our Bishops are now beginning to avail themselves, contributes another element towards the supply of shorter and more varied methods of worship. Again, upon non-Sunday festivals, at least, the Eucharist affords another time and form of worship,

Convention of Canterbury upon Prayer-book reform. We should imagine that there was but one opinion outside upon these discussions, namely, that the question was not ripe for being debated in an unreformed Convocation, and that the body in question was far from qualified, owing to its being unreformed, for settling the question authoritatively.

These debates were no sooner made public than, as might have been anticipated, they created a whole flight of amateur suggestions for the reform of the services, studding the Church newspapers, among which one letter in the 'Guardian' particularly attracted our attention, from its signature of initials and general tone connecting it with a clergyman of exemplary zeal and orthodoxy, whose church is a quotation through England for the heartiness and correctness with which its services – pitched at the key of daily service, and Sunday and festival communions —are carried on. And yet in this letter, coming from such a quarter, the proposal was made to shorten the week-day Matins by the omission of the time-honoured invitatory 95th Psalm—a psalm whose use in that place connects our service, as Mr. Freeman has shown, not only with the universal Church from probably the very earliest ages, but not impossibly with the antecedent Temple worship. No doctrine would, of course, be involved in the omission; but still there was reason to tremble for Prayer-book reform, when we saw a suggestion from an eminently friendly source, to deal so cheaply with an element of the service resting upon such venerable tradition.

But we can bring forward a still stronger and more strange example of the *cacoethes reformandi*, where antecedently we should have least expected to find its diagnostics.

During the course of last year, an article appeared in the editorial columns of the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal,' and therefore speaking the authoritative sentiments of that learned and generally safe periodical, urging the alteration of the Prayer-book, as for other reasons, so in order to get rid of the 'wearisome' lessons out of the Apocrypha. Our readers will not have forgotten that some conversation lately arose upon this very subject in the Upper House of Convocation, in reference to which, as we have every reason for believing, the mistake of the reporters put sentiments into the mouth of one of our most able and active prelates which he was far from having uttered. The cry of 'Put out the Apocrypha,' is one which by its very nature commends itself to the indolence and the ignorance of persons of all schools; it is so obviously a tub for the whale of ultra-Protestantism. Even good Churchmen can so naturally beguile themselves with the argument, that as no more than a certain number of lessons are

tion of the year, in the proportion (besides a few special Lessons upon some saints' days) of *less than a twelfth* of the entire whole, of less than a sixth of the number of Old Testament lessons. Let any Churchman, imbued with reverence for Christian antiquity, who desires the change, boldly come forward and say that our Church did wrong in selecting, at her revision of the daily services, this proportion of lessons from books so precious to all pious minds, next to the canonical writings, and which, without such public provision, would probably, from the neglect of private readers, never have gained their due standing in the vernacular comprehension. Let him say that the Church of England, when she translated them, together with the other Scriptures, did not mean them to vindicate that very standing, or let him prove that they could ever have retained it by simply being printed in the Bible without being ever read in the congregation—let him prove either one or other of these positions, we say, and then we will listen patiently to his arguments.

But we state distinctly, that no man who claims to hold Church principles has a right, in the present temper of so many minds, to advise the retrenchment of the Apocryphal lessons, unless he be prepared to say that the Church of England was wrong at first when she appointed them; and while we should respect the honesty of this position, we should vehemently protest against its truth. It would be idle for any one to plead that he only meant to say there were too many such lessons, that a month's selection, for instance, would have been sufficient. Of course, the Church of England might have given only a month's length of lessons; but she might equally have made the Apocryphal season two months and a half, by throwing in the two Books of Maccabees. She has done neither, and so the attempt to alter her existing system in this respect is nothing else than a wanton assault upon that respect for Catholic tradition which, potent as it may be in our formularies, is assuredly not, from its popular excess, the prevalent vice of general England. It would be a wanton endeavour to sever an existing link between our services and those of all the whole residuary Church, and thereby bring us nearer to the sects which, while they reject the Apocrypha, revile also the Sacraments, and disbelieve the ministerial commission.

But we have been losing sight of Mr. Freeman in this digression, which we trust our readers will not think out of place, whenever a journal devoted to Church principles ventures upon so dangerous a topic as the revision of the Prayer-book, in order to the expulsion of the deutero-canonical books. We have, it will be seen, confined our illustration of the peril of starting, as things

countered—the pointing out what seem to us deficiencies in the treatment of his topics by Mr. Freeman, or oversight in occupying the area of ground from which he has selected those topics. A work like his cannot, of course, be expected to be equally complete in all its departments, and what we have already said is enough to show that the exceptions which we shall have occasion to take are founded upon no captious or inimical feeling.

The chief, and we must in candour say, very unaccountable, shortcoming of the present volume, is the summary dismissal in about two-thirds of a page (378-9), of no less important a portion of our services than the Litany—a brevity the more remarkable, because in the introductory chapter, 'the general 'structure of our Morning and Evening services, *and of the* '*Litany*,' is mentioned as the first of the 'chief points' on which Mr. Freeman desires to clear popular conceptions. Perhaps, although he does not say so, he means to speak of it at greater length in his subsequent volume. If this be so, here is the reason; but if not, we have a right to protest against a share of attention so inadequate, in proportion to the fulness of all other topics, having been bestowed upon what is not so much a portion of the strictly termed daily service, as a substantive form of minor worship, parallel to, but independent of, and differently derived from, the services of morning and evening worship, founded as they are upon the psalmody of the Jewish polity. The latter was mostly a stationary service in the Temple—certainly it is such in the Church—while Litanies, as every student of Church antiquity knows, are connected with processions about the town, or about the church, not necessarily of course, but still very intimately. Again, their whole form and framework, and the parts which the Coryphæus and the congregations respectively play, although closely affianced to the responsory portions of the *services*, are marked by strong individual peculiarities not belonging to the latter, and such as necessarily become of special moment when they grow to be the informing spirit of the whole entire service. Another broad distinction, of course, is, that the Litany knows no distinction of morning or evening, nocturn or day hour.

The Litany question, again, assumes a fresh importance when we recollect that while, as we have seen, the Breviary offices and, more or less, their Greek correlatives are, as a matter of congregational use, extinct throughout the rest of the Western and the Eastern Church—we remaining, in Mr. Freeman's strong language, in this respect, 'the heirs of the world,'—yet the Litanies at least of the Roman Church are alive and vigorous, and daily becoming

correctness their object. One class interprets 'anthem' etymologically, to signify that they are to sing a prose anthem, and nothing but an anthem; *i. e.* an antiphon, of which term anthem is merely the vernacular rendering, just as much as 'compline' is the same word as 'completorium,' and as 'surplice' is only the English form of 'superpellicium,'—a fact, the overlooking which by the good-humoured Dr. Bayford caused no small laughter in Doctors' Commons last summer, when he urged as an extreme case out of Lyndwood that the clergy might soon be called on to wear a *superpellicium.*

Another class accepts the word in a more comprehensive sense, as legalising the use of metrical hymns and portions of the verse psalms, (some, indeed, of the old antiphons having been metrical,)—a view in which they are backed by the old-fashioned parochial custom, though not ordinarily in that part of the service, of intercalating the read service of churches with selected passages of Tate and Brady. Accordingly, while the first class has it in its power to revive the capitulum, if not the antiphon itself, though not in its ancient place, the second has also found means to revive that olden variety of festal and ferial hymn, of which the loss (otherwise) is most undoubtedly (although Mr. Freeman has overlooked this branch of the subject) one of the things most to be regretted in our actual services.

Now, then, we assert that our author ought, in compliance with his own scheme, to have moderated between these two views, or at least to have attended to both, and to have pointed out the different hue which either custom casts upon the whole accompanying service. Both ways involve the retention of a feature of the earlier services, which otherwise had perished; a feature in either case the loss of which Mr. Freeman has regretted, while earnestly and loyally pleading that the compensating advantages of our actual vernacular ritual should check our viewing those retrenchments with bitterness or discontent. Now, then, we ought to be told whether in this place the antiphon alone shall exist of right (of *this* there is no doubt), or whether also under the term, the hymnology of the Christian psalmists, such as Ambrose, Hilary, and Prudentius, can live for English congregations in the English tongue. This, to speak generally, is the one only portion of the ordinary Matins and Evensong left to private judgment in the daily choice, and therefore to guide that choice we need peculiarly 'principles of Divine service.'[1]

[1] Mr. Freeman alludes to the liberty of choice existing in the introductory sentences, to give the service its colour within *their* limits, according to the season; we wonder that this view did not lead him to discuss the present still broader field of freedom.

choir of clerks, duly installed, duly vested, with the altar beyond, and to their west the multitudinous congregation of lay worshippers all come to life, as the ideal of the older, the actuality of the newer service. It irradiates the latter, it brings to the proof the former, phase of common worship. It enables us, in part at least, to unravel that web of mutual action and reaction which has tended to shape this as all other sublunary things. Words without forms are as lifeless as forms without words. We read of psalms and antiphons; we ponder our author's meditations upon the actual advantage of the latter in giving the key to the understanding of the psalms which they annotate. How much more intelligently can we do all this when we figure to ourselves the whole body of clerks singing the successive psalms in their stalls, the 'rulers of the choir,' at the tall lectern in the middle, outsounding the antiphon, in a position and with gestures expressive of that dominance over the whole psalmody, which, in theory at all events, the antiphon was intended to imply.

To take another instance. What a confirmation of the congregational origin of Church services is afforded by the mediæval custom of saying the nocturn lessons from the *Jube*—the gallery dividing the nave from the choir, and so named as the seat of the '*bidden*' blessing—viz. for the benefit of that imaginary lay congregation in the nave which still existed in form, just as in form the witnesses for many ages stood outside the law-courts, awaiting the 'O yes!' of the official cryer.

So much for ecclesiology, specifically so called,[1] in illustration of Mr. Freeman's main argument in reference to the lesser worship. We need not point out its value *à fortiori* as fixing the signification of the more holy Eucharist. Accordingly we press upon Mr. Freeman to make ecclesiology an element in the future portion of his work, as it is not in the volume already before the world.

Two questions (or perhaps we should rather say two aspects of one great question), on which Mr. Freeman has spoken with deep feeling and with strong conviction, we reserve for the last; they stand by themselves, and indeed rather belong to the promised second volume, in which, without doubt, they will be more amply handled than in the present one; and the readers of the actual treatise can perfectly agree or disagree with Mr. Freeman's principles of daily service, without accepting, or the contrary, his views upon those subjects. We mean the decided repudiation of daily Eucharists, and of non-communicant 'assist-

[1] We do not admit this specific meaning as a sufficient one of the word, which properly includes ritualism also.

communicating or not, is not within his scope, unless he may be that person's director.

Of course this is only one side of the history. The gradual sloughing off of the vernacular character of worship, while all Europe was framing its languages and its civilization, on the one side, and on the other Rome and Constantinople wilfully shut their eyes to the phenomenon, had of course a great deal to say to the matter,—nay, so to speak, had made the system before the idea of a spiritual director had been developed in its actual proportions. Still, in so complex an affair, all component elements are of value; all act, and all react upon each other. Their composite result, as we see, is the Roman system of 'masses.' Against that system, as it is, we protest, while we uphold the Eucharist of Cyprian and Ambrose, of Augustine and Chrysostom. It has further aspects, also, into which we do not enter, for fear of swelling this article into a volume. Our purpose is, the ritual features of the question.

We protest, along with the communion to which we belong, against the system, on the part of the priests, of multiplied masses, said without a reference to congregational cooperation, *i. e.* communion; and on that of the laity, of their necessary public worship being reduced to a presence at one of these short actions, without of necessity *communion;* without, on the part even of communicants, of community of worship, through conjoint or responsive utterance of even one word of the appointed ritual. The system is bad in both its aspects; it weakens the obligation upon all Christian men of frequent communion; it lowers equally the obligation of common worship, through a mutilated use of higher worship being substituted for the complete one of the lower form.

Accordingly, as Mr. Freeman has pointed out, the Church of England alone, of all the Churches of the world, retains *three* as the minimum allowable number of communions in the year to justify in *her* eyes the claim, on the part of her children, to Church-membership; while in the communion of multiplied masses, one single communion annually is all that is absolutely required. At the same time we should be wilfully shutting our eyes to our own position, if we endeavoured to persuade either ourselves or others that, as a fact, our people at all lived up to these requirements. The contrary we know, unhappily, to be the case. How far, with their laxer rule, the continental Churches are able to show a fuller correspondence between theory and practice, we are unable to say. But we suppose that a census (were such practicable) would show very different results, in different portions of the Roman fold,—the

All these considerations, and many more which we could urge did we not fear to transgress our limits, are illustrative, from the present condition of the world, of the *à priori* probability of Mr. Freeman's assertion (resting in his mind not on such considerations, but upon the evidences of primitive writers) that in the earliest days of the Church the numerical multiplication of Eucharists was not the end aimed at, but that the Holy Ordinance was with them a matter of festal, though perpetually occurring observance. We may assume with him, without further discussion, that the Church of England ought not to aim at Roman frequency in her Eucharists. The obligation of conserving their congregational and communicant character alone precludes this, although she might relax her rule so far as, along with the reformed Catholic Communion of Scotland, to admit of celebrations with only one communion—a rule which, we believe, works well across the Border.

But the further question still remains untouched, of whether the order at all of daily celebration in any locality and under any circumstances is one to be struck out of our roll of pious aspirations for the English Church in future days of renovated vigour?

Towards solving this another consideration comes in, which we have hitherto kept out of sight; it is, whether the greater comparative dignity of one *Church* above another be not *ejusdem generis* with the greater comparative dignity of one day above another. The Episcopate, the Eucharist, the lesser service too, (this we dare along with Mr. Freeman assume,) were all from the beginning, but the upper chamber was the earliest seat of the two first; the borrowed Temple served for the third. With the temporal peace and prosperity of the Church came in alike the more varied services of the second period, and the Basilica, as the home of their celebration. This consideration, as we have previously pointed out, has not been adequately insisted on by our writer. Synchronising with this material change—although Mr. Freeman does not indicate the coincidence—was the introduction of daily Eucharists, yet *not* the masses, involving of course the presence of non-communicants, high or low, of modern Rome, and the actual Eastern Liturgies of similar aspect, but celebrations still congregational, still vernacular, where the Bishop was still the antistes, and the offertory of the elements was still the people's part.

The point then for us of the Reformed Church to face, is, whether this particular phase in the course of ritual transformation which marks the Church's history, was one of corruption, or a legitimate compliance with the altered attitude of the

But we have been all along assuming that there are Gospel indications of this frequency of Eucharists being according to the Mind of Christ. We are now bound to give our reasons. They are mainly contained in one text,—a text as familiar to us as any in Holy Scripture, as it is one of the most solemn and the most consolatory, and which is yet hardly appreciated in our communion as it ought to be, from our generally invaluable translation having unfortunately, in this instance, failed to render the full sense of all the words employed. Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum *omnibus diebus*, usque ad consummationem sæculi;' in English, as it ought to be, 'Lo, I am with you *during all the days* until the consummation of finite time.' We are sure that no one who feels the force of the Greek will hesitate to say that πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας has the full signification which S. Jerome gave it when he translated it '*omnibus diebus*,' and which can only be rendered into the vernacular, either from the Greek or the Latin, as 'during all the days.' Our Authorized Version '*alway*,' of course, covers a part of the meaning, but it is only a part; and this is one of the cases where incompleteness marches very near the confines of incorrectness. Ἀεὶ in Greek, *semper* in Latin, would adequately represent our 'always;' that can, therefore, only stand as the translation of ἀεὶ. Ἀεὶ is *not* πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας in the sense of this most blessed promise of the Saviour. The former implies, indeed, an eternity of presence, but it may be one cold, distant, impassive, the presence of an Epicurean or a Stoic deity. In πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας we welcome the ever-watchful care of an Incarnate Lord, who guards each day our rising up and lying down again; who shields us in the noon-day heat, and drives away the midnight terror. And as the Church thus realizes the all-sufficing presence, πασὰς τὰς ἡμέρας, so must she do ἑκάστῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ—day by day—'until the consummation of finite time,' a term which she could not fail to connect with that of 'showing the Lord's death *till* He *come*' (the συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος), which is the very object of the Eucharist. Surely, then, with these two responsive texts before her, and with the eucharistic presence what it is, compared with any other condition of relationship between God and man, she could not have done wrongly in giving a eucharistic interpretation to the last solemn words of the earliest Gospel, as soon as her temporal condition enabled her to back her convictions by a corresponding action. As we have said above, the importation into the question of the principle of the oneness of the cathedral, and the resultant limitation of the obligatory number of daily Eucharists, would seem a sufficient preservation against the Roman oneness.

of large towns, such as Leeds, Stafford, or Kidderminster, (to quote at random known centres of Church activity, possessed of churches of unusual dignity—churches which, according to the notions of an earlier century, would have been cathedrals,) might or might not attempt the same work as deputies of the cathedral, is a matter which each such church must decide upon for itself in concert with the cathedral, and which in no way affects the practical point in which we and Mr. Freeman are agreed. Even were daily Eucharists to be restored in the 'collegiate churches' of large towns, as such churches would then, of course, become, in fact, and doubtless so be styled, the condition of things existing in the Roman communion would not be hazarded.

We shall more briefly dismiss the question of non-communicant attendance during the celebration of the Holy Communion. We should be truly and deeply sorry to see the Roman system of assisting at mass take root here as at all equivalent to communicating. We have all seen, as was pointed out some years since in our pages, in an article on Oratorianism and Ecclesiology, the fruits of this system in the modern rite of benediction, which threatens to usurp the place almost of mass itself in the popular feelings of more advanced Romanists, and the principle of which is the effusion of increased blessing by the increased physical proximity of the consecrated host.

But is there no middle term between this system and the absolute expulsion of all non-communicants? Make weekly communion the rule of godly Christian life, and then the law of charity will come in to say that in this mixed world of ours, with each man the keeper of his own conscience, a latitude must be allowed to stay, and pray, and meditate, during the celebration of the Holy Communion, without participation being absolutely required on every such occasion. If this is denied, we do not see where we can stop short of such a literal restoration of the old public penitential system, as all, even while most fully subscribing to the language of the commination service, must own to be impossible. The primitive *expulsion* of non-communicants depended on this system for its reality. The modern English system of the great bulk of the congregation retiring un-communicate is the growth of mere indifference. In a healthier state of things, we have but the choice of these two alternatives: a restoration of the old expulsion of non-communicants, or a continuance of the modern method of permitted retirement—with the stoppers, however, and the retirers assuming very different relative proportions from the tone of the many waxing warmer. The former course would compel all those, who, for whatever cause, did not mean to participate upon that day, to

for many years the indefatigable Principal of that of Chichester, and as the author of a pamphlet upon the necessity of their general extension, which appeared a few years since, and, as it deserved, excited much and favourable attention. Since that time the necessity for such institutions has received public and authoritative sanction in the Third Report of the Cathedral Commissions, reviewed in our last number. We may, therefore, now begin to hope that the stone has practically been set rolling. Already the results of this report have shown themselves in the Diocese of Lichfield, where the scheme of such a College, for some time dormant, has been actively revived under the Bishop's personal supervision in consequence of that recommendation, which stands conspicuous in the fore front of the circulars. The antecedent institution of the College at Cuddesden, is a fact which must be familiar to all observers of Church progress. Of course, as Mr. Freeman says, we must in patience wait for the theological training of our clergy to become a general reality, before we can hope for that intelligent knowledge, and that faithful use of our appointed services, which can alone bring out their true meaning, and reap the full advantage of their manifold contents, and which alone, above all things, can justify the Church in contemplating their alteration.

But still, even under such heavy disadvantages, our own generation has already done much—marvellously much, if we compare the present year with no further back than 1830—towards bringing to light their long-forgotten significance, and making that significance in its practical use a thing of personal concern to our Church population. The very obloquy it has raised is the earnest of success. The perpetual dishonest carpings of the Puritan school—the mercenary mock-martyrdom of the Beals and the Westertons, tell the tale. Mr. Freeman has rather cut himself off from appreciating this form of growth, by his stoical exclusion throughout the volume of considerations based upon the doing as distinct from the saying of the services. The broad definitions have been laid down, in stones and wood, of Eucharist and services. For the former, in our new churches, the sanctuary has been made deep and well defined—for the latter, the Chancel, either stalled or benched stall-wise, for clerks and choir, has been apportioned in numberless churches, where 'extreme views' (whether what makes '*extremity*' be comprehended or not) would be feared and scouted. The lectern too for the lessons standing apart by the act of motion to and from it, visibly marks the different character of lections, and of prayer and praise. In another class again of churches, although these seemly arrangements have not been compassed, yet the low side desk—with its one face not adverse to the Altar, for psalms and prayer, and

the other towards the people for scripture reading, indicat
same principles, though less intelligently. In a third class,
though prayers and psalmody are said towards the peop
from the altar, yet the seat of the officiator is no longe
offensive central pulpit of our younger days. All these f
ecclesiology indicate a marvellously quickened appreciat
the 'Principles of Divine Service'—showing itself on the
natural side first—the side of *use* and not of *theory*. Buil
enrichments, postures, action in short, are after all the bo
the million, and from their attributes we can most surely
ciate the failure or the success of any movement. T
tangible trial we confidently entrust the Public Worship
tion in the Church of England.

NOTICES.

CANON HUTCHINSON'S 'Parish Recollections,' (Masters,) form a volume of sermons very far above the average in point of interest and practical utility. They witness to a Churchmanlike ministry, of the truest and most earnest kind, exercised for thirty-eight years in the same parish, by one 'who ne'er has changed, or' (apparently) 'wished to change his place.' Such a life is a link between a past phase of the English Church's vitality and the present one; and it is pleasant thus to learn that the old paths had, in some corners of the land at least, continued to be trodden, though for the most part the rank weeds of sloth and forgetfulness had grown over them. The sermons are on plain topics, the every-day interests of a Christian village in any age of the Church—Sundays and Services—funerals and marriage—Lent and Advent. But all through, we feel that we are reading real records of work,—work reaching to the very springs of human actions and feeling, though in a humbling and everyday sphere. A slight strain of melancholy pervades the volume in virtue of its topics; the tone throughout is that of warning: nor, indeed, were it otherwise, would it be so true to the needs of the period to which its voice was first addressed. The sermons 'On the Spirit of the Church's Daily Devotions,' and on the 'graves opened,' are noticeable, even in this volume, for depth and soundness of Church teaching. Others, bearing on schools, confirmations, &c., adapt it more especially for the reading of the young, and, we may add, of their teachers. The volume is remarkable as containing, by way of illustration, a drawing of the interior of Trentham Church, with its curious Jacobean high screen, furnished by the late Duchess Countess of Sutherland.

Mr. Henry Newland is not only what is called a practical man, but he is the instiller of the practical element into others. He introduces as the writer of a useful little tract, 'Cottage Economy,' (Masters,) a pupil teacher. In this valuable work the writer shows a village family at work: how far twelve shillings a-week will go, what it will do, and the exact point at which the pinch begins. All the criticism that we can pass upon the tract is, that it certainly does not overstate matters. What we fear is, that Westbourne is rather above the average both in wages and general economical advantages: for example, ninepence a pound is considerably above the price at which a single cottager could sell his pork. Nor is it possible always for the cottager to keep his pig: the temptation to pillage the farmers for pig meat is so strong, that many employers discourage the labourer's pig. The most useful part of the 'Cottage Economy' is the cooking department: but what a striking fact it is that after Mr. Newland had domesticated a dozen villagers with himself for six weeks to teach them the art of soups and stews, they all returned to the tea and bread-and-

butter dinners! We leave it to ethnologists to suggest why the Sax is incapable of learning cookery.

'A Sunday Book for the Young,' (Van Voorst,) is rather below the both in style and illustration.

Mr. Goss's 'Manual of Marine Zoology,' (Van Voorst,) a subj coming very popular, is an attempt, and, like all the author's, a suc one, to bring science down to common minds, without infringing accuracy or slurring over its unavoidable difficulties.

Two series of Manuals—one concerned with stone carving and o gothic mouldings, (J. H. Parker,)—assume too much or too little on t of those, actual workmen, to whom they are addressed. If stone is to be learned as a dead language, this is not the grammar of it; to be taught as a living tongue, this is but a meagre course of liter

'A List of Artificers in Church Work,' privately printed by the ampton Society, has its uses: but in order not to seem partial, its co recommend, without discrimination, tradesmen and artists who ductions are as bad and as good as can be.

Waldegrave's 'Bampton Lectures' (Hamilton, Adams & Co.) most humiliating work we have recently met with. Not to the aut he has done his best; but to 'the famous University' which appoin to the high office which he discharged last year. We do not wish t so as to give pain to a respectable man; so in this case we must di a disagreeable duty in the most summary manner. In style, learning and argument the volume reflects great discredit on t versity.

Mr. Amphlett has published a volume, which he calls 'A Key Revelations,' (Hamilton, Adams & Co.) a book which certainly d exist in the sacred canon. This work begins with an appendix; confusion of manner is but a faint illustration of its matter. We deliberately when we say that publishers incur a serious respon in permitting the works of the insane to come before the public. is not a single sentence in the volume which has any meaning Here is one, which is by no means an exaggerated specimen of the tunate writer's state of mind:—

'The harlot, as Tamar, her first and second temples having died
'and Onan, without producing literal, as the Temple's spiritu
'Christ's Spirit, as Shiloh, being withheld as spiritually from the T
'she becomes as Tamar, literally, a spiritual adulteress, and her elde
'as Tamar's, puts forth his hand, as Christ's select apostle, acknow
'by Him to be Cephas, the stone of Jacob's declaring; but as Zara
'rally, so did Cephas spiritually, withdraw his hand into the wo
'time, as of the harlot, to give spiritual birth to his younger broth
'apostle, first in S. Paul, of Benjamin. Thus, as Tamar, the harlot,
'her enigma of Judah's Church, with his crozier and staff, and
'herself, as being neither a widow nor a harlot, but sits as a quee
'sees no sorrow.'—P. 176.

We observe a marked improvement in Archidiaconal Charges. In abstaining from discussing doctrinal matters, the Archdeacons, we think, deserve well of the Clergy, and do much to make their office really more useful by circumscribing its limits. Archdeacon Hale, in his recent 'Charge,' (Rivingtons,) attempts the perilous and invidious thesis of showing that intramural burial is not injurious to the public health. He almost proves that the presence of corruption is rather a sanitary requisite than the contrary. Overstated as Mr. Hale's argument is, his Charge is replete with exceedingly curious research and interesting literature, most carefully compiled and of the highest interest. The two new Archdeacons of the diocese of Oxford, Archdeacon Bickersteth, in his 'Charge,' (Rivingtons,) and Archdeacon Randall, in his 'Charge,' (J. H. Parker,) have delivered sensible and useful addresses to their Clergy concerned with the practical topics of Education, Church Extension, Repairs, Bell-ringing, Church Rates, and the like.

'Saul of Tarsus,' a drama in five acts, by G. B. Paley, (Rivingtons,) has the merit of good intentions, but is neither poetry nor a drama.

'The Benefit of Christ's Death,' by Paleario, (Macmillan,) is the reprint of a work once extremely famous, and supposed to be lost, and which exerted an immense amount of influence at the time of the Reformation. It is edited by Mr. Churchill Babington, both in the original and in the contemporary translation, with great luxury of typography and carefulness and profusion of illustration; more so than the intrinsic merits of the treatise command.

The Archbishop of Dublin has published his 'Charge on the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.' (J. W. Parker.) His Grace seems to desire a monopoly in his protests: he protests as much against other people's protests against this doctrine as he insists upon his own protest. In the present publication the Archbishop only quotes himself and the Cautions for the Times seven times; but then he quotes nobody else.

The work called 'Introduction to Theosophy,' (Kendrick,) is a curious sign. It is actually an attempt to revive the theosophy of Jacob Boehmen, and consists for the most part of tracts by the celebrated William Law, who it is well known adopted this strange pseudo-philosophy. The editor quietly asks for one hundred thousand pounds to found a Theosophic College, to which he offers to attach himself as first director. We recommend this work to Dr. Maitland, whose inquiries on magnetism we regret to find suspended. The present writer considers that magnetism, with its kindred developments of clairvoyance and Reichenbach's Odyle, are intended as spiritual aids for a further revelation and new outpouring of something more than ten Pentecostal gifts. Here he impinges on the Irvingite postulate. As far as we can understand this book, it professes to fuse Magianism, the latter Platonists, the Cabbalists, the Alchemists, the Oriental Metaphysics, the ascetic Christian divinity, and the mystical writers of various ages, Swedenborgianism, Hutchinsonianism, Oken, and the more recent Spirit-rapping, into a new 'Theosophic' system. Wild and monstrous as all this is, the volume is an extremely curious one; if in no other aspect,

as an illustration of a phase of the human mind not lightly to be regarded. The influence, said to be on the increase, of Mr. Aitkin's speculations, exhibits a cognate tendency.

Mr. Haskoll has published a 'History of France,' (Masters,) sound, useful, and compendious, which fills up a gap in our elementary literature. It is written with ease and spirit. We believe it to be an ascertained fact that the famous words, *Fils de S. Louis*, &c. were never uttered by the Abbé Edgeworth.

Mr. Wilberforce has published 'Seven Letters to the Editor of the 'Weekly Register, in reply to the Rev. F. Meyrick's Article on Church 'Authority,' (Burns & Lambert,) *i. e.* the article which appeared in our own pages on Mr. Wilberforce's recent book. Mr. Meyrick's article has been reprinted in a separate form by our own publishers, (Mozley,) and in an Appendix Mr. Meyrick deals with Mr. Wilberforce's reply. Although on either side somewhat severe language has been used, such seems inseparable from controversy; and on one occasion, at least, Mr. Meyrick has, we observe, withdrawn phrases which grated on a person whom to know was, and is, to respect.

'Our Christian Calling,' (Mozley,) is a plain and useful set of conversations on various subjects. It is something more than a tract, written at the same time with solidity and life.

Mr. Gilderdale's 'Prize Essay on the Home Duties of Christianity,' (Bell & Daldy,) is remarkable as the production of a young man. It consists of a thoughtful and ethical review of social duties, in the various relations of the Christian family and home, from which experience might learn many profitable lessons.

Mr. Lonsdale, the Secretary of the National Society, has printed, (J. W. Parker,) 'A Brief Exposition of the Parables.' It is intended for the use of Sunday-school teachers. Originality and fulness were not within the writer's scope, so that we do not complain that the work is only meagre. As far as it goes it is suitable.

In a very useful Convention Sermon, (Diocese of New Jersey,) preached by Mr. Stewart, of Newark, (Padney & Russell,) a single sentence arrests us. 'Children go to school for seven years on an average.' If this is so, and the preacher is not speaking of the richer classes, we can only say that education is much better cared for on the other side of the Atlantic than among ourselves.

The Librarian of Woburn Abbey, Mr. J. Martin, has translated, and a pretty monograph it makes, M. Guizot's Essay from the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 'The Married Life of Lady Rachel Russell.' (Bosworth.) The subject is a good one; and it is treated with great skill and delicacy by M. Guizot. The mention of the *Revue des deux Mondes* reminds us that a prospectus, written with considerable skill, announces a periodical of more than usual promise, of which the specialty is a newspaper, consisting only of Leading Articles and Criticism. We allude to the forthcoming 'Saturday Review.'

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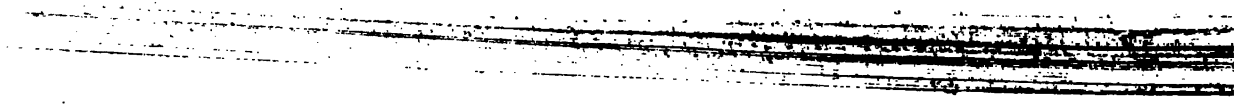

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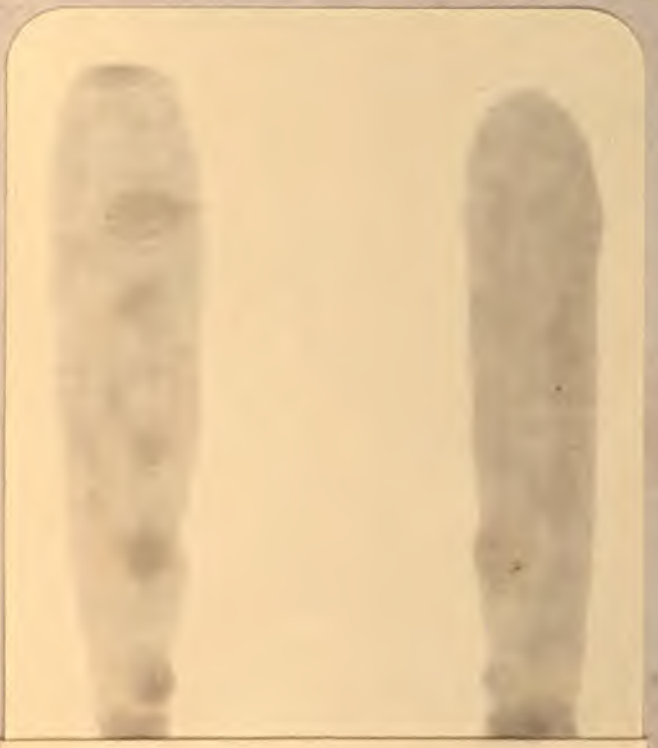

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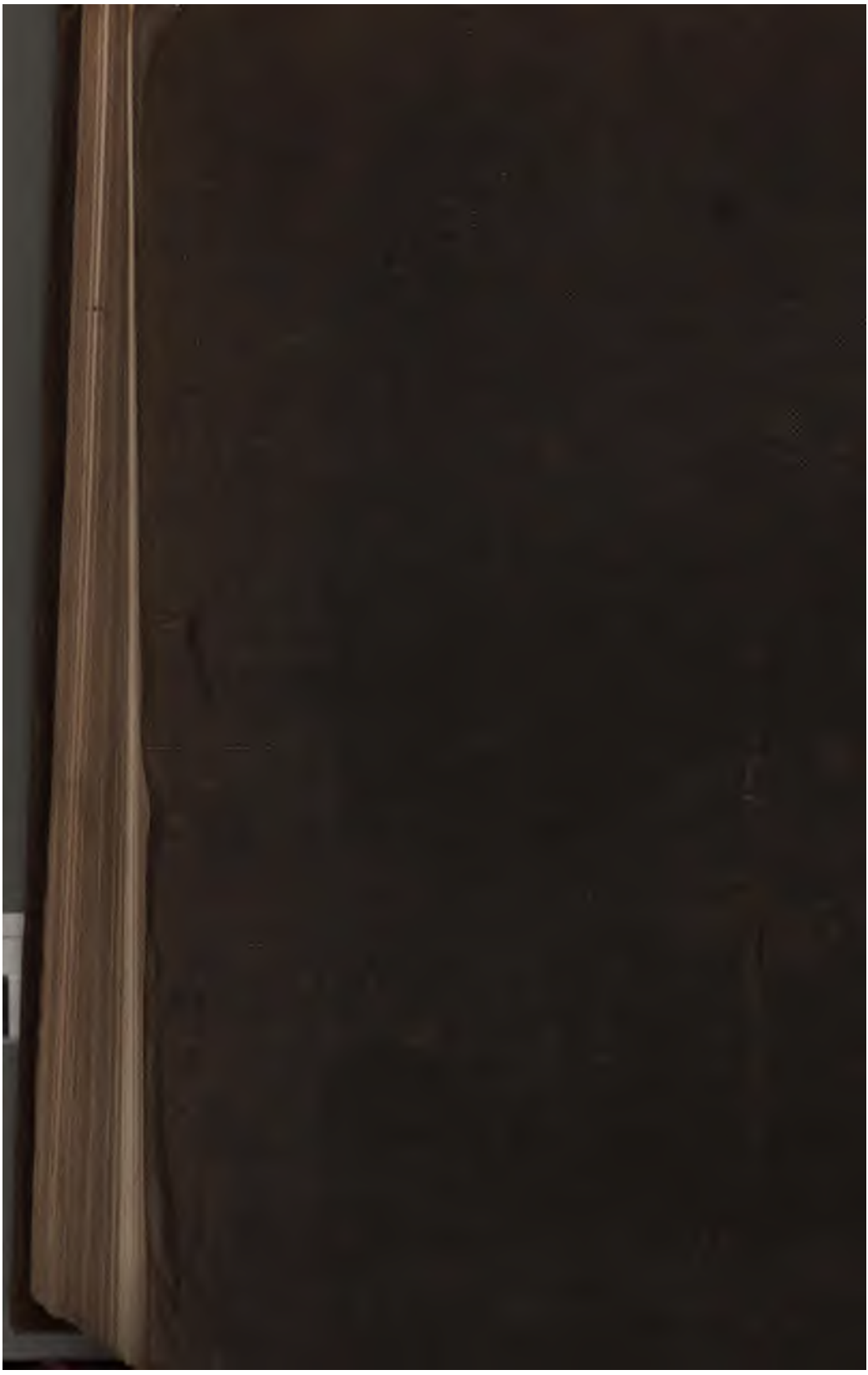
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